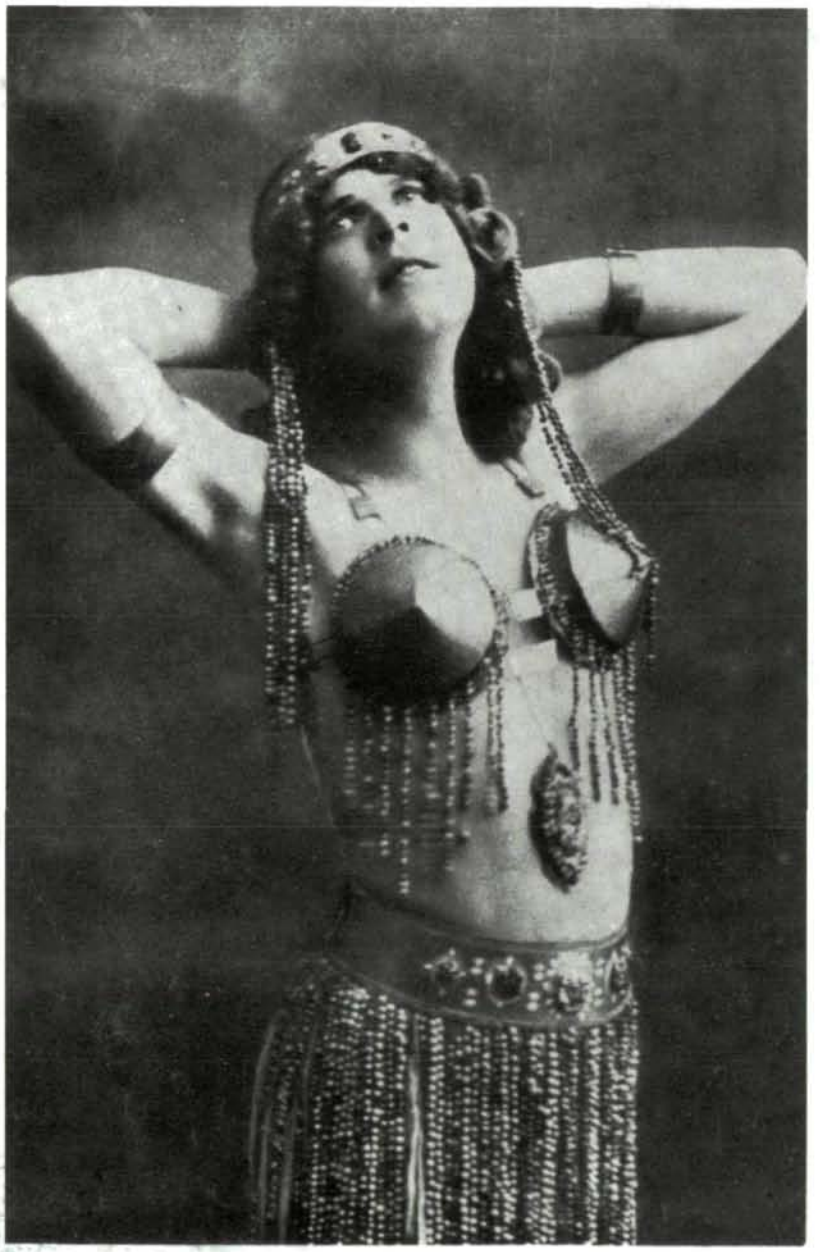
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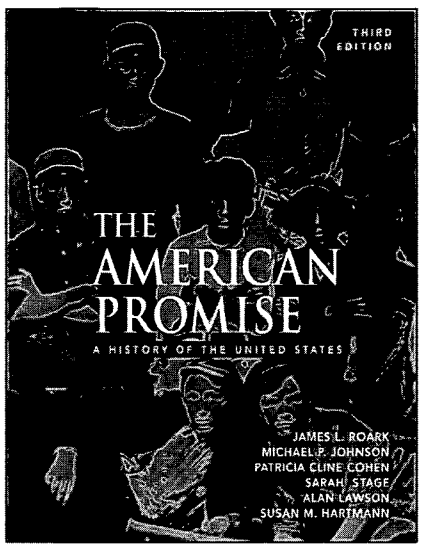
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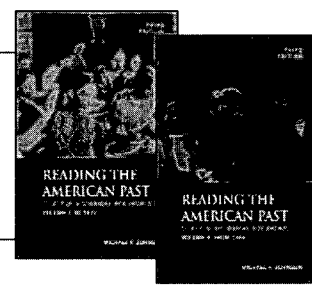


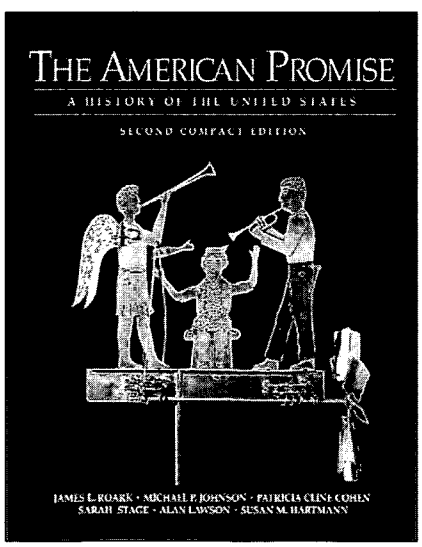
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Cover Illustration: Theaters assumed a central role in POW camps in Russia during World War I, especially in officer camps. Inmates staged elaborate productions of contemporary dramas and operettas, constructing a fantasy of big-city theater life that helped to give them some sense of prewar normalcy. At the center of these productions were the female impersonators who performed the women's roles, some of whom assumed feminine identities offstage as well. Pictured here is Emmerich Laschitz of the Achinsk camp, "Siberia's most famous female impersonator," in his signature role of Salome. See Alon Rachamimov, "The Disruptive Comforts of Drag: (Trans)Gender Performances among Prisoners of War in Russia 1914–1920," p. 362.

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In This Issue

This issue contains five articles along with our usual extensive book review section. The articles offer an eclectic sampling of contemporary historical scholarship, from a consideration of commodities exchange in the United States in the late nineteenth century to a look at anticolonial struggles in early-nineteenth-century Latin America; from theatrical transvestism in Russian prisoner-of war-camps in World War I to fifteenth-century witchcraft treatises; and concluding with a piece on superstitious rumors in Mao's China.

In "Contemplating Delivery: Futures Trading and the Problem of Commodity Exchange in the United States, 1875–1905," **Jonathan Ira Levy** explores the ascendance of futures trading, a significant innovation in the global history of capitalism. In these years there emerged a professional class of merchants who never delivered or received physical commodities but rather dealt in things that did not exist—that is, futures. In "bucket shops," distinct venues for this sort of organized exchange, futures trading was democratized. Indeed, these institutions revolutionized the spatial and temporal dimensions of the world economy. Yet futures also posed a moral and epistemological dilemma: Should there be a traffic in fictional things? This question was mooted in the political arena—in statehouses, in Congress, and, finally, at the Supreme Court. What emerged was the doctrine of "contemplating delivery," which said that traders could deal in thoughts so long as there was true intent in their minds actually to deliver tangible commodities. This ultimately led to the sanctioning of futures trading in state-chartered institutions, such as the Chicago Board of Trade. The popular bucket shops, however, were abolished. The Supreme Court's decision was emblematic of both a new world view regarding uncertainty, probability, and knowledge and a new imperative in political economy—risk management. Because futures trading determined the pricing of primary commodities everywhere, these developments had ramifications for the production and exchange of commodities around the globe.

In "Race War and Nation in Caribbean Gran Colombia, Cartagena, 1810–1832," **Marixa Lasso** argues that modern racial conceptions in the Americas originated during the anticolonial struggles of the Age of Revolution. In particular, she examines the emergence of a nationalist ideology of racial harmony and equality—the twentieth-century myth of racial democracy—during the Spanish American wars of independence. While most historians trace the origins of modern race relations to

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colonial slavery, Lasso argues that it was during this later period that nations with similar histories of colonialism, slavery, and racism developed divergent national racial imaginaries, such as manifest destiny in the United States and the myth of racial democracy in Latin America. Her analysis focuses on Gran Colombia, one of the key sites of the struggle for Spanish American independence, where war shaped racial imaginaries in two ways. War infused racial equality with the emotional strength of patriotism, transforming it into a nationalist ideology that transcended partisanship and regional differences. At the same time, however, the phantom of another type of war, "race war," set the boundaries separating legitimate from illegitimate racial discourse. The fear of racial war restricted the political actions of people of African descent, limiting their opportunities to denounce persistent patterns of informal discrimination and prejudice.

In "The Disruptive Comforts of Drag: (Trans)Gender Performances among Prisoners of War in Russia, 1914–1920," **Alon Rachamimov** examines the theatrical activities of German-speaking prisoners of war in Russia during World War I. He describes the creation of elaborate theaters in dozen of camps, many of which staged sophisticated productions of contemporary plays and operettas. He argues that these theaters were more than a source of entertainment for the POWs. They helped to express the men's anxieties, hopes, and desires, while also reflecting an acute sense of male disempowerment that accompanied captivity. In officer camps, prisoners created a quasi-bourgeois theater life that aimed at evoking prewar comfort, power, and the illusion of self-worth. At the center of this theatrical sociability were the female impersonators, usually younger officers, who not only performed women's roles but also continued their performances offstage. These performers were often addressed by their feminine names, and they enjoyed the attentions of fans and admirers. Following recent theoretical writings on cross-dressing, this article demonstrates that drag is, by definition, ambivalent, possessing both disruptive and normalizing potential. For some of the participants and spectators, the POW theater provided a means to preserve "normalcy" and masculine vigor. For others, it sanctioned homoerotic feelings and transgender identifications by blurring the lines between the conventional and the illicit. In this sense, some POWs found life in the camps a liberating experience.

Weberian "disenchantment" is a salient, although much contested, feature of modern Western culture. And the removal of directly effective power from religious ritual, associated mainly with the Protestant Reformation, is often considered an important stage in the process of disenchantment. In "The Disenchantment of Magic: Spells, Charms, and Superstition in Early European Witchcraft Literature," however, **Michael D. Bailey** argues that elements of disenchantment were already present in the late medieval period, deriving from long-established conceptions of the operation of magic. To make his case, he examines how authors of major fifteenth-century witchcraft treatises, above all Johannes Nider and Heinrich Kramer, regarded the practice of witchcraft and other common spells and charms. Witchcraft functioned through demonic agency, these authorities insisted, not through any power inherent in the simple rites the witches might perform. These authorities also

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sought to invalidate other rites that presumed to call on divine agency. But here they encountered difficulties, for their arguments could be construed as calling into question the effectiveness of orthodox religious practice as well as magical rites. Ultimately, the tensions that Bailey explores reveal that "disenchantment" should not be seen as simply antithetical to magical beliefs. Rather, the sources of this process are deeply rooted in medieval Christianity and were given new emphasis by the growing concern over witchcraft and superstition in the fifteenth century.

S. A. Smith's article, "Talking Toads and Chinless Ghosts: The Politics of 'Superstitious' Rumors in the People's Republic of China, 1961–1965," examines what the authorities in the People's Republic of China called "superstitious rumors" in the years between the famine of 1959–1961 and the onset of the Cultural Revolution in 1966. It argues that the prevalence of such rumors was linked to a widespread belief that demonic forces were on the increase because religious rituals of propitiation and exorcism—rituals that supposedly regulated relations between the human and spirit worlds—were no longer being observed properly. The article proceeds to ask whether superstitious rumors that touched more directly on politics were in fact a form of popular resistance. Smith concludes that, objectively, at least, the rumors constituted a challenge to the efforts of the party-state to centralize meaning, but that their principal effect was to reveal the supernatural forces that many believed were at work behind the visible operations of power. The article suggests that the influence of superstition and a belief in occult phenomena have been seriously underestimated in the context of Communist studies, where scholars, insofar as they focus at all on popular politics, concentrate on politics couched in a secular idiom. Indirectly, the article thus contributes to a debate about the extent to which the Communist state eroded "traditional" beliefs and practices and the extent to which it created conditions in which these were reactivated to meet new challenges.

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FIGURE 1: Andrew J. Sawyer, a large-scale producer and distributor of grain himself, was also an active participant in the trading of commodity futures, a new form of commerce in the late nineteenth century. In the United States, futures trading evoked political controversy relating to concerns about the very reality of the economy itself. Sawyer, for instance, bought and sold grain futures in Chicago, but never delivered any of his grain there. Reprinted from *1891 Grain Dealers and Shippers Gazetteer*, 63. Reproduced by permission of Pam Rietsch at www.MemorialLibrary.com, housed at www.USGenNet.org, a 501c3 host for historical and genealogical sites.

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Contemplating Delivery: Futures Trading and the Problem of Commodity Exchange in the United States, 1875–1905

JONATHAN IRA LEVY

> These exchanges are cosmopolitan legislatures. Their enactments are prices, and their jurisdiction extends beyond that of Congress, Parliament, the Assembly, and the Reichstag.
>
> Henry Demarest Lloyd (1883)[1]

> If we are to understand the workings of the economic system we must examine the meaning and significance of uncertainty; and to this end some inquiry into the nature and function of knowledge itself is necessary.
>
> Frank H. Knight (1921)[2]

"I STOOD IN THE CENTER OF THE WHEAT FIELDS OF NORTH DAKOTA where the wheat could be seen as far as the eye could reach, and these wheat fields as they were turning yellow in the summer were like the waves of the ocean." So began the testimony of Charles Pillsbury, the largest commercial operator in grain in the United States, before the United States House Committee on Agriculture's 1892 hearings *Fictitious Dealings in Agricultural Products*. "I thought that the man who managed or sold or owned those immense wheat fields has not as much to say with regard to the price of the wheat that some young fellow who stands howling around the Chicago wheat pit could actually sell in a day."[3] According to Pillsbury, the trading in the Chicago pit had lost touch with the reality of the waving fields of wheat.

Pillsbury indicted futures trading—a new form of trade on future commodities, such as "September wheat," which had not yet been grown when it was sold. For centuries, merchants had made contracts to deliver goods at some future date. Only in the final three decades of the nineteenth century did there emerge a professional

I wish to acknowledge Amy Dru Stanley, whose criticism and support has benefited this article immeasurably. I also thank the members of her 2004 seminar in U.S. cultural history at the University of Chicago for making valuable comments on an early draft. I am grateful for the suggestions of Thomas Adams, Jeff Charbeneau, Kathy Conzen, Bernard Dubbeld, Michael Grossberg, Tom Holt, Tom Kleven, Allison Leftkovitz, Marty Levy, Jim Livingston, Garrett Long, Grant Madsen, Bill Novak, Betsy Levy Paluck, Steve Pincus, Gautham Rao, Bill Sewell, James Vaughn, and the editors and anonymous reviewers of the *AHR*.

[1] Henry Demarest Lloyd, "Making Bread Dear," *North American Review*, August 1883, 118.

[2] Frank H. Knight, *Risk, Uncertainty, and Profit* (1921; repr., Chicago, 1971), 199.

[3] House Committee on Agriculture, *Fictitious Dealings in Agricultural Products: Hearings on H.R. 392, 2699, and 3870*, 52nd Cong., 3rd sess., 1892, 186.

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class of merchants who traded commodities exclusively as "futures" (also known as "options," "straddles," "scalps," "puts," and "calls"), which meant that no goods were ever delivered. Futures traders dealt in conceptual entities as if they were corporeal goods—future bales of cotton, future vats of lard. Notably, in the trading "pits"—circumscribed spaces where buyers and sellers traded futures—commodities were exchanged without material things ever changing hands between buyer and seller. A quick snap of the fingers might consummate a trade, and traders neither physically possessed nor even held legal title to the goods in which they trafficked. By 1890, futures trading had become the dominant mode of commodity exchange. To many who testified before the House Committee, including Pillsbury, this dynamic new system of "fictitious dealings" appeared illegitimate.

After 1870, more than twenty trading pits emerged across the United States. Others appeared in Canada, Europe, and Latin America.[4] Termed "organized commodities exchanges" or "futures markets," these pits set the prices for the primary products of the world. At the same time, futures abstracted exchange from the space-time of the physical economy—from the temporal rhythms and geographical localities of production, distribution, and consumption. Transactions at the New York Produce Exchange, for instance, often involved commodities putatively to be harvested in North Dakota, bound for Minneapolis, or perhaps Paris, but never New York—or perhaps never harvested at all. Between 1885 and 1889, there were 8.5 billion bushels of wheat futures contracts sold at the New York exchange; only 162 million bushels, however, ever entered the city.[5] The global economy took on a spatial and temporal configuration that had been unimaginable decades before. It was not only in the United States but also throughout Europe and in Latin America that futures trading evoked political controversy, according to a 1908 congressional report.[6] Further complicating the matter, "bucket shops"—separate outfits where anyone could wager on the rise and fall of prices at organized exchanges—spread across

[4] Between 1875 and 1905, organized commodities futures exchanges appear at the Chicago Board of Trade, New York Produce Exchange, New York Cotton Exchange, St. Louis Merchant's Exchange, Kansas City Board of Trade, Baltimore Corn and Flour Exchange, Toledo Board of Trade, New Orleans Cotton Exchange, Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, Wichita Board of Trade, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Galveston Cotton Exchange, Detroit Board of Trade, Philadelphia Grain Exchange, Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, Duluth Board of Trade, Omaha Grain Exchange, Seattle Grain Exchange, Portland Grain Exchange, New York Petroleum Exchange, Bradford Petroleum Exchange, and Oil City Petroleum Exchange. See Jerry W. Markhan, *The History of Commodity Futures Trading and Its Regulation* (New York, 1987), 7, 8; S. S. Huebner, "The Function of Produce Exchanges," in Emory R. Johnson, ed., *American Produce Exchange Markets* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1911), 2; Lloyd, "Making Bread Dear," 118; and Merrill A. Teague, "Bucket Shop Sharks," *Everybody's Magazine*, 4 pts. (June–September 1906), pt. 1 (June), 723–725. On the European exchanges, see G. Rühland, *The Ruin of the World's Agriculture and Trade: International Fictitious Dealings in "Futures" of Agricultural Produce and Silver with Their Effect on Prices*, trans. Charles W. Smith (London, 1896), 60–61, and *Fictitious Dealings*, 101; on Canada, see Robert E. Ankli, "The Decline of the Winnipeg Futures Market," *Agricultural History* 56, no. 2 (1982): 272–286; on Argentina (and the global spread of futures trading in the twentieth century), see Secretariat of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, *Commodity Exchanges around the World* (Geneva: UNCTAD Secretariat, 2000), 6.

[5] *Fictitious Dealings*, 48.

[6] House Committee on the District of Columbia, *Prohibition of Bucketing and Bucket Shopping, and Abolition of Bucket Shops*, 60th Cong., 1st sess., H. Rep. 1387, 3. The countries were Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. See also Rühland, *The Ruin of the World's Agriculture and Trade*, 61, which cited the 1894 U.S. congressional hearings as a harbinger of 1896 German legislation restricting futures trading on the Berlin Produce Exchange.

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the United States in the 1890s, grafting themselves onto the network of organized futures markets. According to one European authority, bucket shops were exclusively an American phenomenon.[7] There were hundreds, if not thousands, of them in the U.S., rendering the dilemma of commodity exchange palpable in even the smallest of communities.

For many Americans, futures were an urgent public question. Did the pits, not to mention the bucket shops, bear any relation to the wheat fields in North Dakota—to the movement of real things through the economy? According to the chairman of the House Agricultural Committee, the intent of the 1892 hearings on "fictitious dealings" was "to get the difference . . . between an illegitimate and a legitimate sale."[8] The legal and political fate of futures would hinge on this difference. What was legitimate exchange? That question resonated both inside and outside the halls of Congress, commanding the attention of judges, farmers, lawyers, merchants, novelists, social scientists, and journalists.[9] To critics, futures trading was "unnatural," "deranged," "evil," because it was detached from the "selling of wheat actually in sight."[10] In the end, however, the pits survived and the bucket shops perished. Yet in other nations, futures markets perished.[11] The U.S. compromise—which condoned futures markets but abolished bucket shops—rested upon a new legal doctrine: "contemplating delivery." According to the courts, futures traders could deal in conceptual entities so long as they "contemplated" corporeal goods in their minds while doing so. The law thus put its imprimatur on incorporeal exchange, blurring the line between thoughts and things.

The urgency with which contemporaries grappled with the problem of futures trading is not reflected in historical scholarship. The few studies of futures focus exclusively on the Chicago Board of Trade—its institutional development, its appropriation of natural resources, and its campaign against bucket shops.[12] The issues raised by the pits, however, surpassed the significance of a single exchange, signaling a turning point in the history of capitalist exchange relations. At stake were conflicts over political economy and the cultural legitimacy of new forms of commodity ex-

[7] Rühland, *The Ruin of the World's Agriculture and Trade*, 13.

[8] *Fictitious Dealings*, 169.

[9] The classic novel is Frank Norris, *The Pit: A Story of Chicago* (New York, 1903). For social-scientific discussions, see Albert C. Stevens, " 'Futures' in the Wheat Market," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 2, no. 1 (October 1887): 37–63, and Henry Crosby Emery, *Speculation on the Stock and Produce Exchanges of the United States* (New York, 1896). For only a few examples of print journalism, see Van Buren Denslow, "Board of Trade Morality," *North American Review*, October 1883, 372–388; Richard Wheatley, "The New York Produce Exchange," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, July 1886, 189–219; J. R. Dodge, "Discontent of the Farmer," *The Century*, January 1892, 454; Egerton R. Williams, "Thirty Years in the Grain Trade," *North American Review*, July 1895, 24–35; and Charles Conant, "The Function of the Stock and Produce Exchanges," *Atlantic Monthly*, April 1903, 434.

[10] For uses of these terms, see, for instance, *Fictitious Dealings*, 244; *Lyon v. Culbertson*, 83 Ill. 33 (1876); *McGrew v. City Produce Exchange*, 85 Tenn. 572 (1886); and Senate Committee on Agriculture, Subcommittee on Agricultural Depression, *Agricultural Depression: Causes and Remedies*, 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., 1895, S. Rep. 787, 33.

[11] On Canada, see Ankli, "The Decline of the Winnipeg Futures Market," and on Argentina, see United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, *Overview of the World's Commodities Exchanges, 2001* (Geneva: UNCTAD Secretariat, 2001), 3.

[12] On the Chicago Board of Trade, see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991); Jonathan Lurie, *The Chicago Board of Trade, 1859–1905: The Dynamics of Self-Regulation* (Urbana, Ill., 1979); and Ann Fabian, *Card Sharps, Dream Books, and Bucket Shops: Gambling in 19th Century America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990).

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change. Similar conflicts have been addressed in landmark works on turn-of-the-century agrarian protest, the corporate reconstruction of the U.S. economy and society, the growing importance of Wall Street, and the ideological significance of consumer capitalism.[13] Yet this scholarship takes no account of the problem of incorporeal exchange posed by futures. The work of Fernand Braudel and others has illuminated the development of financial instruments and moments of speculative crisis in the early modern era; yet the fact that futures trading posed a crisis in the late-nineteenth-century United States has eluded historians.[14]

The crucial question is why commodity exchange and the already abstract world of speculation had begun to intertwine in such fundamentally new and disturbing ways. Addressing this question requires locating futures within a longer history of incorporeal exchange that reaches back to the advent of capitalism, and underscoring how the mediating, abstracting qualities of capitalist exchange disrupt received notions of time and space.[15] Because commodity exchange operated in a global context at the turn of the twentieth century, the American scene had ramifications from Liverpool to Buenos Aires—for the production, exchange, and consumption of goods around the world. As the global economy in our own time becomes increasingly dominated by financial transactions modeled on futures, it becomes all the more important to examine both the initial unease that met incorporeal commodity exchange in the late nineteenth century and the contours of that economy's triumph, at least in the United States, at the opening of the twentieth.[16]

Futures posed a problem at once economic, legal, political, moral, and epistemological, involving the mechanics and scope of futures trading, the courts' role in shaping public debate over the practice, the protests that farmers mounted against the pits, and the terms on which futures trading was legitimated. The problem of the pits was, at bottom, a problem of knowledge. At issue in the public debate over futures were concerns about the very reality of the economy itself. In the words of critics, the pits were a metaphysical economy, possessing "neither form, nor substance, nor reality."[17] To the pits' champions, however, futures were not metaphysical at all; they simply brought the blessings of finance—speculation, hedging, risk

[13] On agrarian revolt, see Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Moment in America* (New York, 1976); on corporate reconstruction, see Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), and Martin J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890–1916: The Market, the Law, and Politics* (New York, 1988); on Wall Street, see Steve Fraser, *Every Man a Speculator: A History of Wall Street in American Life* (New York, 2005); on consumption, see William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York, 1994).

[14] On the growth of financial instruments in early modern Europe, see Fernand Braudel, *The Wheels of Commerce* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992); Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York, 1987), 343–371; and Stuart Banner, *Anglo-American Securities Regulation: Cultural and Political Roots, 1690–1860* (New York, 1998). On the political significance of speculative finance in early national America, see Stanley Elkins and Eric McKitrick, *The Age of Federalism: The Early American Republic, 1788–1800* (New York, 1994).

[15] An abstract, mediated character is a feature of all capitalist exchange relations. See Moishe Postone, *Time, Labor, and Social Domination: A Reinterpretation of Marx's Critical Theory* (New York, 1996). On the tendency of speculative finance, or "fictitious capital," to alter the geographical and temporal bases of capitalist production and exchange, see David Harvey, *The Limits to Capital* (New York, 1982).

[16] For an overview of contemporary finance capitalism, see David Held, ed., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, and Culture* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1999).

[17] *Fictitious Dealings*, 246.

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management—to the backbone of the American economy. Illuminating the intellectual stakes of immaterial commodity exchange draws upon scholarship that addresses the growing concern with contingency and probability in turn-of the-century American thought.[18] At stake, however, is not an episode in the history of philosophy (the revolt against formalism and the rise of pragmatism), but rather the epistemological dimensions of a crisis in political economy.[19] Yet to dwell on ideas is not to obscure what was palpably a contest over socially meaningful power. For contemporaries, the two were hardly distinct.

It was, finally, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., who decided the legitimacy of futures trading. In 1905, Holmes delivered the majority opinion in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Board of Trade v. Christie*, elaborating his own version of "contemplating delivery," which declared futures trading not only legal but also desirable.[20] Understanding how Holmes grappled with the philosophical issues at stake entails addressing his intellectual milieu, one in which the relationship between thoughts and things, present and future, seemed especially pressing. That leads to the American philosopher William James, Holmes's friend and fellow intellectual traveler, whose thought further clarifies the novel epistemological logic of futures. In the middle ground—between the farmer and the philosopher—was Holmes.

IN THE 1870S, TRADERS DEVELOPED A FORM OF COMMODITY EXCHANGE that eliminated the need for a physical object of sale—the method of "setting off." In the pits, a buyer and seller would enter a contract on a given day, say May 1, for the delivery of a specified quantity of a good, say 45,000 bushels of wheat, at a specified price (the subsequent "contract price"), and at a specified future date, say September 1. But they would not consummate the transaction with physical delivery on the 1st of September: there was neither a distribution of goods nor a transfer of title. Instead, dealers in futures would execute contracts by "setting off" the price differential between the original "contract price" and that day's "market price" in the pit. And traders could "set off" any time before the putative date of physical delivery—one week later, one day later, one minute later. To "sell short" was to bargain that the market would fall; to "go long" was to predict a rise.[21] Accordingly, contemporaries referred to futures contracts as "time contracts" that dealt not in commodities but

[18] See Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club* (New York, 2001), and, especially on the matter of probability, Ian Hacking, *The Taming of Chance* (New York, 1990).

[19] James Livingston has noted an epistemological shift in the political economy and culture of the U.S. during these years. His focus, however, is the corporation and the construction of a new "social self." See Livingston, *Pragmatism and the Political Economy of Cultural Revolution, 1850–1940* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1997).

[20] *Board of Trade v. Christie*, 198 U.S. 236 (1905).

[21] So, for example, suppose that on May 1, trader A sold to trader B 45,000 bushels of "September wheat" at $10 per bushel. Then, come September 1, the price of "September wheat" fell to $8 per bushel. If need be, trader A could have gone into the pit and purchased 45,000 bushels of "September wheat" from a third-party, trader C, at $8 per bushel. Trader A would have delivered that contract to trader B. Trader B would have paid trader A the "contract price" of $10 per bushel, and so trader A, by this practice of "selling short," would have profited $2 by a factor of 45,000 bushels, or $90,000. If the price had instead risen to $12, trader B would have stood to profit by $90,000 on his "long" position. Eventually, traders dispensed with trader C altogether, and simply "set off" on the difference between contract price and market price.

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in imagined "differences."[22] In other words, this was not trade through geographic space, but rather trade simply in increments of time—trade in objects lacking material properties. Futures trading was therefore a labor of continual abstraction.

How did futures trading in imagined goods correspond with the physical economy of goods? The enterprise of one prominent dealer in futures, Andrew J. Sawyer, reveals the mysteries of the pits, shedding light on both the inner workings and the transformative economic implications of futures. Sawyer testified before the House Committee on Agriculture in February 1892.[23] Called to explain how futures worked and well qualified to do so, Sawyer resided in Minneapolis and was a member of the two Minnesota exchanges—the Duluth Board of Trade and the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce—as well as the Chicago Board of Trade. In 1881, he had been the first president of the Duluth Board of Trade. He was also the proprietor of a 5,000-acre wheat farm in Minnesota, and ran one of the largest grain elevator operations in the Northwest. He had commission houses in Minneapolis, Duluth, and Buffalo, and a broker who bought and sold for him on the New York Produce Exchange. He conducted his banking in Boston. Sawyer's business ventures encompassed all of the disparate aspects of commodity exchange—both the incorporeal exchange of futures trading and the physical arena of production and distribution—at a time of intensifying competition between merchants on each side of the divide.

Sawyer dealt exclusively in wheat, the prototypical cash crop of the West.[24] Harvest season began in July, and when the crop was ready to move, his 175 country elevators began to take in wheat from northwestern farmers. Once Sawyer had purchased the wheat, it was destined for either Duluth or Minneapolis. From Minneapolis, he sold to local millers, or to commission merchants at the Chamber of Commerce. Duluth, however, situated on Lake Superior, was an export market. Sawyer telegraphed his agents in Chicago, New York, and Europe to determine the going prices in a truly global market: Montreal, Liverpool, Paris, Antwerp, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Calcutta, Winnipeg, and Buenos Aires, among others, were all possible destinations for, or competitors in, his product.[25]

Sawyer testified that futures markets entered his business only when none of the "markets of the world" could take his wheat. "Suppose we are handling 100,000 bushels a day and we can sell in Minneapolis, Buffalo, Montreal, or New York only 75,000 bushels a day . . . We have then 25,000 bushels left on our hands which we can not sell, there being no market for it." Sawyer wanted to hold the 25,000 bushels back until the market became liquid. And if six months later the price had plummeted

[22] See, for one example of "time contracts," *Barnard v. Backhaus*, 52 Wisc. 593 (1881), 599, and, for trading in "differences," *Fictitious Dealings*, 202.

[23] The description of Sawyer's business throughout this section is taken from *Fictitious Dealings*, 29–40, 64–71.

[24] Approximately 70 percent of the acreage in Minnesota and the Dakotas in the early 1890s was in wheat, and 85 percent of that wheat was exported. See C. Knick Harley, "Transportation, the World Wheat Trade, and the Kuznets Cycle, 1850–1913," *Explorations in Economic History* 17, no. 3 (1980): 232.

[25] Henry Demarest Lloyd reported that at the New York Produce Exchange, orders were received from London, Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, Cork, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Zurich, Le Havre, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Berlin, and Hamburg. Lloyd, "Making Bread Dear," 121. On the formation of a world market for agricultural products between 1876 and 1913, see Ronald Findlay and Kevin H. O'Rourke, "Commodity Market Integration, 1500–2000," in Michael D. Bordo, Alan M. Taylor, and Jeffrey G. Williamson, eds., *Globalization in Historical Perspective* (Chicago, 2003), 41–43.

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even further, he wanted to "protect" himself from such a decline. His solution was to sell wheat for future delivery to buyers in the pit of the Chicago Board of Trade. But Sawyer never delivered wheat to Chicago. Instead, these sales were "set off" on or before the putative date of delivery. If that day's "market price" was less than the original "contract price," Sawyer had profited. He thus had working capital to continue to store his wheat (or to produce more of it) while holding it back from a declining market. If the "market price" was greater than the original "contract price," Sawyer had lost. But in that event, his losses would be offset by the actual sale of his 25,000 bushels of wheat back in Minnesota. Sawyer used the board to "insure" his wheat in storage—a form of hedging, or risk management. Dematerialized by the pits, he used commodity exchanges at the Chicago Board of Trade to finance his farming and distribution of wheat in Minnesota. In February of 1892, Sawyer had 4 million bushels of wheat stored in Minneapolis because of a tepid world market, while selling 15 million bushels of wheat in futures to Chicago.[26] He never delivered a speck of wheat to Chicago, although he performed most of his commodity exchanges on the Chicago Board of Trade, because the board had a class of pure speculators, the necessary attendant of any financial market, who provided sufficient liquidity for the volume of his futures transactions. In 1888, for instance, American farmers harvested 415 million bushels of wheat. That year, one contemporary estimated, there were some 25,000 trillion bushels of wheat sold in futures contracts in the United States that were "set off," never delivered.[27]

Sawyer's business grew out of a series of innovations first combined in Chicago after the Civil War: agricultural production was already thoroughly capitalistic; the railroad integrated city and hinterland; the steam-power grading system of elevator storage replaced selling by physical sample; the telegraph provided near-instantaneous communication. By 1868, traders in the Chicago pits had ceased to exchange physical commodities and had begun to exchange "elevator receipts," which denoted title to a quantity and "grade" of a physical commodity stored in the city's sprawling network of elevators. Technically, each receipt could be taken out from the pit and redeemed at an elevator. But this system still had a lingering physical foundation: the actual presence of the commodities transacted upon in Chicago.[28] At some point in the 1870s, Chicago traders stopped transferring not only physical commodities, but elevator receipts as well. Other exchanges followed a similar trajectory. The minutes of the Board of Managers meeting at the New York Produce Exchange on April 5, 1877, reported a revision in a "Supplementary Rule," whereby "on sales of graded grain, the tender of elevator receipts of the grade sold, having a free delivery afloat, shall constitute a delivery of the grain as between sellers and buyers." Six weeks later, the New York exchange dispensed with the transfer of elevator receipts. Futures trading came to Sawyer's Minnesota exchanges sometime in the 1880s. The

[26] *Fictitious Dealings*, 31, 37–38.

[27] Any precise number is an educated guess. Judge Wilbur F. Boyle of St. Louis calculated that estimate. Boyle compiled the volume of futures trades from all the U.S. exchanges. The only exchange that did not keep figures was the Chicago Board of Trade, but Boyle computed a number for Chicago by extrapolating from the volume of grain delivered to Chicago and from the widespread belief that futures trading in Chicago was "fifteen times" greater than in St. Louis. *Fictitious Dealings*, 245. See also the very similar calculations of Rühland, *The Ruin of the World's Agriculture and Trade*, 5.

[28] See Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 97–148.

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German scholar G. Rühland estimated that it was in "1888 that the fictitious dealings in grain futures became a complete uniform organization extending all over the world."[29] The speed and volume of transactions exploded, as futures were now repeatedly bought, sold, and then "set off" in a dizzying cycle. The Chicago wheat pit, which opened at 9:15 A.M., began to close at 1:15 P.M., and until 4:00 P.M. a group of "settlement clerks" gathered to account for that day's increasingly complex web of transactions. Provided with sufficient capital liquidity and volatility in price, two members of the board could now trade 1 million bushels of wheat back and forth to each other a hundred times an hour, "setting off" each individual transaction. Written contracts, in turn, became too cumbersome. Traders (by 1900 in Chicago, upward of 1,800 individuals) stalked the pits, instantly consummating transactions on immaterial commodities with a knuckle tap or a single chalk mark.[30] (See Figure 2.)

By the late 1880s, the wheat belt had spread west, and more bushels of wheat moved through Minneapolis, and often Duluth, in a given year than through Chicago. (See Table 1.) Yet financial transactions in wheat remained rooted in the Chicago pit. Futures had transformed the space-time of the economy. The telegraph was a crucial innovation. Wiring his trades from his office in Minneapolis, Sawyer never set foot in Chicago. The new system spread from Chicago to the other new U.S. exchanges—from Baltimore to San Francisco, and from New Orleans to Duluth. And futures encompassed more than wheat; a profusion of goods—horses, mules, cows, oxen, sheep, swine, pork, lard, beef, dairy, tallow, greases, barley, hops, corn, oats, rye, flax seed, clover seed, hay, cotton, coffee, straw, vegetable oils, butter, cheese, oil, gas, petroleum—entered the new system of exchange.[31] By 1890, anyone with access to a broker on an organized commodities exchange could sell, or buy, a product for future delivery, only to "set off" the transaction at a profit or loss. Therefore, access to the physical commodities themselves was no longer a prerequisite for transacting upon them. Sawyer, in fact, had his own brokerage business in Minnesota. (See Figure 1.)

Abstract forms of capitalist exchange, of course, were not born in the pits of the postbellum United States. The transactional innovation of "setting off" had episodic precedents in the early modern world. For instance, there was the Dutch tulip mania of 1634–1635, when at one extraordinary moment, speculative trading in the flower

[29] Minutes, April 5, 1877, Board of Managers, New York Produce Exchange, Archives of the New York Historical Society; Rühland, *The Ruin of the World's Agriculture and Trade*, 47. Yet even the greatest nineteenth-century scholar of futures markets, Henry Crosby Emery, admitted that "It is difficult to say how early dealings in 'futures' in the United States began." Emery, *Speculation*, 40. But the 1870s and early 1880s appear to be the likely period. Speculation in the petroleum trade had begun in 1873. Even more indicative, the first U.S. clearinghouse to "set off" multiple transactions at once appeared in Chicago in 1884. The first clearinghouse in produce was actually adopted in Liverpool in cotton in 1876. See Emery, *Speculation*, 41, 69. Economist Jeffrey C. Williams contends that futures trading, in effect, was present as early as 1848. Williams, "The Origins of Futures Markets," *Agricultural History* 56, no. 1 (1982): 306–316.

[30] The organized exchanges were tight-lipped about trading practices in the public record, but fantastical descriptions of trading can be found in legal testimony. See especially the testimony throughout in U.S. Supreme Court Briefs and Records, no. 280, *Board of Trade*, 198 U.S. 236, which totals 1,562 pages. Also *Fictitious Dealings*, and Emery, *Speculation*, 32–74.

[31] For a listing of commodities traded, see Board of Trade of the City of Chicago, *The Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago for the Year Ending December 31st, 1892* (Chicago, 1893), 2–249.

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FIGURE 2: "A flurry in wheat at the Chicago Board of Trade," 1880. Reprinted from *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, October 1880, 725.

split off from the physical supply. Yet early modern commodity markets ultimately still depended upon physical delivery, without which they collapsed. In the nineteenth-century securities market of New York City, brokers sometimes traded securities for future delivery, and less commonly set them off.[32] But with the arrival of commodities futures in the 1870s, the seemingly most solid had truly melted into air. A new class of speculators emerged—"scalpers"; unlike Sawyer (the farmer/merchant/futures trader), they practiced nothing but trading commodities extant only in their minds, often on behalf of ordinary citizens. Scalpers *never* delivered commodities. And in contrast to the financial transactions of the English South Sea Bubble or of nineteenth-century Wall Street, the supposed objects of exchange were

[32] The Amsterdam "Bourse" of the seventeenth-century Netherlands was described by the Sephardic Jew Joseph de la Vega in his *Confusion de Confusiones* of 1688. On the tulip mania, see Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 343–371. Negotiable financial instruments were not unfamiliar to early modern Britain, either, but were mostly in the form of stocks and bonds, not commodities. See Banner, *Anglo-American Securities Regulation*. On the market in securities and bonds in antebellum New York, see Walter Werner and Steven T. Smith, *Wall Street* (New York, 1991).

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TABLE 1
Receipts of Wheat at Chicago, Duluth, and Minneapolis, 1880–1895, in Bushels

	1880	*1885*	*1890*	*1895*
Chicago Board of Trade	23,541,607	18,909,717	14,248,770	20,637,642
Duluth Board of Trade	2,987,629	14,869,675	15,341,402	49,599,373
Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce	10,264,100*	32,900,560	45,271,910	65,536,390

* Then the Minneapolis Board of Trade

SOURCES: Board of Trade of the City of Chicago, *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago for the Year Ended December 31, 1881* (Chicago, 1882), 25; Board of Trade, *Twenty-eighth Annual Report* (Chicago, 1886), 19; Board of Trade, *The Thirty-third Annual Report* (Chicago, 1891), 155; Board of Trade, *The Thirty-eighth Annual Report* (Chicago, 1896), 181; Board of Trade of Minneapolis, Minnesota, *Annual Report* (Minneapolis, 1891), 43.

not in paper stock certificates little understood by laymen. To the contrary, futures traders trafficked in the guts of the U.S. economy—agricultural production for the world market, the food on supper tables. As a spatial and temporal distinction emerged between the financial and distributional spheres of commodity exchange, the space-time of an increasingly global economy became fractured, recombined, and revolutionized by the men of the pits. Futures laid bare and profoundly intensified powerful but rarely visible tendencies of capitalism—abstracting, mediating, dissolving received notions of time and space.[33] In the pits, speculative trade in incorporeal things stood newly naked before the wider public.

The wider public, in fact, were active participants. The proliferation of "bucket shops" in the 1890s brought futures to the masses. Bucket shops were separate places of business from organized exchanges. Anyone could buy and sell futures at a bucket shop; one did not have to pay for a membership, or act through a broker who was a member, as in the pits. Transactions were between the proprietor of the shop and his or her customer, and one could deal in far less volume. Prices—mostly from commodity futures markets, but also from stock markets—were continually wired to the shops over the telegraph and marked on a giant blackboard. Bucket-shop customers simply wagered on the rise and fall.[34]

[33] See Postone, *Time, Labor, and Social Domination*, and Harvey, *The Limits to Capital*.

[34] For descriptions of bucket shops, see *Fictitious Dealings*, 53–59, 94, 125, 152, 165, 175, 180, 187, 230, 246, 281, 305; John Hill, Jr., *Gold Bricks of Speculation* (Chicago, 1904), 19–93; Patton Thomas, "Bucket Shops in Speculation," *Munsey's Magazine*, October 1900, 68–70; Teague, "Bucket Shop Sharks," pt. 1 (June), 723–725; pt. 2 (July), 33–43; pt. 3 (August), 245–254; pt. 4 (September), 398–408; C. C. Christie, "Bucket Shop vs. the Board of Trade," *Everybody's Magazine*, November 1906, 707–713; and Christie, *Shall the Chicago Board of Trade, Aided by the Kansas City Board of Trade, the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce and the New York Cotton Exchange, Be Allowed to FORM A TRUST in the Great Agricultural Staples of the United States? An Answer to Merrill A. Teague's Denunciation of Bucket-Shops* (Kansas City, 1906). The British traveler James Bryce noted in 1888 with reference to bucket-shopping in securities, "In many country towns there are small offices, commonly called 'bucket shops,' " whose clientele included "the whole community, not merely city people but also store keepers . . . even farmers, even domestic servants." Bryce quoted in Werner Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?* (White Plains, N.Y., 1976), 134. For the extant secondary literature on bucket shops, see Cedric B. Cowing, *Populists, Plungers, and Progressives: A Social History of Stock and Commodity Speculation, 1890–1936* (Princeton, N.J., 1965), 25–74, and Fabian, *Card Sharps*. At a typical bucket shop, customers placed a margin with the proprietor of the shop to secure the transaction. If the market went in the shop's favor, the transaction was closed out as soon as the fluctuation equaled the margin. If the market went in the customer's favor, he or she could close the transaction at will and collect the difference. Most

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Bucket-shop trading was a national phenomenon at the close of the nineteenth century, existing in at least thirty-three states, and in all regions.[35] Some shops were in large cities, perhaps appearing no different from organized exchanges, and even had national clienteles; but others were secretive, dimly lit, and seedy. (See Figure 3.) Bucket shops were always closing their doors under a cloud of suspicion regarding their financial solvency, and the presence of women in the shops was a common scandal.[36] (See Figure 4.) On the whole, bucket-shop trading was a rural phenomenon, centered in the West and South. Shops were located, for example, in Grand Forks, North Dakota; Elkhart, Indiana; Cumberland, Pennsylvania; and Winnsboro, South Carolina.[37] Many big-city firms specialized in "bucket" orders from "country" customers.[38] In 1895, the *New York Times* reported that one Chicago bucket-shop firm had twenty-seven "country" branch offices in cities as far-flung as Colfax, Iowa, and Boone, Nevada.[39] Bucket-shop trading was easy, according to one customer of "C.C. Christie & Company" of Kansas City:

I went to the office of the Christie Company on the morning of the 25th. I made two trades, one in May corn and one in July oats. I stepped up to the counter to a man whom I since know as Mason, and told him I wanted to buy a thousand bushels of corn at 39 1/8 and a thousand July oats at 23 5/8. Mason glanced up at the board and made out a ticket . . . there was nothing else said at the time the trade was opened.[40]

often it seems that customers wagered on rises, leaving the shop owners in a perpetual short position. This might account for the many closings of shops (if prices suddenly rose).

[35] Legal cases are the most effective register of the wide presence of bucket-shop trading in commodities futures. See, in Alabama, *Queen City Stock & Grain Co. v. Cunningham*, 29 So. 583 (1900); in Arkansas, *Fortenbury v. State*, 1 S.W. 58 (1886); in Colorado, *Pendleton v. Smissaert*, 29 P. 521 (Col. Ct. App. 1892); in Connecticut, *State v. Flint*, 28 A. 28 (1893); in the District of Columbia, *Lappin v. District of Columbia*, 22 App. D.C. 68 (D.C. Cir. 1903); in Georgia, *Dancy v. Phelan*, 10 S.E. 205 (1888); in Indiana, *Fleming v. Yost*, 36 N.E. 705 (1894); in Iowa, *People's Savings Bank of Des Moines v. Gifford*, 79 N.W. 63 (1899); in Kansas, *Carey v. Myers*, 141 P. 602 (1914); in Kentucky, *Smith v. Western Union Telegraph*, 2 S.W. 483 (1887); in Louisiana, *State ex. rel. v. Shakespeare*, 6 So. 592 (1889); in Michigan, *People v. Hess*, 48 N.W. 181 (1891); in Minnesota and North Dakota, *Merchants National Bank of Grand Forks v. Sullivan*, 65 N.W. 924 (1896); in Missouri, *State v. Crab*, 26 S.W. 548 (1894); in Nebraska, *Watte v. Wickerman*, 43 N.W. 249 (1889); in North Carolina, *State v. Clayton*, 50 S.E. 866 (1905); in Ohio, *Cone v. Bright*, 68 N.E. 3 (1903); in Oregon, *Mellott v. Downing*, 64 P. 393 (1901); in Pennsylvania and Maryland, *Baxter v. Deneen*, 57 A. 601 (Md. Ct. App. 1903); in Tennessee, *McGrew v. City Produce Exchange*, 4 S.W. 38 (1886); in Texas, *Goldstein v. the State*, 36 S.W. 278 (Tex. Ct. Crim. App. 1896); in Utah, *Overholt v. Burbridge*, 79 P. 561 (1905); and in Vermont, *State v. Corcoran*, 50 A. 1110 (1901). Merrill Teague's 1905 exposé of bucket-shop trading in *Munsey's* listed bucket-shop firms in numerous cities and towns in the United States. Teague, "Bucket Shop Sharks." State statutes confirm a presence in California, West Virginia, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and Mississippi; see T. Henry Dewey, *Legislation against Speculation and Gambling in the Forms of Trade, Including "Futures," "Options," and "Short Sales"* (New York, 1905), 13–14. The predominantly rural state of West Virginia actually had legislation condoning bucket shops.

[36] For instance, Teague, "Bucket Shop Sharks," pt. 2 (July), 41, and Sereno Pratt, *The Work of Wall Street* (New York, 1903), 381.

[37] Bucket shops in the East, whose heyday appears to have been after 1900, tended to deal more in stocks, while bucket shops in the West usually dealt in grain futures, and those in the South in cotton futures.

[38] Dewey, *Legislation against Speculation and Gambling*, 7.

[39] "Number of Bucket Shops Closed," *New York Times*, March 28, 1895.

[40] Quoted in Hill, *Gold Bricks*, 54.

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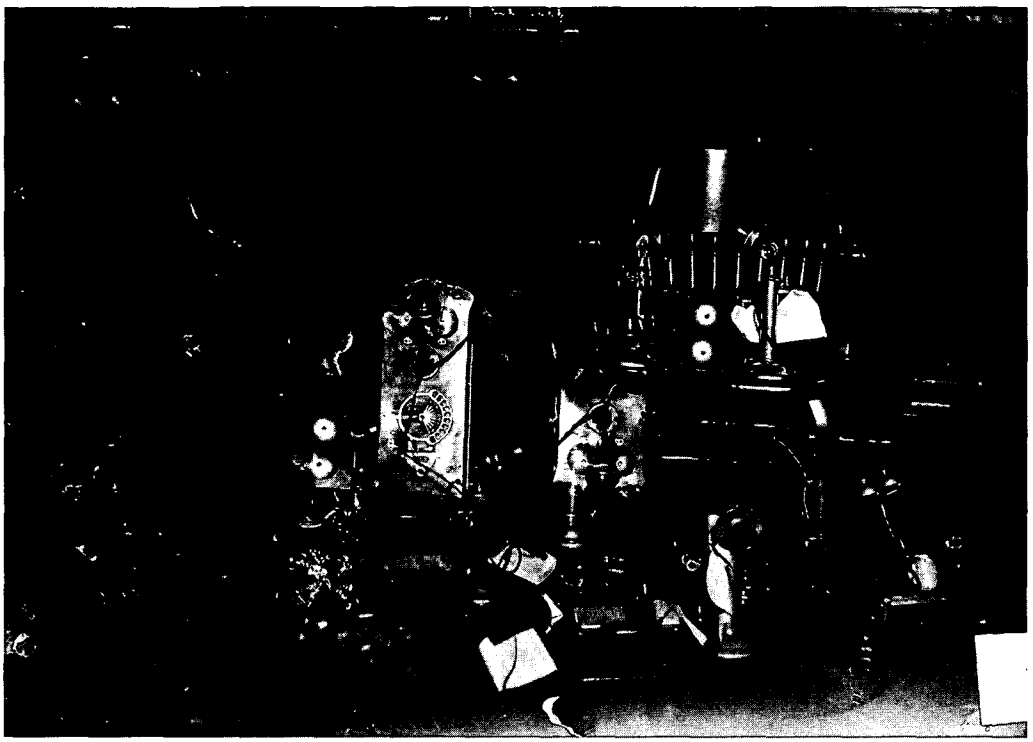


FIGURE 3: Inside a Chicago bucket shop, 1906. Reprinted from the Chicago Daily News negatives collection, Chicago History Museum, DN-0002971. Reproduced courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

That was how a great many ordinary Americans came in contact with the novel and complex world of impalpable commodity exchange, whose legitimacy hardly went uncontested.[41]

PUBLIC SCRUTINY OF FUTURES TRADING BEGAN IN COURTHOUSES. Organized exchanges were private institutions incorporated under state charters, each with rules governing members' transactions. A trade required a formal contract sanctioned by the organization wherein the language explicitly called for physical delivery.[42] Nowhere in the contract was the informal practice of "setting off" acknowledged. (See Figure 5.) The Illinois State Supreme Court invented the doctrine of "contemplating delivery" to test the legality of "setting off" in a series of cases decided in September of 1875. Each case was a principal-agent dispute between members of the Chicago Board of Trade who were trading futures as brokers on behalf of nonmember principals. In *Pickering v. Cease* (1875), for instance, Pickering was a member of the board who sold corn short for Cease in the corn pit of the Chicago Board. Pickering and Cease had a mutual understanding with their buyer that no transfer of a physical

[41] It is also how a great many Americans came in contact with speculative financial trading. On the lack of popular participation in formal securities markets until the 1920s, see Fraser, *Every Man a Speculator*, 389, 391.

[42] For the example of the Chicago Board of Trade's regulation of itself, see Lurie, *The Chicago Board of Trade*, 23–52.

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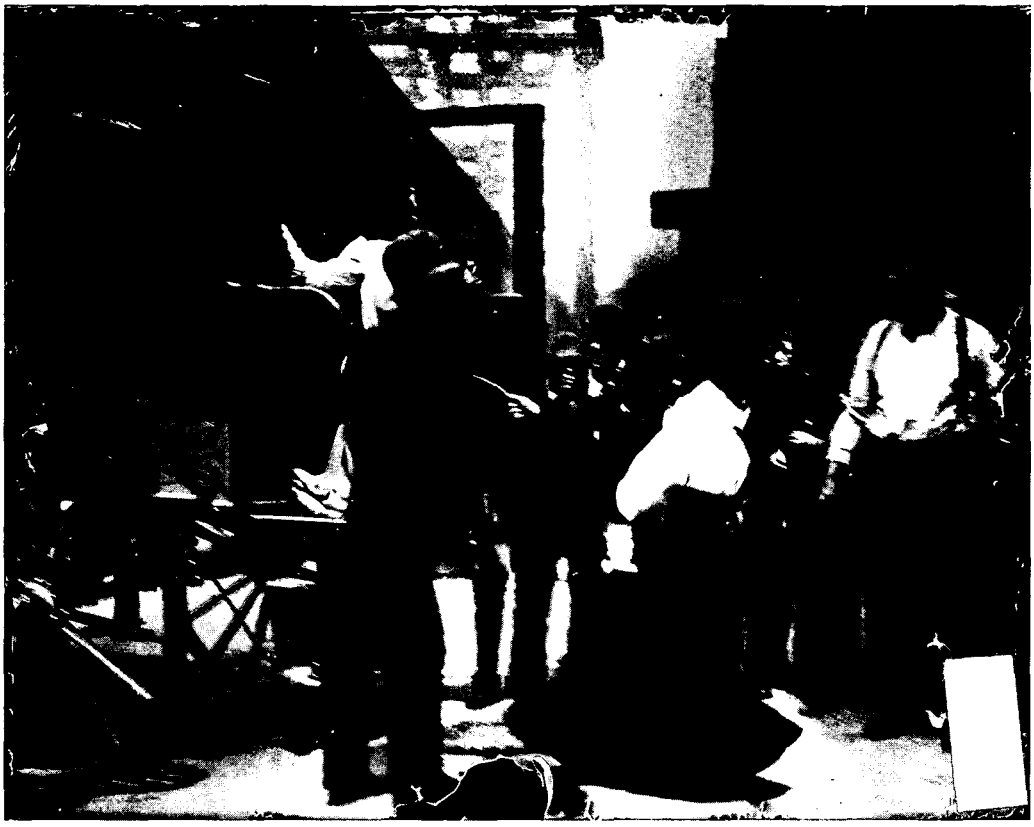


FIGURE 4: Women bucket-shop proprietors arrested during a police raid in Chicago, 1906. Reprinted from the Chicago Daily News negatives collection, Chicago History Museum, DN-0050170. Reproduced courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

commodity was ever to take place. On the putative date of delivery, Pickering did "set off" the contract in the pit, at a loss. Cease refused to compensate his broker. Pickering sued Cease for recovery.

Cease argued that because no transfer of a physical commodity ever occurred, no exchange ever really took place—the trade was "fictitious," and Pickering could not expect recovery.[43] Like so many defendants in this first round of cases, Cease was simply avoiding payment. Litigants were a diverse group—farmers, merchants, but also those with no prior experience in the grain business, much less in futures trading. Yet they each cast their lot in the new marketplace, lost, and then refused to pay the broker who had granted them access. To mount a legal defense, each invoked the long-standing principle—rooted in Anglo-American common law—alluded to by Cease: the legitimate exchange of a commodity required a foundation in the transfer of a corporeal good across space, not an imaginary one through time.[44] Thus, the legal probity of futures trading confronted the court with questions unmistakably epistemological in character.

[43] *Pickering v. Cease*, 79 Ill. 328 (1875), 329.

[44] On the common law of contract and wagering, see Roy Kreitner, "Speculations on Contract, or How Contract Law Stopped Worrying and Learned to Love Risk," *Columbia Law Review* 100, no. 4 (May 2000): 1096.

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Office of _____
New Orleans, day_____, month_____, 18_____
Bought for M_____
Of M_____
45,000 Ibs. In about One Hundred Square Bales Cotton, growth of the United States, deliverable from Press or Presses in the Port of New Orleans, between the first and last days of _____ next inclusive. The delivery within such time to be at seller's option, in lots of not less than fifty bales, upon five days' notice to buyers. The Cotton to be any grade from Strict Ordinary to Fair, inclusive, and if Stained, not below Good Originary, at the price of _____ cents per pound for Middling, with additions or deductions for other grades, according to the quotations of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange existing on the sixth (6) day previous to the day on which the delivery is due.
Either party to have the right to call for a margin as the variations of the market for like deliveries may warrant. And which margin shall be kept good.

FIGURE 5: Contract for future delivery at the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, at its founding in 1879. From Julius Aroni, *Futures* (New Orleans, La., 1882), 6.

The Illinois court in *Pickering* did not deny the legality of an executory contract, which required some future action, such as the delivery of a commodity, for its execution. The problem occurred when traders in the pits intended all along to set off contracts, circumventing physical delivery. Because no corporeal object of sale was existent to provide an objective foundation for the exchange, the court held that "the alleged purchases are purely fictitious," and thereby affirmed long-standing epistemological assumptions as requisite to public welfare. "Such contracts are void at common law, as being inhibited by a sound public morality."[45] The Illinois court, however, did not simply abolish futures trading altogether. Rather, in a group of cases decided along with *Pickering*, it formulated a judicial doctrine intended to balance "public morality" with the "legitimate purpose of commerce."[46]

That was the doctrine of contemplating delivery. First, the language of the contract had to call for physical delivery. Furthermore, at least one party had, cognitively, to "contemplate delivery" when *entering* the contract. If both parties foresaw executing the contract only by "setting off," the transaction was a "wagering con-

[45] *Pickering*, 79 Ill., 329. On "executory contracts," see Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 160–210. The court here was seemingly drawing upon notions of the "general welfare" explicated in William Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

[46] *Pixley v. Boynton*, 79 Ill. 351, 353.

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tract," unenforceable by law. Thus, paradoxically, so long as one trader contemplated the transfer of a corporeal object, the contract could be legally "set off" instead. It was a peculiar compromise, and crucial questions remained about the new doctrine's application. Where should the court look to establish the original intent to contemplate delivery?[47] Some courts said that the contract language calling for delivery was adequate. Shortly after *Pickering*, the Illinois court moved in this direction. Other state and federal courts invoked the same doctrine but enforced stricter standards. Such courts struck down agreements between brokers and their principals if the broker "set off" the contract in the pits, and if it was evident that no one could have reasonably contemplated the transfer of a physical commodity—that is, if traders never possessed the physical commodity, never intended to, and had no means to do so.[48]

After 1875, the doctrine of contemplating delivery swiftly appeared in courthouses throughout the country, as judges focused literally on the mindset of traders. The tide moved against those brokers who had no resources, other than an imaginative mind, to contemplate physical delivery.[49] The most powerful enunciation came from the Supreme Court of Wisconsin in *Barnard v. Backhaus* (1881), a case involving the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce. The court announced its "manifest duty" to "scrutinize closely these time contracts," to "determine whether they were really intended by the parties to be what their language imports—real contracts for the future sale and delivery of grain." Furthermore, the court had to "go behind or outside the words of the contract; to look into the facts and circumstances which attended the making of it, in order to ascertain whether it was intended as a bona fide purchase and sale of property." By this standard, the court refused to acknowledge the existence of the disputed transaction.[50]

The judiciary's regulatory reach had clear limits. Courts heard only principal-agent disputes between members of organized futures markets and nonmember principals. While the practice of "setting off" in the pits was at issue insofar as it affected brokers' contractual relations with their clients, controversies did not arise among members of exchanges themselves.[51] The 1884 U.S. Supreme Court case *Irwin v. Williar* (1884) was emblematic. In a dispute between a resident of Brazil, Indiana,

[47] On the problem of establishing intent, see Julius Aroni, *Futures* (New Orleans, La., 1882); T. Henry Dewey, *A Treatise on Contracts for Future Delivery and Commercial Wagers, Including "Options," "Futures," and "Short Sales"* (New York, 1886); Morton John Stevenson, "Gambling Contracts," *Michigan Law Journal* 35 (1897): 35–40; and Reitner, "Speculations on Contract," 1105.

[48] The case in which the Illinois court developed the doctrine of contemplating delivery and moved away from *Pickering* was *Pixley*, 79 Ill., 351. See also *Wolcott v. Heath*, 78 Ill. 433 (1875); *Sandborn v. Benedict*, 78 Ill. 309 (1875); and *Lyon v. Culbertson*, 83 Ill. 33 (1876).

[49] Prior to 1884, courts that interpreted traders' trading intentions as favorable to their interests included, in a Missouri federal appeals court, *Williams v. Tidemann*, 6 Mo. App. 269 (Mo. Ct. App., 1878); in New York, *Kingsbury v. Kirwan*, 77 N.Y. 612 (N.Y. Ct. App., 1879); and in Michigan, *Gregory v. Wendell*, 40 Mich. 432 (1879). Striking down futures trading for not adequately contemplating delivery were, in Nebraska, *Rudolf v. Winters*, 7 Neb. 125 (1878); in Kentucky, *Wallace v. Taggart*, 14 Bush 727 (Ken. Ct. App., 1879); and, once again, in Illinois, *Tenney v. Foote*, 4 Ill. App. 594 (Ill. Ct. App., 1879), and *Beveridge v. Hewitt*, 8 Ill. App. 467 (Ill. Ct. App., 1881); in Alabama, *Hawley v. Bibb*, 69 Ala. 52 (1881); in Iowa, *Melchert v. American Union Telegraph Co.*, 11 F. 193 (Cr. Ct., 1882); and in Kansas, *Cobb v. Prell*, 15 F. 774 (Cr. Ct., 1883).

[50] *Barnard*, 53 Wis., 600.

[51] Not coincidentally, the organized exchanges found it in their own interest to keep members' disputes out of the court. For the example of the Chicago Board of Trade, see Lurie, *The Chicago Board of Trade*, 23–52.

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and a member of the Baltimore Corn and Flour Exchange, Justice Stanley Matthews affirmed the strict standard of *Barnard*, but his ruling did not extend to transactions between pit traders themselves. After *Irwin*, the limits to the courts' doctrine became increasingly evident, as organized futures markets flourished and expanded. What made the courts' tepid intervention noteworthy was that it distilled the fundamental conceptual problem of futures trading: were objects existing only in the minds of pit traders fictitious or as real as bushels of grain moving through the physical economy?[52]

That question—whether traders' thoughts were tantamount to things—evoked rising controversy outside the courts in the 1880s and 1890s. The litigation that generated the doctrine of contemplating delivery involved no organized, collective effort to contest futures.[53] However, farmers' organizations mounted just such a campaign, and questioned as well the nature of economic reality. Agrarian vanguards of the Populist revolt had already assaulted (with mixed results) the constituent elements of the new system of commodity exchange—the railroad conglomerates, the grading system, and the grain elevators—by the time they turned a critical eye toward the pits in the late 1880s.[54] The 1891 meeting of the National Farmers' Alliance, which launched the Populist Party, advocated banning futures trading.[55] In 1892, Congressman William Hatch of Missouri and Senator William Washburn of Minnesota introduced bills that would tax futures trading out of existence. The congressional hearings *Fictitious Dealings in Agricultural Products* came in response to the Hatch bill.[56] Witnesses included representatives of the leading futures markets, farmers' organizations, and "handler" merchants—millers, wholesalers, retailers, and commission merchants, who, unlike pure speculators, actually "handled" physical commodities and often sided with the farmers. The very title *Fictitious Dealings* suggested

[52] *Irwin v. Williar*, 110 U.S. 499 (1884). Post-*Irwin* decisions unfavorable to brokers were, in Indiana, *Whitesides v. Hunt*, 97 Ind. 191 (1884); in Illinois, *Pearce v. Foote*, 113 Ill. 228 (1885); in Missouri, *Crawford v. Spencer*, 4 S.W. 713 (1887); the Supreme Court decision *Embrey v. Jemison*, 131 U.S. 336 (1889); in Ohio, *Kahn v. Walton*, 20 N.E. 203 (1889), and *Lester v. Buel*, 30 N.E. 821 (1892); in Iowa, *First National Bank of Creston v. Carrole*, 45 N.W. 304 (1890); in Maryland, *Billingslea v. Smith*, 26 A. 1077 (Md. Ct. App., 1893); in Missouri, *Connor v. Black*, 24 S.W. 184 (1893); and in Tennessee, *McGrew v. City Produce Exchange*, 4 S.W. 38 (1886).

[53] In response to farmers' agitation, a few state legislatures passed laws purportedly banning futures trading in the 1880s. Yet state courts often interpreted them according to their own, more lenient standard of "contemplating delivery," effectively nullifying their intent. On state laws, Dewey, *Legislation against Speculation and Gambling*, 13, 14, and Carl Parker, "Governmental Regulation in Produce Markets," in Johnson, *American Produce Exchange Markets*, 126–155. For an example of state courts' nullifying the intent of the law through invoking "contemplating delivery" by fiat, see *Fortenbury v. State*, 1 S.W. 58 (1886). A process similar to what occurred in Arkansas took place in Illinois; see Dewey, *A Treatise on Contracts*, 104.

[54] See, for one example of agitation against futures by state farmers' organizations, Sawyer's home state of Minnesota, *The Minnesota State Farmers' Alliance: Constitution and By-laws, Declaration of Principles, Resolutions, Officials, Etc.* (St. Paul, Minn., 1890), 15.

[55] The ban in the Omaha platform was the culmination of previous national alliance meetings that had also condemned futures. See *Proceedings of the Annual Session of the Farmers and Laborers Union of America at St. Louis, Mo., December 3 to 7, 1889* (Washington, D.C., 1890), 51; *Proceedings of the Annual Session of the Farmers and Industrial Union at Ocala, Florida, December 2 to 8, 1890* (Washington, D.C., 1891), 33; and *Proceedings of the National Farmers' Alliance Eleventh Annual Meeting, Omaha, Nebraska, January 27, 28, and 29, 1891* (Des Moines, Iowa, 1891), 5.

[56] The Senate held hearings as well. Representatives of the exchanges reiterated these themes before the Senate. See *Dealings in "Options" and "Futures": Protests, Memorials and Arguments against Bills Introduced in the Fifty-second Congress, Issued by the New York Cotton Exchange, New Orleans Cotton Exchange, Board of Trade of the City of Chicago, New York Produce Exchange* (New York, 1892), 1–135.

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the contested legitimacy of a seemingly metaphysical economy; questions of perception, cognition, the real versus the imaginary, dominated the discussion.

Preeminent during the hearings were two interrelated questions: Was futures trading "fictitious" dealing or "real" commerce? Was the practice of "setting off" a kind of "real" work, or were dealers playing with "imagined differences" in their own minds? "Settling on differences" was simply "not legitimate trading," protested critics such as Wilbur F. Boyle of St. Louis, a former judge employed by the National Alliance of Farmers and Industrial Laborers. "Certainly no one can claim a right to sell that which he not only does not own, but never intends to acquire, and consequently never intends to deliver; for in that case he is selling that which nobody owns, and which, in the nature of things, has no real existence." For critics, commodity exchange should bear no resemblance to the abstractions of finance capital, and precedents from the world of stocks and bonds were dangerous. To C. Wood Davis, a "handler" from Wichita, the dealer's "evil" was trading in "contracts instead of commodities." J. H. Brigham, master of the National Grange, criticized futures dealers for even attempting to price a commodity prior to its material embodiment. "These men come into the market and fix prices before there is a living soul who knows what the supply is. They can not know that; they do not know it." Farmers claimed that farm prices plummeted because futures dealers loaded the market with products that were "fictitious," "unnatural," "fiat," "phantom," "air," and "wind." As one handler complained, "Mr. Sawyer loads the market with double quantities of wheat, one being the real grain shipped to and sold in New York and other Eastern markets, and an equal quantity of phantom wheat sold in Chicago." The remedy proposed by farmers and handlers was that traders must buy and sell corporeal commodities that they possessed and meant to distribute—things, as a Populist senator later stated, "actually in sight." That was all it could mean to "contemplate delivery," which meant an end to futures trading.[57]

More than falling prices were at stake. The pits, where futures commodities were marketed without the farmer's consent, had abrogated the independent producer's dominion over his product, his right to negotiate the sale of his own property. As Davis put it, Sawyer's sales "were sales of Minnesota wind instead of Minnesota wheat, and yet help determine the price the Ohio farmer shall receive for his wheat." A principle as "old as civilization" was that the "the owner of property is the one who shall determine its prices." Farmers (and handlers) wanted access to the forum where commodity prices were determined; exclusion was a usurpation of a long-held right. A Missouri handler in pork and beef went so far as to avow, "the short seller to-day is the anarchist of America." Many witnesses decried operations in the pits as a violation of a protective tariff, with American farmers protected from Argentine and Indian wheat but competing with Sawyer's "wind" wheat, and with the pits representing something akin to a foreign country.[58]

Representatives of organized exchanges responded that futures trading remained adequately rooted in the physical economy and posed no peril to market laws. A

[57] *Fictitious Dealings*, 235, 282, 260, 268, 190; Senate Committee on Agriculture, *Agricultural Depression*, 33.

[58] *Fictitious Dealings*, 282, 297, 48. Charles Pillsbury also leveled the "anarchist" accusations; ibid., 207. On violating the protective tariff, see ibid., 246, 296.

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Chicago dealer, admitting that the volume of futures commodities dwarfed the actual grain received in Chicago in 1891, nonetheless insisted that there was a "legitimate basis all the time for our business." Others said that only "real" events—the condition of the French crop, the curtailing of Russian exports, or the weather in California—determined futures prices, not whatever whims were in traders' minds. An extreme version of "contemplating delivery" informed another line of argument. The acting president of the Chicago Board of Trade declared that "a sacred and exact observance of contracts is insisted upon" where "actual delivery was contemplated." Here was a groundbreaking notion—that "setting off" constituted a form of delivery as "real" and "legitimate" as the physical distribution of a corporeal commodity. So when a Michigan congressman described "setting off" as evidence that "there is never any grain delivered" in the majority of commodity exchanges, a New York futures dealer retorted, "I beg your pardon sir, it is delivered." Two very different notions of what constituted actual delivery, a "real" economy, were on the table.[59]

Yet dealers knew well that their transactions were detached from the space-time of the physical economy. They warned that if Congress eradicated futures in the United States, the business would simply move to the other futures markets of the world: Liverpool, Le Havre, Bremen, or perhaps elsewhere. Sawyer's capital was mobile. Unlike his wheat, it could reach any marketplace in the world through the telegraph. A New Orleans trader of cotton futures was blunt: "The world is not going to cease trading and speculating in the great staples in deference to any sentimental idea, and if it can not be done in New York, New Orleans, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and San Francisco, it will be done where no such absurd notions exist." Legislators could tax futures dealing out of existence in the United States, but not the world over. As another New Orleans cotton trader put it, "Would the members of the British Parliament legislate their exchanges out of existence to gratify the American Congress? I do not think it likely." In that event, "People would transfer the operations immediately to Europe."[60] The quandary presaged one apparent in current global political economy: the regulatory capacity of state actors in a global economy that transcends national borders.[61] In the end, the dealers' point was a simple one. Whether futures trading took place in Chicago, San Francisco, or Buenos Aires, it was of a piece with, subservient to, physical production, distribution, and consumption. The objects of "setting off" were "real" because futures trading was real work.

But to producers and handlers, such an abstract endeavor was not work; it was play. According to a St. Louis handler, the dealer—like any other "gambler"—was simply "living from the game." Likewise, a St. Louis merchant argued that the dealer in imaginary sales simply "plays for the pleasure." At issue was the meaning of mental labor. Politically adroit, producers drew a line not between manual and mental labor, but between handlers and dealers. J. H. Powers, president of the National Farmers' Alliance, voiced the distinction at the 1891 alliance meeting, identifying "two departments" of the nation's industry: "those that consist principally of manual labor"

[59] Ibid., 22, 157, 124. John W. Labouisse of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange and Dennison Smith of the Toledo Board of Trade made arguments similar to Kneeland's, finding no epistemological distinction to be made between physical delivery and "setting off." Ibid., 98, 224.

[60] Ibid., 129, 101.

[61] See Held, *Global Transformations*, 182.

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and "those which depend for success chiefly on systematic and continued mental training." No doubt "the actual producer" was "the true worker." Yet among mental laborers, some increased "the actual wealth of the world," and others did not. At the 1892 hearings, farmers defined handlers as legitimate mental workers, but not futures traders. Glorifying the economy of corporeal goods, farmers and handlers denigrated futures trading as a form of play that imagined differences between commodities that did not exist.[62]

The dealers denied that their labor was play; it was a "science," based on probability and statistics, requiring "intelligence" and "great skill."[63] Above all, they claimed that futures amounted to "insurance."[64] By invoking insurance—which connoted sobriety, temperance, and protection—the dealers shifted the debate from a zero-sum game of wealth creation to the standard of utility. Through "hedging," dealers reiterated, speculation ultimately insured against giant fluctuations in the market.[65] Sawyer described his Chicago futures trading as "protection" for his Minnesota handling business, which "insures me against loss."[66] Certainly, some individuals did nothing but speculate for gain, sometimes recklessly; still, they provided necessary liquidity so that the market could smoothly signal forward prices to producers, handlers, and, most of all, consumers.[67] Attuned to the fundamental principles of insurance, the shifting and spreading of risk, some critics conceded that futures trading offered protection, but only to speculators and large-scale proprietors. "Should not the [American] farmer have that protection and insurance?" C. Wood Davis asked. Futures shifted all the risks of worldwide production and distribution to the American producer, he argued.

> No sooner does the European buy a cargo of wheat or cotton in India, Russia, or elsewhere than he sells a like quantity "short" in New York and New Orleans through some commission house, and in case the price goes down in consequence of these insuring "short sales," on top of the enormous sales and offerings of the "professional" American "short seller," the loss falls upon the American farmer, while the British merchant has a profit on his "short sales."[68]

The key question, then, was insurance for whom? In a capitalist economy—one that generated, and fed off, conditions of profound uncertainty—risk-management institutions were critical, and in a democracy, such institutions were subject to popular

[62] *Fictitious Dealings*, 53, 150; *Proceedings of the National Farmers' Alliance Eleventh Annual Meeting*, 1. On the issue of play, see also *Fictitious Dealings*, 202, 210, 311, 330, and Lloyd, "Making Bread Dear," 119.

[63] On futures trading as "intelligent," and thus real work, see *Fictitious Dealings*, 122, 158, and Denslow, "Board of Trade Morality," 375–376.

[64] On the professionalization of speculation in general, see also Fabian, *Card Sharps*, 188, 191, 195; Cowing, *Populists, Plungers, and Progressives*, 28–30; and Fraser, *Every Man a Speculator*, 251. The insurance argument mirrored many of the same defenses of "speculation" that appeared in academic circles and the popular press at this time. See Denslow, "Board of Trade Morality," 377; Charles A. Conant, "The Uses of Speculation," *The Forum*, August 1901, 712; Emery, *Speculation*, 100; Emery, "The Place of the Speculator in the Theory of Distribution," *Publications of the American Economic Association* 1, no. 1 (Feb. 1900): 103–122; "The Value of Speculation," *Wall Street Journal*, April 13, 1903; and Arthur T. Hadley, *Economics: An Account of the Relations between Private Property and Public Welfare* (New York, 1904), 122.

[65] On the insurance of "society" as a whole, see *Fictitious Dealings*, 139, 215, 227.

[66] Ibid., 67.

[67] Futures dealers often interjected "consumers" as a class that distribution should be subservient to over producers. Ibid., 21, 284.

[68] Ibid., 289.

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pressure. Who would bear the risk burden generated by capitalistic production for a global market?[69] Small producers could not do so alone, and late-nineteenth-century futures markets were tools fit for large proprietors such as Sawyer, or purely speculative dealers who could financially withstand the recurrent bouts of speculative mania in the pits.[70] Many common farmers and handlers could not, and they were crowded out of the market.[71] Accordingly, the desired risk-management institution for agrarian radicals was not futures markets, but rather the state.[72]

The immediate goal of farmers and handlers, however, was abolishing futures trading, which, they believed, would restore their authority over their products, stem the fall in commodity prices, and more equitably shift the risks endemic to capitalism. They predicated their demands upon a market epistemology that distinguished between a thought and a thing, which required objective foundations for commodity exchange in a physical commodity. Each alternative to futures proposed by farmers—a return to sale by physical sample, cooperative marketing, and the infamous "subtreasury plan"—was consistent with that epistemology.[73] The 1892 Hatch bill passed the House by a vote of 167–46 and the Senate by a vote of 40–29. The opposition came from southern senators, who claimed to support the bill's purpose but viewed its tax-to-destroy method as an unconstitutional affront to states' rights. When senators from the South successfully passed amendments to the bill, the House had to vote again. But only a few days remained in the 52nd Congress, the speaker had placed the bill far down in the voting schedule, and a second House vote required a first vote to suspend an obscure parliamentary rule. The vote was 172–124, just short of the two-thirds requirement. Southern senators convinced enough members of the House to sway the vote. The Hatch bill died, and in the 1896 presidential election, the Populist revolt collapsed. The pits were saved.[74] Some of the peculiar features of American politics—the regionalism of the federal political structure and

[69] Others have commented on farmers' political responses to high-risk-bearing agriculture, although without focusing on the equity of futures markets as a risk-management institution. See Ann Mayhew, "A Reappraisal of the Causes of Farm Protest in the United States, 1870–1900," *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972): 464–476, and, for the original outlines of the argument, Douglass North, *Growth and Welfare in the American Past* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966).

[70] Farmers' marketing cooperatives were one alternative, but they struggled on account of deficiencies in liquid capital. The testimony of agrarian leader Charles Macune mentioned the lingering practice of sale by physical sample; *Fictitious Dealings*, 252–255. On the cooperative movement, see, for example, in Sawyer's home state of Minnesota, Steven Keillor, *Cooperative Commonwealth: Co-ops in Rural Minnesota, 1859–1939* (St. Paul, Minn., 2003).

[71] The added problem, besides the lack of a hedging mechanism, was the lack of funds for storage. In other words, small farmers were left with a one-month period to sell to the likes of Sawyer, who could then store the grain while purchasing a futures contract to hedge against it until the market rose.

[72] Under the Populists' "subtreasury plan," the government would provide warehouses and financial incentives for farmers to hold back their products from a depressed market, in effect internalizing risk on behalf of the farmer. See Macune's testimony in *Fictitious Dealings*, 252–255. In the twentieth century, farmers successfully lobbied for policies that involved greater state involvement in agricultural marketing. See Elizabeth Sanders, *Roots of Reform: Farmers, Workers, and the American State, 1877–1917* (Chicago, 1999).

[73] See Macune's testimony in *Fictitious Dealings*, 252–255.

[74] On the Hatch bill vote, see Cowing, *Populists, Plungers, and Progressives*, 18–22. The last hurrah in Congress for agrarian radicals critical of futures was the report on agricultural depression issued by Populist senator William A. Peffer. See Senate Committee on Agriculture, *Agricultural Depression*, 33. But see also the 1901 report of Congress's Industrial Commission, which included critical passages of speculation in futures. U.S. Industrial Commission, *Report of the Industrial Commission on the Distribution of Farm Products* (Washington, D.C., 1901), 189–225.

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the high stakes of winner-take-all presidential elections—coalesced to protect the pits. Yet the underlying moral and conceptual problems remained unresolved and returned to the courts.

HERE THE BUCKET SHOPS TOOK CENTER STAGE. Even as farmers' protests against the pits intensified in the late 1880s, the practice of bucket-shop trading grew more pervasive.[75] The organized futures exchanges thus confronted a new adversary, although, unlike producers, the bucket-shop traders advocated a form of commodity exchange not more but rather even less rooted in the physical economy of goods. What level of abstraction from the physical economy marked the threshold of illegitimacy? In 1905 that question came before the U.S. Supreme Court, the forum where what the organized exchanges termed the "bucket shop war" finally ended.

During the 1892 hearings, futures dealers had argued for a distinction between futures and bucket-shop trading, predicated upon the "contemplation of delivery" in the language of organized exchanges' contracts. Bucket-shop trades lacked that formal provision. However tenuous the distinction, it was the basis for the war between the pits and the bucket shops.[76] Futures traders attacked the shops as "gambling dens," while proprietors of bucket shops responded that transactions in the shops were no different from those in the pits. If bucket-shop trading was "gambling," then so was futures trading in the pits.[77] The organized exchanges had successfully warded off efforts to eradicate futures trading; now they fought efforts to democratize it.

Notably, farmers largely desisted from criticizing bucket shops, perhaps because the shops had mostly smaller customers. For small producers, bucket-shop trading may well have performed a "hedging" function, enabling them to stay afloat while they withheld goods from an illiquid market, thus preventing them from having to sell out to large handlers who would then use the pits for the same purpose.[78] One Cincinnati man wrote to the House Agricultural Committee, "It is singular that the bucket shop, which is pointed out as the nearest approach to gambling of all speculative operations[,] should be by all odds the safest from danger to the citizen."[79] The worst of all worlds for the small farmer would be organized futures markets without bucket shops.

As bucket shops competed with organized exchanges, futures traders campaigned to suppress them. "Bucket shops had sprung up in nearly every town and city, and

[75] For instance, in his exposé of bucket-shop trading in *Everybody's Magazine* in 1906, Merrill Teague estimated that the number of bucket shops increased from hundreds in the 1890s to easily thousands by the turn of the century. Teague, "Bucket Shop Sharks," pt. 4 (September), 407.

[76] For examples of dealers' critiques of bucket shops, see *Fictitious Dealings*, 176, 125, 180, 206. Many "handlers" characterized bucket shops and boards of trade as similarly illegitimate. According to Charles Pillsbury, "in the bucket shop perhaps 99 per cent of the trading is illegitimate," whereas in the pits, "90 per cent is illegitimate." Pillsbury, in *Fictitious Dealings*, 187.

[77] See Christie, *Shall the Chicago Board of Trade . . . Be Allowed?*, 14.

[78] Historians of bucket shops, such as Ann Fabian and Jonathan Lurie, tend to agree with the Chicago Board of Trade that bucket-shop trading was an immoral, unproductive form of gambling, whereas I argue that farmers most likely sensed their risk-management functions. See Fabian, *Card Sharps*, 150–203, and Lurie, *The Chicago Board of Trade*, 75–103, 168–199.

[79] *Fictitious Dealings*, 305.

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nearly all the trade was done in bucket shops," the president of the Chicago Board of Trade testified at the 1892 hearings. The Chicago Board "was about stranded for want of business," as much "legitimate" business had moved to the shops. And according to a New York trader, "Formerly, the farmers and small dealers throughout the country used to execute their orders on the exchanges of the country." But "owing to the development of telegraphic facilities they began trading through bucket shops, where no grain is received or delivered, or can be." He insisted that "If you crush out the bucket shops, the legitimate business of the country would be greatly benefited."[80] Conversely, bucket-shop proprietors maintained that their shops did handle physical commodities—in Christie's case, more than 300,000 bushels of wheat annually.[81] In a world of abstract commodity transactions, the organized exchanges ironically claimed that exchange should be restricted to specific spaces—the trading floors in their pits. Thus the bucket-shop war took shape: Did bucket-shop trades, like exchanges in the pits, ostensibly correspond to corporeal goods? Or, as the agrarian radicals claimed, were they *both* similarly detached from reality and similarly illegitimate?

Or, as some state legislatures maintained, were bucket shops simply "gambling dens"? Complicating the conflict between the pits and the bucket shops, states began passing "anti–bucket shop" and "anti-option" laws. At times the laws targeted bucket shops, at times all futures trading, and at times options trading.[82] Whereas futures were bilateral agreements requiring consummation prior to or on the date of final delivery, "options" contracts gave one party the "option" not to perform the transaction at all.[83] Members of organized exchanges publicly decried options as a form of "gambling" no different from bucket-shop trading because the language of options contracts did not require physical delivery. Options were formally banned in the pit, but options trading was common nonetheless—in the pits, on the street curbs, and after the market closed in the exchange hall itself.[84] It fell to the courts to interpret the legislation—such as the Illinois "anti-option" bill of 1887—according to the doc-

[80] Ibid., 125, 175. Davis accused organized exchanges of leveling the gambling charge at bucket shops for reasons of pure self-interest; ibid., 281.

[81] Christie, *Shall the Chicago Board of Trade . . . Be Allowed?*, 38.

[82] Agrarian radicals, whose real target was the pits, moved such laws through state capitals. Later, toward the turn of the century, precocious progressive reforms supported bills that supposedly attacked the "vice" of gambling in bucket shops, or of "options" in the pits. See Fabian, *Card Sharps*, 150–203. Illinois, Missouri, and Ohio were the states with laws explicitly banning "options." The anti–bucket shop laws of other states could have been interpreted to encompass options as well. See Dewey, *Legislation against Speculation and Gambling*, 13–14, for a compendium of these laws, which covered some twenty-one states and the Indian territory. See also Parker, "Governmental Regulation in Produce Markets."

[83] The distinctions between an option and a future were inordinately confusing to contemporaries. On the floor of the U.S. Congress in 1894, an attempt to define an "option" brought down laughter from the body. See *Anti-Option Legislation: Paternal Interference with Business, Speech of Hon. John De Witt Warner of New York in the House of Representatives, Monday, June 18, 1894* (Washington, D.C., 1894), 6.

[84] On the presence of options trading among members of organized exchanges, acknowledged by representatives of the exchanges, see *Fictitious Dealings*, 95, 167, 175, 182, 221, 245. See also Dewey, *A Treatise on Contracts*, 89. When the Chicago Board of Trade began its battle against the bucket shops, the exchange cracked down on options trading. Apparently, options sales were then wired to the Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce, where turn-of-the-century observers began citing a Milwaukee market for Chicago options. Legal trading in options would come first to Milwaukee in 1902. See "The Exchanges of Minneapolis, Duluth, Kansas City, Mo., Omaha, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Toledo," in Johnson, *American Produce Exchange Markets*, 251.

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trine of "contemplating delivery." The 1887 Illinois law condemned "pretended buying and selling," defined as a trade with no "intention" of "delivering the property sold."[85] For the courts, there were several alternatives: Abolish the bucket shops? Abolish options trading? Abolish the pits? Abolish them all?

The Chicago Board of Trade led the fight against bucket shops.[86] For access to the board's prices (and thus their existence), bucket shops were wholly dependent on telegraph companies. The board's legal strategy was to block companies from distributing prices to shops by claiming a property right in its prices. In 1889, the Illinois Supreme Court ruled against the board's claim, furthering the spread of bucket shops.[87] Finally, in 1899, the board and the Western Union telegraph company entered into a contract prohibiting price distribution to institutions identified by the board as bucket shops. C. C. Christie of the Christie Grain & Stock Company of Kansas City filed suit against the Chicago Board of Trade in February of 1900. Christie sought an injunction against the contract between the board and Western Union for restraint of trade.[88] The board sued Christie for employing spies in the pits to steal quotations, a charge that Christie denied.[89] At one point, the state and federal litigation descending from Christie's 1900 lawsuit encompassed forty-six cases. Consolidated as *Board of Trade v. Christie*, the conflict reached the U.S. Supreme Court in April 1905.[90]

Christie's legal strategy highlighted the abstractions of the pits and thereby challenged all American futures trading. Citing the 1887 Illinois legislation, Christie argued that it was, in fact, the Board of Trade that "kept the greatest of bucket shops . . . wherein is permitted the pretended buying and selling of grain, etc., without any intention of receiving and paying for the property so bought, or of delivering the property so sold."[91] If the Court accepted Christie's argument that traders in the pits never intended to perform physical delivery, it would seemingly have to either abolish or uphold both the shops and the pits. Christie wagered on the latter. Initially, the plan worked. In the federal trial court, explaining transactions in the pits, even the president of the board admitted under oath that "98 per cent., according to the weight of the testimony, are settled before the day of delivery by the parties paying and receiving the difference between the contract prices and the market prices"; and the Court expressly found that "the greater part of the dealings in futures . . . are bucket-shop transactions, and that they are permitted . . . in violation of the laws of

[85] Quoted in Dewey, *Legislation against Speculation and Gambling*, 52.

[86] It is a testament to the bucket shops' competitive strength that the organized exchanges, in great peril to their legal existence, pursued these disputes, especially after 1892. The Chicago Board led the campaign probably because it was the largest speculative market (with New York a solid second), both for hedging purchases and for what can only be described as gambling.

[87] *New York and Chicago Grain and Stock Exchange v. Chicago Board of Trade*, 19 N.E. 855 (1889).

[88] Christie's charge was threefold: the board was a monopolistic trust in violation of the federal Sherman Anti-Trust Act; the board's prices were infected with illegal conduct and so could be carried off by anyone; and the board's prices were cloaked with a public use, and should not be withheld from the citizenry. *Board of Trade*, 198 U.S., 236–246.

[89] See Teague, "Bucket Shop Sharks," pt. 2 (July), 40, and Christie, "Bucket Shop vs. the Board of Trade," 713.

[90] The nuances of the "bucket-shop war" narrative are necessarily truncated in my account. For a fuller treatment, see Lurie, *The Chicago Board of Trade*, 75–105, 168–199, and Fabian, *Card Sharps*, 153–203. *Board of Trade*, 198 U.S., 236.

[91] *Board of Trade*, 198 U.S., 246.

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Illinois"—a finding upheld by the appellate court.[92] The pits' lawyers had argued fruitlessly that their clients "contemplated delivery," whereas bucket-shop traders did not. But, as Christie had countered, "It is difficult for the average man to understand how the dealer who sells can make deliveries of, or how the dealer who buys can receive, what does not exist."[93] Of course, the lower court decisions were equally damning of bucket shops.[94] Christie, for his part, hoped the Supreme Court would acknowledge that bucket-shop trades were also conducted for "hedging" purposes, validating both the pits and the shops, and that the Illinois legislation would be annulled.[95] Meanwhile, a day before the Court was to announce its decision, the Chicago Board's lobbyists rushed a new anti–bucket shop/pro-futures bill through the Illinois Assembly, but farmers' advocates killed it. "Exciting scenes," reported the *New York Times*, "marked the defeat of the bill." As the assembly speaker "rapped for order," board lobbyists, "who had crowded in the Chamber, were ejected from the floor by the Sergeant at Arms."[96]

It thus fell, finally, to the Supreme Court and to Justice Holmes to determine the fundamental legality of futures.[97] Brusquely, Holmes resolved the question, upholding the legitimacy of trading in things with no corporeal existence: "A set-off is, in legal effect, a delivery." Thereafter, dealers in the pits called *Christie* the "Magna Carta" of their trade. Holmes explicitly acknowledged that at least three-quarters of all futures transactions involved "no physical handing over of any grain," but merely the practice of "setting off." Nevertheless, he ruled that setting off and physical delivery were one and the same: "Set-off has all the effects of delivery." Holmes's construction of contemplating delivery adopted the position advanced by pit traders ever since 1875. He held that the percentage of futures trades in which no physical commodities exchanged hands did not matter whatsoever, which amounted to condoning—once and for all—fictitious dealings in agricultural products. But not all fictitious dealings. Holmes also adopted the logic that distinguished between the pits and the shops, thereby nullifying the shops. Whereas futures trading performed the

[92] *Board of Trade v. O'Dell Commission*, 115 F. 574 (Ct. App., 1902), 587, 588. See also *Christie v. Board of Trade* 125 F. 161 (Ct. App., 1903), and *Board of Trade v. Donovan*, 121 F. 1012 (Ct. App., 1902).

[93] Christie, "Bucket Shop vs. the Board of Trade," 710.

[94] "When this species of gambling on the commercial and stock exchanges of the country ceases," that same district court held, "the bucket shops will disappear, and not before." *Board of Trade v. O'Dell Commission*, 115 F., 588.

[95] Christie, *Shall the Chicago Board of Trade . . . Be Allowed?*, 22.

[96] In an all-night session, the bill lost, 73–63. "Kills Board of Trade Bill," *New York Times*, May 8, 1905.

[97] On the widespread legal doctrinal influence of *Christie*, see "Nature and Validity of 'Hedging' Transactions on the Commodity Market," *American Law Reports* 20 (1920): 1422; "Validity of Transactions in Futures," *American Law Reports* 83 (1933): 522; J. C. McMath, "Puts and Calls and Board of Trade of Chicago," *Central Law Journal* 99 (April 1926): 114–115, J. C. Judson, "Validity of Transactions on the Board of Trade," *Illinois Law Review* 19 (April 1925): 644–658; and Edwin Patterson, "Hedging and Wagering on Produce Exchanges," *Yale Law Journal* 40, no. 6 (April 1931): 843–884. At the time, *Christie* was widely cited and extracted in a variety of academic, periodical, and print publications. See, for example, A. F. Lindley, "Essentials of an Effective Futures Market," *Journal of Farm Economics* 19, no. 1 (February 1937): 321–330; George F. Stone, "Board of Trade of the City of Chicago," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 38, no. 2 (September 1911): 189–205; and Teague, "Bucket Shop Sharks," pt. 4 (September), 408. For the immediate response, see "Sounds the Doom of Bucket Shops," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 9, 1905; "A Judicial Vindication," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 10, 1905; "Speculation According to the Supreme Court," *Wall Street Journal*, May 10, 1905; and "Justice Holmes Defends Board of Trade Speculation—Its Dealings Are Not Mere Wagers," *Washington Post*, May 9, 1905.

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FIGURE 6: A crowd gathers outside a police raid of a Chicago bucket shop, 1906. Reprinted from the Chicago Daily News negatives collection, Chicago History Museum, DN-0002973. Reproduced courtesy of the Chicago History Museum.

necessary labor of "hedging," bucket-shop trading was merely "speculation entered into for its own sake." Holmes held that the pits had a property right in their prices, and that in excluding bucket shops from access to the pits' prices, they effectively put them out of existence. (Armed with *Christie*, between May and December of 1905 the Chicago Board of Trade would successfully seek injunctions against 197 different bucket shops.)[98] (See Figure 6.) Of futures, Holmes wrote simply, "Speculation of this kind by competent men is the self-adjustment of society to the probable."[99]

That terse statement drew the ire of bucket-shop king C. C. Christie—the gist of a denunciation of pit traders that he issued immediately after Holmes's ruling came down: "I know now that this band of hypocrites are busy 'adjusting society to the probable.'"[100] Christie pointed to a seeming double standard—pit trading was competent social self-adjustment; bucket-shop trading was only useless speculation. The phrase that Christie fastened onto was indeed the pivot of Holmes's decision—one that spoke to a transformation in the epistemological foundations for buying and selling. Holmes validated the new speculation in immaterial commodities as practiced in the pits, and the idea of "self-adjustment of society to the probable" reflected his larger preoccupation with matters of probability and risk, matters in the future.

[98] Board of Trade of the City of Chicago, *The Forty-eighth Annual Report of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago for the Year Ended December 31st, 1905* (Chicago, 1906), xlix–li.

[99] *Board of Trade*, 198 U.S., 246–249.

[100] Christie, *Shall the Chicago Board of Trade . . . Be Allowed?*, 24.

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Years after *Christie*, Holmes wrote a letter revealing the schoolboy origins of his philosophical understanding of the contingent link between present and future. "Chauncey Wright[,] a nearly forgotten philosopher of real merit, taught me when young that I must not say *necessary* about the universe, that we don't know whether anything is necessary or not," Holmes recalled. "So that I describe myself as a *bet*-tabilitarian. I believe that we can *bet* on the behavior of the universe in its contract with us."[101] As a "*bet*tabilitarian," Holmes had applied this way of thinking to legal questions well before *Christie*. In 1881, in the *Common Law*, he introduced the still novel legal argument (through the example of a bale of cotton) that a contract was not only a mutual exchange, but also an assumption of future risk—a mix of *contract* with *bet*. "In the case of a binding contract that it shall rain tomorrow, the immediate legal effect of what the promissory does is, that he takes the risk of the event, within certain defined limits, as between himself and the promise. He does no more than when he promises to deliver a bale of cotton."[102] Already, decades before *Christie*, the import of futures contracts had Holmes mulling over the legal implications of "the probable." He did so again decisively in *Christie* in 1905: "Of course, in a modern market, contracts are not confined to sales for immediate delivery. People will endeavor to forecast the future, and to make agreements according to their prophecy." *Christie* had strong roots in a philosophical outlook that presupposed the inescapable indeterminateness of the future.

It was scarcely pure coincidence that another Harvard student of Chauncey Wright's, Holmes's close friend the philosopher William James, was mulling over some of the same questions that surfaced in *Christie*. While the venue was not the courtroom but rather the university, James, too, pondered the meaning of contingency. By no means did Holmes and James agree on everything—a point recognized in their own time, as well as today.[103] Holmes, for one, believed that over the course of time, James had softened from a "*bet*tabilitarian" like himself to a wishful thinker. In 1917, Holmes wrote a letter to the British political theorist Harold Laski that wryly rendered James's view on free will: "by yearning we can modify the multiplication table, which I doubt," and Holmes would later recall to Laski in 1927, "I once told Bill James that his discourse on free will would please the ladies and unitarian parsons."[104] But even the nub of their philosophical differences spoke to common concerns. To Holmes, a bet against the multiplication tables was foolhardy, yet he had only a better bet to place in its stead; for Holmes, like James, believed that "probable truth" was the only guide to human action. James, philosophically, and Holmes,

[101] Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., to Frederick Pollock, August 30, 1929, in Mark DeWolfe Howe, ed., *Holmes-Pollock Letters: The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Sir Frederick Pollock, 1874–1932* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), 2: 252.

[102] Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., *The Common Law* (Boston, 1881), 300.

[103] For a recent restatement of some of the distinctions that should be made between Holmes's and James's thought, see David A. Hollinger, "The 'Tough-Minded' Justice Holmes, Jewish Intellectuals, and the Making of an American Icon," in Hollinger, *Science, Jews, and Secular Culture: Studies in Mid-Twentieth-Century American Intellectual History* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 44.

[104] Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., to Harold Laski, March 29, 1917, in Mark DeWolfe Howe, ed., *Holmes-Laski Letters: The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Harold J. Laski, 1916–1935* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 1: 70; Holmes to Laski, January 28, 1927, ibid., 2: 917.

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jurisprudentially—each dwelled upon, in Holmes's words, "the self-adjustment of society to the probable" and, in James's words, "our relations with the possible."[105]

So, too, where in *Christie* Holmes addressed the relationship that futures created between thoughts and things, James postulated that rethinking that very relationship would bring the probable to the center of the discussion. Each dissented from the distinction between thoughts and things, mind and reality, preferring instead to address the consequences of present thoughts in future action. The problem of commodity exchange, after all, lay in the relationship between present transactions in thoughts and putative future distributions in corporeal things, between the seemingly metaphysical and the physical. Critics of futures said that the distinction between thought and thing must hold: trading in the pits violated the reality of bales of wheat. Pit traders maintained that setting off and physical delivery equally verified the reality of corporeal goods: futures trades were financial "hedges" against future transactions that *would* involve physical commodities. James's foundational 1904 essay "Does Consciousness Exist?" inquired, "To begin with, *are* thoughts and things as heterogeneous as is commonly said?" James answered no. The trick was not to get thoughts and things to correspond to each other, but to understand that each could be a portion of the same capacious reality. As James argued of thoughts, "nonperceptual experiences have objectivity as well as subjectivity."[106] James stopped inquiring about the supposed fixed realities (things) that corresponded to thoughts. Rather, he turned to the consequences—in a probable future—of those thoughts in action.

That was the path Holmes followed in *Christie*: What were the consequences of futures trading in thoughts? On the score of setting off, Holmes remarked that monetarily, "the result of actual delivery would be to leave the parties just where they were before." For futures dealers, it did not matter that no material commodities provided immediate objective foundations—which was why "Set-off has all the effects of delivery."[107] And when William James went public with his new philosophy of pragmatism in a series of lectures he began delivering in 1898, he relied heavily on commercial metaphors, most pointedly on a metaphor of truth and finance:

> Truth lives, in fact, for the most part on a credit system. Our thoughts and beliefs 'pass', so long as nothing challenges them, just as bank-notes pass so long as nobody refuses them. But this all points to direct face-to-face verifications somewhere, without which the fabric of truth collapses like a *financial system* with no cash-basis whatever. You accept my verification of

[105] William James, *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking* (Boston, 1907), 113. The foundational work of scholarship linking the thought of James and Holmes is still Morton White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism* (New York, 1949), which argues that the two shared a "revolt against formalism." See also Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1870–1960: The Crisis of Legal Orthodoxy* (New York, 1994), 454–463, and Menand, *The Metaphysical Club*, 409–433. Others have commented on the intellectual triumph of probability and its ideological consequences in this period. See Hacking, *The Taming of Chance*, which focuses on another American pragmatist, Charles Sanders Peirce, and Jackson Lears, *Something for Nothing: Luck in America* (New York, 2003), 187–227, which posits an incomplete victory for a culture of corporate control over a William Jamesian culture of chance.

[106] William James, *Essays in Radical Empiricism* (New York, 1912), 28, 16–17. First published as William James, "Does Consciousness Exist?" *Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods* 1 (1904): 477–491.

[107] *Board of Trade*, 198 U.S., 249.

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one thing, I yours of another. *We trade on each other's truth.* But beliefs verified concretely by somebody are the posts of the whole superstructure.[108]

James might have had a futures trader in mind. The objective foundation of each futures transaction was purely intersubjective. Pit trades themselves did not actually require the transfer of physical commodities; each alternative had the same consequence—dealers "trade on each other's truth."

James's metaphors speak to a further consequence of trading in thoughts: Holmes's understanding of incorporeal exchange as a method of financial hedging. "Hedging," Holmes explained in *Christie*, "is a means by which collectors and exporters of grain or other products . . . secure themselves against the fluctuations of the market by counter contracts for the purchase or sale, as the case may be, of an equal quantity of the product, or of the material of manufacture. It is none the less a serious business contract for a legitimate and useful purpose that it may be offset before the time of delivery in case delivery should not be needed or desired." Holmes's explanation echoed Sawyer's 1892 description of his business during the hearing on "fictitious dealings in agricultural products." According to Holmes, hedging was the "speculation" cognizable at law, and the consequence of hedging was the "self-adjustment of society to the probable." In Holmes's interpretation, to contemplate delivery was to hedge against the trade of a corporeal good somewhere else, sometime in the future.[109]

But not all speculation was hedging. Holmes dismissed bucket-shop trading as "purchases made with the understanding that the contract will be settled by paying the difference between the contract and the market price at a certain time"—in other words, "merely a speculation entered into for its own sake." Conversely, pit trading was "purchases made merely with the expectation that they will be satisfied by set-off," and fell into the category of hedging, in which "the object was self-protection in business." Holmes provided a test for coming to terms with the metaphysics of incorporeal exchange, the abstractions of capitalist finance—to extend in time and space the possible relation between thoughts and things under the rubric of risk. Hedging supposedly kept the world of immaterial trade in line with the physical economy. Bucket-shop trading, Holmes decided, did not. Likewise, James held that the truth process "points to direct face-to-face verifications somewhere, without which the fabric of truth collapses like a financial system with no cash-basis whatever," and that "beliefs verified concretely by somebody are the posts of the whole superstructure."[110] In *Christie*, hedging had provided such verification for the pits, but not for the bucket shops.[111]

But the problem of verification—the problem of commodity exchange—was at once epistemological and political. No one—not Holmes, not even pit traders—argued that all trades in the pits were intended as hedging transactions. There were "scalpers," the pure speculators in incorporeal goods, whose presence Holmes disapproved. But if scalpers could speculate with no regard for corporeal goods, why could bucket-shop traders not do the same thing? Furthermore, as C. C. Christie

[108] James, *Pragmatism*, 80; emphasis added.
[109] *Board of Trade*, 198 U.S., 250.
[110] James, *Pragmatism*, 80.
[111] *Board of Trade*, 198 U.S., 250.

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repeatedly insisted, did small farmers not use bucket shops to hedge? Meanwhile, agrarian radicals still wanted the government to subsidize a risk-management institution other than futures markets. Nevertheless, after *Christie*, pit traders engaged in even more extensive labors of abstraction, although these did not become topics of urgent political dispute. After 1905, the pits condoned options trading, a form of transaction they had equated with bucket-shop trading prior to *Christie*. Ultimately, Holmes had granted the pits a monopoly in all kinds of futures trading, which would last for decades. Following the deregulation of financial markets after the world economic crisis of 1973, however, the organized futures markets of today—and there are more of them daily—resemble more nearly the bucket shops of yesterday.[112]

No doubt the triumph of the pits in 1905 was a political one, secured by those whom Holmes deemed the "competent men" capable of trading thoughts as things, capable of "contemplating delivery." Holmes expressed the emergence of a new way of thinking about the contingent link between present and future, but the problem of commodity exchange lay originally in the simple fact that Andrew J. Sawyer had to get his wheat from the fields of North Dakota, which were like the "waves of the ocean," to the mills on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean—hopefully at a nice profit.

[112] See Markhan, *The History of Commodity Futures Trading*; "The Frontline of Futures: Eurex Attacks, Chicago's Exchanges Defend Themselves," *The Economist*, November 13, 2003.

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Race War and Nation in Caribbean Gran Colombia, Cartagena, 1810–1832

MARIXA LASSO

DURING THE AGE OF REVOLUTION, nations in the Americas faced the quandary of how to reconcile slavery and racial discrimination with the enlightened and liberal ideology of citizenship. Would slavery be abolished? Would all free men, regardless of race, enjoy the equal rights of citizenship, and if not, how would that exclusion be justified within an ideology that proclaimed the equality and brotherhood of humankind? From 1810 to 1812, patriot movements across Spanish America answered the last question by declaring legal racial equality for all free citizens and constructing a nationalist ideology of racial harmony—what contemporary scholars call the myth of racial democracy.[1] In Mexico, the rebel leader Miguel Hidalgo proclaimed the end of racial distinctions: "Indians, mulattos or other castes . . . all will be known as Americans."[2] In Venezuela, the 1811 constitution decreed the derogation of "all the ancient laws that degraded the segment of the free population of Venezuela heretofore known as *pardos* [free blacks and mulattos] . . . [and] restored all the inalienable rights that are accorded to them as to any other citizens."[3] Farther south, the revolutionary junta in Buenos Aires repudiated colonial caste laws and condemned the "prejudices responsible for the degradation to which the accidental difference of color condemned until now a part of our population as numerous as it is capable of any great enterprise."[4] By the time the wars of independence ended in 1824, the constitutions of all the nations in Spanish America granted legal racial

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[1] I use the term "racial harmony" because it is more reflective of early-nineteenth-century language than "racial democracy," a term coined much later. Some of the ideological characteristics of the myth of racial democracy changed between the early nineteenth century and the twentieth century—highlighting the need to historicize its cultural evolution in the past two centuries. However, what did not change was the linkage between nationalism and racial harmony and equality that characterizes this myth. Richard Graham, ed., *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (Austin, Tex., 1990).

[2] Quotation and translation from George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000* (New York, 2004), 87.

[3] *La constitución federal de Venezuela de 1811 y documentos afines*, preliminary study by C. Parra Pérez (Caracas, 1959), 205. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

[4] Quotation and translation from George Reid Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800–1900* (Madison, Wis., 1980), 59.

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equality to their free populations of African descent, and a nationalist racial ideology had emerged that declared racial discrimination—and racial identity—divisive and unpatriotic. In contrast, nineteenth-century nationalism in the United States centered on ideologies of manifest destiny and white supremacy.[5] What explains this difference?

This essay argues that the revolutionary wars were crucial for the construction of these different national racial imaginaries, and that any historical analysis of comparative race relations in the Americas needs to take into account the important role of anticolonial struggles in the formation of racial identities. The literature on nationalism and the Age of Revolution has made us aware of the importance of this period in shaping national identity.[6] However, we still do not have a comparative study that explores why societies with similar colonial pasts of slavery and racial prejudice developed such divergent racial national imaginaries during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This is partly because of the tendency of U.S. and Latin American historians to assume that the colonial pasts of their regions naturally led to their modern racial identities. Yet as David Brion Davis already noted in 1966, "differences between slavery in Latin America and the United States were not greater than regional or temporal differences within the countries themselves . . . negro bondage was a single phenomenon, or Gestalt, whose variations were less significant than underlying patterns of unity."[7] Thirty years later—after summarizing the scholarship on U.S. and Brazilian slavery—Anthony Marx similarly concluded that there is little in the two countries' colonial pasts that warrants their dissimilar histories of modern race relations.[8] Indeed, when one colonial experience is set against the other, the divergent national racial imaginaries of the United States and Latin America seem less natural. Although this essay is not a comparative analysis, it examines the construction of Colombian racial identities against the background of the United States' experience to argue that racial democracy was neither inevitable nor a colonial legacy.

The absence of dialogue between the literature on nationalism during the Age of Revolution and the literature on comparative race relations is largely a consequence of the nature of the historiography on the Spanish American wars of independence (1808–1824).[9] Historians have tended to downplay the social importance

[5] Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

[6] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991); Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992); David A. Bell, "The Unbearable Lightness of Being French: Law, Republicanism and National Identity at the End of the Old Regime," *AHR* 106, no. 4 (October 2001): 1215–1235; Andrew W. Robertson, " 'Look on This Picture . . . and on This!' Nationalism, Localism, and Partisan Images of Otherness in the United States, 1787–1820," *AHR* 106, no. 4 (October 2001): 1263–1280.

[7] David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966), 229.

[8] "The modern house of race in each country was built on similar foundations of prejudice but constructed according to varying circumstances." Anthony Marx, *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil* (Cambridge, 1998), 10. Marx's analysis, however, focuses on the second half of the nineteenth century and not on the anticolonial struggles of the Age of Revolution.

[9] For an assessment of the revolutionary nature of the Spanish American wars of independence, see Eric Van Young, "Conclusion: Was There an Age of Revolution in Spanish America?" in Victor

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of this period, arguing that the new republican notions of citizenship provided an illusion of change while leaving social structures untouched.[10] Studies of race relations followed this assumption. Although the works of John Lynch, Winthrop R. Wright, George Reid Andrews, and Aline Helg, among others, acknowledge in passing the presence of a rhetoric of racial equality among patriots, they do not analyze its ideological characteristics or try to explain why and how it emerged.[11] This lack of attention derived in large part from the notion that racial equality was empty rhetoric that served the needs of elites to attract the black population to their side during the struggles. That belief was seemingly borne out by the fact that slavery remained legal in most of Spanish America until the 1850s. Adding insult to injury, nationalist declarations of racial equality allowed the elite to maintain informal patterns of discrimination by impeding the formation of racially based political associations, which were declared unnecessary, divisive, and unpatriotic.[12]

A close analysis of this period, however, reveals that the ideal of racial equality was not just facile rhetoric. The literature on the intellectual and electoral history of the Spanish American wars of independence has shown that the political changes were the result of serious intellectual and political debates and were perceived by the protagonists as a momentous transformation that challenged entrenched cultural traditions and social hierarchies.[13] The works of Alfonso Múnera, Peter Guardino, and Peter Blanchard have also taught us that Afro-Latin Americans were not mere "cannon fodder"; they participated in and influenced the political debates about citizenship in the revolutionary period, sometimes pushing the elites to acquiesce to radical measures they had not initially contemplated.[14] When this approach is ap-

M. Uribe-Uran, ed., *State and Society in Spanish America during the Age of Revolution* (Wilmington, Del., 2001), 219–246.

[10] Victor M. Uribe, "The Enigma of Latin American Independence," *Latin American Research Review* 32, no. 1 (1997): 236–255, analyzes the "limited impact" of social history in the historiography of the wars of independence.

[11] John Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions, 1808–1826*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1986), 211–212; Winthrop R. Wright, *Café con Leche: Race, Class, and National Image in Venezuela* (Austin, Tex., 1990), 13–42; Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires*, 42–63; Aline Helg, *Liberty and Equality in Caribbean Colombia, 1770–1835* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004), 6–7, 253–255. See also Lester Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 175–177; Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge, 1998), 115–116; Eric Van Young, *The Other Rebellion: Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Struggle for Mexican Independence, 1810–1821* (Stanford, Calif., 2001), 4.

[12] The best treatment of the myth of racial democracy as a hegemonic construct remains Graham, *The Idea of Race in Latin America*.

[13] Antonio Annino, ed., *Historia de las elecciones en Iberoamérica, siglo XIX* (Mexico, 1995); David Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge, 1991); François-Xavier Guerra, *Modernidad e Independencias ensayos sobre las revoluciones hispánicas* (Madrid, 1992); Manuel Chust, *La cuestión nacional americana en las Cortes de Cádiz (1810–1814)* (Valencia, 1999); Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination, 1513–1830* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), 133–153; Eduardo Posada-Carbó, ed., *Elections before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America* (London, 1996); Marie Laure Rieu-Millan, *Los diputados americanos en las cortes de Cádiz* (Madrid, 1990); Rodríguez, *The Independence of Spanish America*; Victor M. Uribe-Uran, *Honorable Lives: Lawyers, Family, and Politics in Colombia, 1780–1850* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 2000).

[14] Alfonso Múnera, "Failing to Construct the Colombian Nation: Race and Class in the Andean Caribbean Conflict, 1717–1816" (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1995); Peter Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of Mexico's National State* (Stanford, Calif., 1996); Peter Blanchard, "The Language of Liberation: Slave Voices in the Wars of Independence," *Hispanic American Historical Re-*

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plied to the myth of racial harmony, it becomes evident that there was nothing predictable or smooth about this process of myth construction. First, consensus regarding racial equality was not immediate. Not only did the white Creole elite have to overcome a colonial tradition that linked social order to racial hierarchies, but they also had to declare racial equality without having a successful example to follow. As contemporary opponents of racial equality pointed out, the United States had shown that a modern republic could coexist with slavery and racial inequality.[15] And in the minds of many white Creoles, racial equality was associated with revolutionary Haiti, hardly an appealing image for them. Second, early republican race relations were charged with deep tensions. In the aftermath of the independence wars, with the emergence of a powerful black political and military class—including generals, congressmen, and senators—and the enfranchisement of a segment of the free black population, *pardos* had developed new expectations of freedom and equality and exerted political pressure that the Creole elite could not ignore. The political future of social and racial relations was unclear, and, as we will see, talks of race war and racial conspiracies had become an integral part of the political imaginary of this period. From this perspective, it seems clear that the future of race relations was one of the most controversial and conflictive problems of the independence period, and the myth of racial harmony was one of the most important political legacies of the Age of Revolution. Indeed, the question arises whether the prominence of the U.S. case has obscured the importance of anticolonial movements in the French and Spanish Americas in shaping modern notions of racial equality and citizenship.[16]

The paucity of comparative studies on race during the Age of Revolution is also a product of historians' tendency to focus on colonial slavery or on twentieth-century race relations. Even the comparative works of Anthony Marx and Rebecca Scott on postemancipation societies analyze the later part of the nineteenth century—Reconstruction (1866–1877), the Cuban wars of independence (1865–1898), and Brazilian manumission (1888).[17] This focus, which is a reflection of the weight and rich-

view (hereafter *HAHR*) 82, no. 3 (2002): 499–523. See also Andrews, *The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires*, 42–113; Seth Meisel, "From Slave to Citizen-Soldier in Early Independence Argentina," *Historical Reflections* 29, no. 1 (2003): 65–82; Camilla Townsend, " 'Half of My Body Free, the Other Half Enslaved': The Politics of the Slaves of Guayas at the End of the Colonial Era," *Colonial Latin American Review* 7, no. 1 (1998): 105–128; Silvia C. Mallo, "La Libertad en el discurso del estado, de amos y esclavos, 1780–1830," *Revista Historia de América* 112 (1991): 121–146. For Brazil, see Hendrik Kraay, " 'As Terrifying as Unexpected': The Bahian Sabinada, 1837–1838," *HAHR* 72, no. 4 (1992): 501–526.

[15] September 7, 1811, in *Diario de Sesiones de las Cortes Generales y Extraordinarias* (Madrid, 1870), 3: 1796; July 31, 1811, *Libro de Actas del Supremo Congreso de Venezuela, 1811–1812* (Caracas, 1959), 254.

[16] I am inspired by works on the French Caribbean that set the debates about manumission and racial equality at the center of analysis of the Age of Revolution. David Geggus, "Racial Equality, Slavery, and Colonial Secession during the Constituent Assembly," *AHR* 94, no. 5 (December 1989): 1290–1308; Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2004); Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, 1996).

[17] Marx, *Making Race and Nation*; Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott, *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000). See also George Reid Andrews, "Brazilian Racial Democracy, 1900–1990: An American Counterpoint," *Journal of Contemporary History* 31 (1996): 3, 483–507; Thomas E. Skidmore, "Racial Mixture and Affirmative Action: The Cases of Brazil and the United States," *AHR* 108, no. 5 (December 2003): 1391–1396; Darién Davis, *Slavery and Beyond: The African Impact on Latin America and the Caribbean* (Wilmington, Del., 1995); Suzanne Bost, *Mulattas and Mestizas: Representing Mixed Identities in the Amer-*

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ness of the scholarship on Brazil, Cuba, and the United States, has tended to leave out the anticolonial struggles of the Age of Revolution. Studies on the history of the myth of racial democracy in Spanish America usually begin with the Cuban liberator José Martí and his call for a republic "with all and for all" in the 1890s.[18] Yet this myth emerged in the 1810s and 1820s, during the Spanish American wars of independence.[19] Indeed, when the Cuban liberators made racial equality a fundamental slogan of the patriot camp, they were not inventing a novel concept but were building on an entrenched Spanish American tradition that linked patriot nationalism with racial equality. Pushing the origins of the myth of racial democracy back a few decades does more than set the chronology straight; it conditions the nature of research questions and answers. It means shifting the question from how the myth of racial democracy worked once it was established to asking how it was created in the first place.[20]

This essay looks at the construction of the myth of racial harmony by examining the relationship between race, war, and nation from two different perspectives. The first part examines how racial equality evolved during the wars of independence from a belief shared by a few American and Spanish radicals into a fundamental patriot nationalist construct that neatly distinguished patriot equality and Spanish inequality. The second part examines the emergence of the phantom of race war and its impact on racial constructs. Specifically, it analyzes how the explicit expression of racial grievances became a mark of unpatriotic divisiveness. This second process was

icas, 1850–2000 (Athens, Ga., 2003); Marilyn Grace Miller, *Rise and Fall of the Cosmic Race: The Cult of Mestizaje in Latin America* (Austin, Tex., 2004); Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod, eds., *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in Diaspora* (Bloomington, Ind., 1999); Jane Landers, ed., *Against the Odds: Free Blacks in the Slave Societies of the Americas* (Portland, Ore., 1996); Norman E. Whitten, Jr., and Arlene Torres, *Blackness in Latin America and the Caribbean: Social Dynamics and Cultural Transformations* (Bloomington, Ind., 1998).

[18] Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001); Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868–1898* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999); Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886–1912* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995). Similarly, Emilia Viotti da Costa has explained how "the myth of racial democracy was created and destroyed," tracing its origins to the 1930s. According to her, the origins of the myth emerged from a need on the part of the traditional planter elite, who felt besieged by a new social force: working-class, modern Pulista elites who mocked the past. Gilberto Freyre sought to confront the new modernizing forces with a positive aspect of Brazilian tradition: racial democracy. Emilia Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), 234–246.

[19] Similarly, John Wood Sweet has argued that modern segregation patterns were first established in the North during the revolutionary era. Sweet, *Body Politics: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730–1830* (Baltimore, Md., 2003).

[20] For example, in her excellent comparison of postabolition Louisiana and Cuba, Rebecca J. Scott is able to use the Cuban patriot ideology of racial equality as one of the factors that explain differences in race and labor relations, but is unable to explain how this factor itself emerged. Rebecca J. Scott, "Fault Lines, Color Lines, and Party Lines: Race, Labor, and Collective Action in Louisiana and Cuba, 1862–1912," in Scott, *Beyond Slavery*, 61–106. Even works that look explicitly at the connection between nationalism and race in Latin America are more concerned with understanding how modern racial identities work once they are in place than with asking how they emerged. Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, eds., *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003). There is a large and rich literature on modern racial identities. For Colombia, see Peter Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia* (Baltimore, Md., 1993); Nancy P. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters: Race, Region, and Local History in Colombia, 1846–1948* (Durham, N.C., 2003); Jaime Arocha, "Inclusion of Afro-Colombians: Unreachable National Goal?" *Latin American Perspectives* 25, no. 3 (1998): 70–89; James Sanders, *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (Durham, N.C., 2004).

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not a corollary of the first, as the linkage between racial equality and nationalism per se did not exclude the expression of grievances. The ideal of racial harmony and equality had the potential either to empower those who were disenfranchised or to keep them in their place. The question was who controlled the concept. The answer was not immediate, but was itself a product of contestation as *pardos* sought to express racial grievances in the name of achieving racial equality, while elites criminalized those grievances, claiming that the ideal had already been achieved.[21]

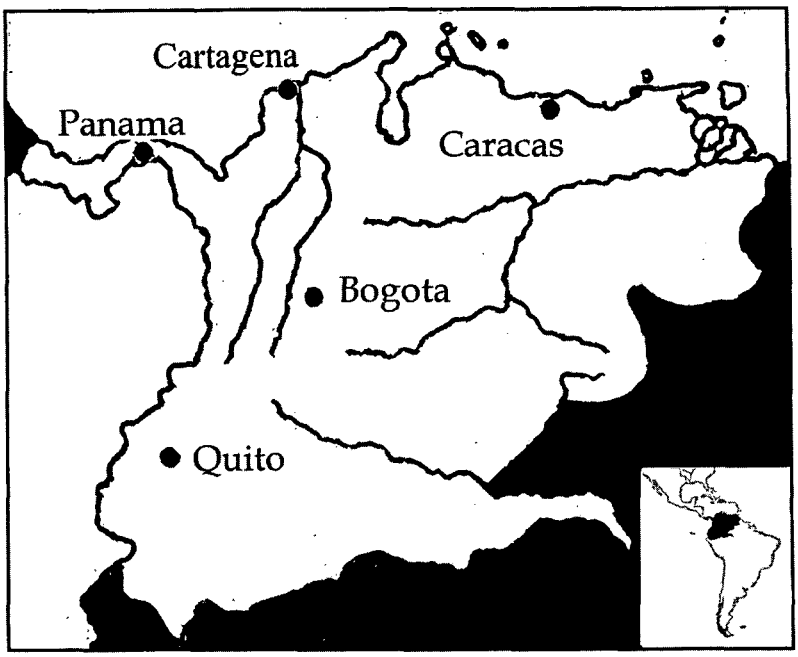
The province of Cartagena, in Caribbean Colombia, was a crucial theater of the independence struggles, in which people of African descent—a demographic majority—played a key political and military role. During most of the period covered here, it formed part of a territory larger than contemporary Colombia. In late colonial times, Cartagena was part of the Viceroyalty of New Granada, which included today's Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Venezuela. From independence in 1821 until 1830, it was part of the new Republic of Colombia, which then included the regions administered by the old Viceroyalty of New Granada, what historians today call "La Gran Colombia." Thus, the foundation of Cartagena's racial imaginaries was linked to this wider political area. Colombians joined with Venezuelans in the patriot army and traveled back and forth from one region to the other. As in Venezuela, in Cartagena the loyalty—or lack thereof—of people of African descent was key to the success or failure of the patriot army; and like Venezuela, Caribbean Colombia contributed some of the most important black officers and heroes of the independence era.[22]

ONE OF THE MOST FASCINATING ASPECTS of Colombia's declaration of racial equality for all free people was how fast it became a core element of Colombian patriotism, particularly considering that in the last decades of colonial rule there was little in the attitudes of white Creoles that foreshadowed the crucial role that racial equality would play in patriot nationalism. Most white Creoles were little inclined to renounce their traditional racial privileges and strongly opposed the Bourbons' minor reforms in favor of people of African descent. *Pardos'* claims for a greater degree of social inclusion were usually supported by peninsular officers, who prized *pardos'* economic and military contribution to the crown and contrasted their obedience and loyalty to the arrogance and discontent of white Creoles. Most elite Creoles did not share Spanish bureaucrats' view of *pardos*. In Cartagena, white Creoles fought against the crown's decision to grant black militias the corporate legal privileges of the military. They bitterly resented losing jurisdiction over an important segment of the urban population, and they worried about the effect that their diminished powers of social control would have on established social hierarchies. White Creoles also

[21] Alejandro de la Fuente has noticed similar conflicts between the elite and Afro-Cubans over the meaning and implications of the nationalist myth of racial democracy in postindependence Cuba. De la Fuente, *A Nation for All*, 28–30.

[22] German Carrera Damas, *Boves: Aspectos Socioeconómicos de la guerra de independencia* (Caracas, 1968); Eleazar Córdova Bello, *La independencia de Haiti y su influencia en Hispanoamérica* (Caracas, 1967); Francisco Zuluaga, *Guerrilla y Sociedad en el Patía* (Cali, 1993); Múnera, "Failing to Construct the Colombian Nation."

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Gran Colombia

opposed the attempts of wealthy *pardos* to enter professions barred to nonwhites.[23] One of the most eloquent examples of their opposition was the Caracas town council's memorandum against the 1795 publication of the *Gracias al Sacar*, a legal procedure that permitted people of African descent to buy their whiteness.[24] The council argued for the "necessity to keep *pardos* in their current subordinate status, without any law that would confuse them with whites, who abhor and detest this union."[25] According to the town council, the crown decree was the result of false and evil-intentioned reports from Spanish officers in the Americas who did not care about the interests of Spanish American subjects (*españoles americanos*).[26] A particularly sore point for Creoles was the Spanish notion that American whites were rarely free from racial mixing, which justified the blurring of racial distinctions in the American

[23] For an analysis of the conflicts between Spanish authorities and the town councils of Cartagena, Guayaquil, and Panama over the *pardos'* fuero, see Allan Kuethe, "The Status of the Free *Pardo* in the Disciplined Militia of New Granada," *Journal of Negro History* 56 (1971): 105–117. For comments on *pardos'* military loyalty vis-à-vis Creoles' increasing dissatisfaction, see Kuethe, *Military Reform*, 165–183, and Archivo General de Simancas, Secretaría de Guerra, 7069, Exp. 36-1, fols. 1–6. The question of whether a *pardo* novice should become a regular nun in the Cartagena convent of Santa Clara led to similar conflicts between Creoles and Spanish bureaucrats; Archivo General de Indias (hereafter AGI), Santa Fe, 997. For a comparable conflict over whether Cristobal Polo, a *pardo* lawyer, should practice in Cartagena, see Múnera, "Failing to Construct the Colombian Nation," 112. On changing Spanish racial attitudes in the late eighteenth century, see Frank K. Safford, "Race, Integration, and Progress: Elite Attitudes and the Indian in Colombia, 1750–1870," *HAHR* 71, no. 1 (1991): 1–33.

[24] Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967), 60–70; Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions*, 21–24.

[25] "Informe que el Ayuntamiento de Caracas hace la Rey de España referente a la Real Cédula de 10 febrero de 1795," November 28, 1796, in José Félix Blanco, ed., *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del Libertador* (Caracas, 1875–1878), 293.

[26] Ibid., 292.

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colonies. According to the viceroy of New Granada, Cartagena's white militiamen were "*blancos de la tierra* [local whites], who in substance are mulattos a little closer to our race."[27] White Creoles dreaded this notion, because it created a distance between them and peninsular Spaniards, further emphasizing their increasingly disadvantageous position.[28] Indeed, white Creoles understood Spanish support of *pardos* as a sign of contempt toward them, and considered it to have been invented "to de-authorize them under the false pretense that it serves the interest of His Majesty."[29]

Inspired by the French and Haitian Revolution, however, a few white Creoles began to question the soundness of entrenched racial hierarchies. One of the most learned men of the viceroyalty, the wealthy and powerful Cartagenero José Ignacio Pombo, sought to avoid a scenario reminiscent of Haiti by abolishing slavery and eliminating racial distinctions among the commoner class (but maintaining the traditional privileges of the nobility).[30] More radically, in 1797 a multiethnic republican conspiracy in the port city of La Guaira envisioned a nation without racial distinctions. Its ordinances abolished slavery and declared "the natural equality of all inhabitants of these provinces . . . [demanding] that the greatest harmony reign among whites, Indians, *pardos* and blacks, . . . seeking to better one another solely in merit and virtue, which are the only true and real distinctions between men and the only ones that shall be present in our republic."[31]

For the first time in the Viceroyalty of New Granada, racial equality and republican patriotism became intrinsically linked. Although the intimated connection between republican virtue, nationalism, and racial equality present in this document would later become the mainstay of patriot racial rhetoric, in 1797 it still belonged to a radical and marginal political imaginary. Like the Haitian-inspired slave revolts of the period, this conspiracy met with exemplary repression, and most white Creoles did not espouse its vision of racial equality.[32]

Between 1810 and 1821, a critical ideological and political change took place in the Spanish Empire. No longer just the goal of a few American and Spanish radicals, full citizenship for people of African descent became the undisputed racial ideology among patriots and one of the main issues dividing Spanish from American patriots. From then on, patriots would claim to be the only supporters of racial equality, thereby linking racial harmony and equality to American nationalism. The catalyst

[27] Archivo General de Simancas, Secretaría de Guerra, 7069, Exp. 36-1, fols. 1–6.

[28] Creoles had already confronted Cornelius de Pauw's and Georges-Louis Leclerc Buffon's theories of Americans' natural inferiority, and they saw themselves increasingly pushed aside from positions of power. Brading, *The First America*, 428–432; Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions*, 1–37.

[29] "Informe que el Ayuntamiento de Caracas," 293.

[30] José Ignacio de Pombo, *Comercio y contrabando en Cartagena de Indias* (Bogotá, 1986; orig. written June 2, 1800), 57–58. Anthony McFarlane, *Colombia before Independence: Economy, Society, and Politics under Bourbon Rule* (Cambridge, 1993), 311–314; Alfonso Múnera, *Fronteras imaginadas: La construcción de las razas y de la geografía en el siglo XIX colombiano* (Bogotá, 2005), 45–88.

[31] "Ordenanzas de la Conspiración de Gual y España," in Pedro Grases, *La Conspiración de Gual y España y el Ideario de la Independencia* (Caracas, 1996), 175–176.

[32] For Haitian-inspired slave conspiracies in Cartagena, see AGI, Estado, 53, no. 77, fols. 1–2; Kuethe, *Military Reform and Society*, 141–143; Aline Helg, "A Fragmented Majority: Free 'of All Colors,' Indians, and Slaves in Caribbean Colombia during the Haitian Revolution," in David Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia, S.C., 2001). For Venezuela, see Federico Brito Figueroa, *Las insurrecciones de los esclavos negros en la sociedad colonial venezolana* (Caracas, 1961), 72–76; Pedro M. Arcaya, *Insurrección de los negros de la Serranía de Coro* (Caracas, 1949).

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for this change was Napoleon's invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 1808 and the imprisonment of King Ferdinand VII, which generated a crisis of legitimacy that would eventually lead to the independence of continental Spanish America by 1824.[33] Of special importance to the consolidation of racial equality as an element of patriot nationalism was the calling of a *Cortes* (congress) in the rebel city of Cádiz, where representatives from across the Spanish Empire would meet from 1810 to 1814 to design a modern constitution. Among the sweeping transformations enacted there, the restructuring of metropolitan-colonial relations was of special importance for Spanish-American race relations. In 1809, the Spanish rebel government had abolished the colonial status of overseas territories by declaring them an integral part of a single Spanish nation. Yet when the *Cortes* gathered in 1810, it was not clear to what extent Spaniards were willing to accept Americans' equality.[34] Would Americans enjoy the same representation rights as Spaniards? The answer to this question soon took on racial overtones, as the proportion of American representatives depended on whether Indians, blacks, and people of mixed descent were to be counted as citizens. Although Spanish representatives soon agreed to grant citizenship rights to Indians, they refused those rights to men of African descent, theoretically excluding the *castas* (free people of mixed descent) who constituted the majority of the American population.

The linkage between American representation and the citizenship rights of people of African descent would have enormous and unintended consequences. Unlike the constitutional debates in the United States about southern representation, in which the counting of a slave as three-fifths of a white person was linked to slavery as a source of planters' wealth and taxation and not to blacks' citizenship, the representation of *pardos* at Cádiz became tied to their enjoyment of full political rights as citizens.[35] Thus, the defense of *pardo* citizenship forced American deputies to challenge traditional justifications for racial hierarchies, to exalt *pardos'* contributions to the nation, and to prove that harmony, not conflict, characterized their racially heterogeneous regions. For example, some American deputies overturned the curse of illegitimacy that had traditionally characterized the discourse about people of mixed racial descent by presenting interracial sexual relations as cheerful proof of interracial harmony.[36] Others extolled at length *pardos'* toil as agricultural laborers, their contributions as craftsmen, and their invaluable role as militiamen.[37] One went so far as to say that in America "our *castas* are the depository of all our happiness."[38] According to another deputy's idyllic picture, whites and blacks were nursed together by black women, from whom they learned to love one another.[39]

[33] For an analysis of the Spanish American wars of independence, see Lynch, *The Spanish American Revolutions*; Guerra, *Modernidad e Independencias*; Rodríguez, *The Independence of Spanish America*.

[34] Chust, *La cuestión nacional americana*, 32, 52.

[35] The best analysis of Cádiz debates over *pardo* representation remains James F. King, "The Colored Castas and American Representation in the Cortes of Cádiz," *HAHR* 33, no. 1 (1953): 33–64. See also Rieu-Millan, *Los diputados americanos*, 152–173; Chust, *La cuestión nacional*, 53–73, 150–173. For the United States, I am relying on Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London, 1988), 122–126.

[36] September 6, 1811, *Diario de Sesiones*, 3: 1789–1790.

[37] September 7, 1811, ibid., 1799; Chust, *La cuestión nacional*, 153–173.

[38] "Carta 6a de Juan Sintierra sobre un artículo de la Nueva Constitución de España," *El Español*, October 30, 1811.

[39] September 7, 1811, *Diario de Sesiones*, 3: 1798.

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These discussions were widely followed throughout the Spanish world. From Mexico to Argentina, local newspapers discussed the debates emphasizing Spanish refusal to grant Americans their fair representation rights.[40]

What made Cádiz a foundational moment for the history of modern race relations in Spanish America is that racial equality became emotionally linked to American patriotism there. This is not to say that without Cádiz, patriots would not have granted legal equality to people of African descent, but rather that because of Cádiz, Americans learned to link racial equality with patriotism and racial inequality with Spanish oppression. Had the *Cortes* conceded citizenship rights to people of African descent, racial equality could well have become an issue that divided liberals from conservatives regardless of nationality. Like other radical patriot ideals, it eventually might have become a source of contention among Colombians, just as happened with issues such as the separation of church and state. But the Spanish chose not to grant such rights, which created a clear contrast between them and the Americans on this issue. Thereafter, patriots could claim to be the only advocates of racial equality. What started as a tactical attempt to secure more representatives had become a powerful nationalist construct that endowed racial equality with all the emotional appeal of patriot nationalism.[41]

While representatives debated at Cádiz, *pardos* and elite Creoles joined together in patriot conspiracies to overthrow the Spanish authorities. In Cartagena, as in other Spanish American cities, the crisis of legitimacy of the Spanish Empire led to struggles between Spaniards and Creoles over the control of local government. In regions where *pardos* were the majority of the population, both Spaniards and Creoles were keenly aware of the importance of their support. For example, in the city of Cartagena, *pardo* artisans and white Creoles deposed the Spanish authorities in the name of the people and established a patriot junta.[42] Without waiting for Cádiz legislation, Cartagena's electoral instructions included all races on equal terms as early as De-

[40] Newspapers, particularly the London-based *El Español*, had a crucial influence on opinions about the debates. On the importance of the *Cortes* and its debates for Spanish-American politics, see Rodríguez, *The Independence of Spanish America*, 82–103; Guerra, *Modernidad e Independencias*; Brading, *The First America*, 573–577. For Cartagena, Alfonso Múnera has noted that in Cartagena in 1811, the newspaper *El Argos Americano* reproduced fragments of *El Español* coverage of the Cádiz debates. Múnera, "Failing to Construct the Colombian Nation," 237. In her analysis of the Cádiz debates, Tamar Herzog examines the legal and historical basis for the denial of citizen status to people of African descent in the Spanish constitution, but does not note the divisions between Spaniards and Spanish Americans on this subject, and the fact that the Spanish American constitutions of this period recognized individuals of African descent as citizens. Herzog, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America* (New Haven, Conn., 2003), 158–163.

[41] I examine these arguments in further detail in Marixa Lasso, "A Republican Myth of Racial Harmony: Race and Patriotism in Colombia, 1810–1812," *Historical Reflections* 29, no. 1 (2003): 43–63.

[42] Alfonso Múnera was the first modern historian to recognize the crucial importance of *pardo* artisans in Cartagena's independence. Múnera, "Failing to Construct the Colombian Nation," 237–240. See also Marixa Lasso, "Revisiting Independence Day: Afro-Colombian Politics and Patriot Narratives, Cartagena, 1809–1815," in Mark Thurner and Andres Guerrero, eds., *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas* (Durham, N.C., 2003), and Helg, *Liberty and Equality*, 121–161. This pattern of securing *pardo* alliance for urban patriot conspiracies continued until the very end of the independence struggle. In 1819, the Spanish authorities discovered a patriot conspiracy in Mompox in which members of the Creole elite participated with *zambo* artisans. "Testimonio de lo que resulta de la Causa Principal contra Don José Manuel de la Paz, Administrador General de Tabacos de la Villa de Mompox: Indiciado de haber entrado en la conspiración tramada en Mompox contra las armas del Rey," AGI, Cuba 719 A. Similarly, the list of patriot conspirators in 1819 Ocaña includes men and women, whites and blacks, free people and slaves. "Relación de las personas que resultaron cómplices

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cember 1810. The instructions proclaimed: "all [male] parishioners, whites, Indians, *mestizos*, mulattos, *zambos*, and blacks, as long as they are household heads and earn a living from their own work [thus including numerous artisans], are to be summoned for elections." Only "vagrants, criminals, those who are in servile salaried status, and slaves are excluded."[43]

In other places, the alliance between *pardos* and patriots had to wait a little longer. In the crucial war theater of Los Llanos, *pardos* first joined the Spaniards, their traditional allies, against local elites. By 1816, however, most *llaneros* had gone over to the patriot side. Among the issues motivating this shift were a change in the Spanish leadership that ended its formerly populist character and the emergence of a popular patriot leadership that now included *pardos* and *mestizos* such as José Manuel Piar and José Antonio Paez. Equally important was the effective use by patriot propagandists of Spanish rejection of *pardo* citizenship.[44] According to a Spanish officer who visited the patriot troops of General Paez in 1820, one of the reasons listed by the soldiers for siding with the patriots was that "the Spanish constitution is unacceptable to them because it denies citizenship to those of African descent."[45]

By then, racial equality was firmly established in the patriot camp. Patriot speeches now reminded black soldiers of how "Spain . . . had completely denied [citizenship rights] to men of color" and invited them to "unite and give Europe an example of fraternity."[46] If *pardo* citizenship was still a subject of debate at the 1811 Congress of Venezuela, by the 1819 Congress of Angostura (the first constitutional congress for Gran Colombia) it was no longer discussed, and it never would be again.[47] Although the social implications of legal equality would immediately become the subject of great tension and conflict, at least legally and rhetorically, *pardos* had acquired indisputable rights as "the people."

In the years following independence, the new Colombian government expanded and further popularized the idea of American racial harmony through public ceremonies, newspaper articles, judicial regulations, and congressional debates. Similar to today's myth of racial democracy, early republican notions of racial harmony were

en la sorpresa y asesinato verificados en esta ciudad de Ocaña el 10 de Noviembre de 1819," AGI, Cuba 719 A.

[43] "Instrucciones que deberán observarse en las elecciones parroquiales, en las de partido y en las capitulares, para el nombramiento de diputados en la Suprema Junta de la provincia de Cartagena," December 11, 1810, in Manuel Ezequiel Corrales, comp., *Efemérides y anales del Estado de Bolívar* (Bogotá, 1889), 2: 48.

[44] For the use of Cádiz for war propaganda in Venezuela, see James King, "A Royalist View of the Colored Castes in the Venezuelan Wars of Independence," *HAHR* 33, no. 4 (1953): 527–537.

[45] "Declaración de los capitanes Don Juán Jaldon y Don Andrés Maria Alvarez sobre lo ocurrido en su enviada a San Juan de Pyra para tratar con el Jefe disidente Paez," August 5, 1820, AGI, Indiferente, 1568.

[46] "Proclama de José Francisco Bermúdez," Cartagena, August 8, 1815, Archivo Histórico Nacional de Colombia (hereafter AHNC), Archivo Restrepo, rollo 5, fol. 179. See also Simón Bolívar, "A los pueblos de Venezuela," Guyana, August 5, 1817, in Bolívar, *Obras Completas* (Madrid, 1960), 647; Bolívar, "A los Soldados del Ejército Libertador," October 17, 1817, in Daniel Florencio O'Leary, *Memorias del General O'Leary* (Caracas, 1884), 15: 423–424.

[47] See, for example, the 1811 Venezuelan congressional debates over whether the constitution should explicitly eliminate any racial distinctions between blacks and whites. *Libro de actas del Supremo Congreso de Venezuela*, 254–262, and Manuel A. Rodríguez, "Los pardos libres en la colonia y la independencia," *Boletín de la Academia Nacional de la Historia* 75 (1992): 52.

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linked to national identity and racial equality. However, the ideological bases of this nationalist belief were shaped by contemporary political values that were quite different from those of the twentieth century. First, peninsular racial tolerance was not presented as a historical precedent to Colombian racial harmony.[48] Quite the contrary, the Black Legend of Spanish colonialism—the belief that Spanish rule was particularly tyrannical and obscurantist—was crucial to early republican racial discourse. The Black Legend allowed the erasure of racial conflicts between Americans, who all became fellow victims of Spanish tyranny. It also permitted patriots to envision a new era of republican racial equality, free from Spanish rule. Public speeches, manumission ceremonies, and newspaper articles recounted a history of Spanish despotism and violence that oppressed and divided fellow Americans. In 1817, Simón Bolívar contrasted republican racial equality with Spanish despotism, under which "*pardos* were subjected to the utmost humiliation, deprived of everything. The state of holy priesthood was forbidden to *pardos*: one could say that the Spanish had barred them even from heaven."[49] The Spanish, another speaker declared, "after depopulating our country with fire and sword were compelled to commit the equally horrible crime of repopulating it with slaves."[50] Even internal bureaucratic correspondence repeated the story of Spanish guilt and patriot innocence. The governor of Cartagena, Mariano Montilla, wrote to the national secretary of war about the reestablishment of local militias, "but without the class distinctions that Spanish tyranny had introduced to foster divisions among Americans."[51]

The Black Legend also shaped contemporary attitudes about slavery. Unlike racial equality, abolition received only scant attention at Cádiz. Most American deputies tended to conveniently ignore the subject.[52] The 1812 constitution of Cartagena had abolished the slave trade but had left the practice of slavery itself untouched. Thus, it was a burning issue for the new independent state when a constitutional convention gathered in the city of Cúcuta in 1821. At Cúcuta, manumission became the subject of some of the most intense and heated debates. Yet it must be emphasized that not even the most vocal champions of slaveholders defended slavery as an institution.[53] There was official agreement that the practice belonged to the past, and that a modern and enlightened nation such as Colombia should not be tainted by it. The question was when and how abolition would take place. Planters'

[48] Gilberto Freyre's historical analysis of race relations in colonial Brazil has been instrumental in the popularity of this notion of racial tolerance. As far as I can tell, in Colombia the idea of Spanish racial tolerance was developed in the 1860s by conservative intellectuals who wanted to rescue the positive legacy of Spanish rule, in particular the role of the church. G. de Soroa [pseudonym for Sergio Arboleda], *La República en la América Española* (Bogotá, 1869), 34–35.

[49] Bolívar, "A los pueblos de Venezuela," 647.

[50] This speech, which was delivered in Mompox during the Independence Day celebrations of December 1823, was printed in *Gaceta de Cartagena de Colombia* on January 17, 1824.

[51] Mariano Montilla to Sr. Secretario de Guerra y Marina, Cartagena, May 10, 1822, AHNC, República, Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, t. 14, fol. 317.

[52] Chust, *La cuestión nacional*, 102.

[53] Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, "La controversia jurídica y filosófica, librada en la Nueva Granada en torno a la liberación de los esclavos y la importancia económica y social de la esclavitud en el siglo XIX," *Anuario de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 4 (1969): 76–80; *Observaciones de G.T. sobre la ley de manumisión del soberano Congreso de Colombia* (Bogotá, 1822), in Colección de Libros Raros y Manuscritos Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango; "Los Hacendados y Vecinos de la Provincia de Cartagena de Colombia al Congreso," November 30, 1822, Archivo Legislativo del Congreso de Colombia, Cámara, Peticiones, t. 33, fols. 24–31.

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supporters argued that although abolition was desirable, property rights would be violated and the economy dramatically damaged if slaves were suddenly manumitted. After a series of long and passionate debates, the 1821 constitutional congress decreed a free-womb law, which ensured that no more slaves would be born on Colombian soil. *Libertos* (children born after 1821 to slave parents) had to work for their mothers' owners until they were eighteen years old, to pay back the maintenance costs that had allegedly been incurred in raising them. In addition, the congress established *juntas de manumisión* (manumission boards) with the intention of accelerating the manumission process through the creation of a fund to buy slaves born in captivity. Slavery, however, would remain legal until January 1852. During the 1821 constitutional debates, manumission was officially declared a nationalist and republican virtue.[54] A medal of *Benemérito de la Humanidad* was proposed for those who manumitted more than ten slaves. In the heat of the debates, six congressmen freed all their slaves amid public applause. The congress president stated that Colombia was more virtuous than the ancient republics of Rome, Sparta, and Athens, because its representatives did not merely content themselves with a theoretical love for justice, which was rather easy, but took pleasure in following its mandates.[55]

With the creation of the new manumission boards, the Colombian state established a crucial space for spreading its notions of race, nation, and citizenship. Historians have characterized the *juntas de manumisión* as ineffective institutions that tried to hide the crude reality of slavery. Indeed, the boards were responsible for freeing very few slaves.[56] Yet they were important, not because of the number of slaves who gained freedom as a result, but because they associated manumission with Colombian nationalism, linking slavery to Spanish tyranny and manumission to republican virtue. Prominent citizens were asked to demonstrate their patriotism by helping to fund the juntas. Contributors' names and donations were duly mentioned in the ceremonies and published in local newspapers. Moreover, individual slave owners conducted their private manumissions at these official commemorations of independence. Thus, acts that had previously been presented as Christian charity were now portrayed as signs of "love for national independence and the republican constitutional system."[57]

The Independence Day celebrations of the 1820s provided a crucial space for linking the transformation of slaves into citizens to the birth of the republic. The law required manumission boards to free slaves during national festivities, making such ceremonies a central part of these elaborate celebrations.[58] In 1825, for example, the independence festivities in Cartagena began with a Te Deum, immediately followed by the juntas' manumission of four slaves in the "Temple of Liberty," a splendidly

[54] *Actas del Congreso de Cúcuta 1821* (Bogotá, 1989), 1: 97.

[55] Ibid., 219–220.

[56] To my knowledge, there is no account of the total number of slaves manumitted by the juntas. However, available descriptions indicate that the juntas played only a symbolic role in the manumission process. Harold A. Bierck, Jr., "The Struggle for Abolition in Gran Colombia," *HAHR* 33, no. 3 (1953): 373–378; Margarita González, "El proceso de manumisión en Colombia," *Cuadernos Colombianos* 2 (1974): 196.

[57] *Gaceta de Cartagena de Colombia*, January 29, 1825. For an analysis of manumission and state building in contemporary Argentina, see Meisel, "From Slave to Citizen-Soldier," 65–82.

[58] Article 12 of the manumission law of July 19, 1821, decreed that the juntas should manumit slaves during national celebrations. *Actas del Congreso de Cúcuta 1821*, 2: 52.

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adorned shrine with Doric columns and a cupola crowned by a bust of Liberty.[59] In 1823, the manumission ceremony in the city of Mompox had taken place on a damask-lined stage, with the chosen slave wearing a liberty cap. These ceremonies were accompanied by passionate speeches outlining their significance. The speeches officially acknowledged the debased nature of slavery, yet Colombians were declared innocent of this crime against humanity: it was Spanish greed and violence that had brought slaves to America. Colombia had granted slaves their natural freedom, "the freedom that nature had given them but which European ambition had deprived them of."[60] Colombians proudly considered themselves a model for others to follow. "In the theater of nations, Colombia shone for her philanthropy and enlightenment," a manumission speech proclaimed.[61] Although Colombians did not go as far as Haitians in making abolition a core element of their national identity, it was an essential part of their new republican identity. Thus, manumission did not become the source of deep and lasting regional divisions that it was in the United States.[62]

A second element of early nationalist notions of racial harmony was unity. Early republican authorities believed they had the daunting task of creating a unified nation out of a region beset by regional and racial divisions. Analyses of this "illusion" of unity have focused on attempts to control regional divisions.[63] However, this illusion was as much a matter of racial as of regional integration. As the liberator Simón Bolívar told the legislators in Angostura, "Unity, Unity, Unity, must be our motto in all things. The blood of our citizens is varied: let it be mixed for the sake of unity. Our constitution has divided the powers of government: let them be bound together to secure unity."[64] This statement was part of a broader political dichotomy that privileged unity over factionalism, which drew inspiration from Jean-Jacques Rousseau's belief in the inherent antagonism between unity and factions.[65] For Rousseau, a perfect state was one ruled by the general will, which represented the common interest of society. However, because individual interests often conflicted with the common interest, the sum of the various particular wills did not necessarily reflect the general will. The tension between individual and societal interest was magnified when people ceased to act as individuals and began to vote instead as members of factions. Rousseau believed that factions represented the emergence of specific group interests, which ultimately could lead to the destruction of the state.[66]

[59] *Gaceta de Cartagena de Colombia*, January 1, 1825.

[60] Ibid., January 29, 1825.

[61] Ibid., January 1, 1825.

[62] Although manumission played a crucial role in the 1851 civil war, it did not become a lasting source of regional identification. Sanders, *Contentious Republicans*, 83–124; Alvaro Tirado Mejia, *Aspectos Sociales de las Guerras Civiles en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1976), 14–30; González, "El proceso de manumisión en Colombia," 235–237.

[63] See, for example, Luis Castro Leiva, *La Gran Colombia: Una ilusión ilustrada* (Caracas, 1985), 110, 125.

[64] Simón Bolívar, "Discurso pronunciado por el Libertador ante el Congreso de Angostura el 15 de febrero de 1819," in Harold A. Bierck, Jr., *Selected Writings of Bolivar*, trans. Lewis Bertrand (New York, 1951), 2: 191–192.

[65] For the relevance of this notion for Colombian political ideology, see Castro Leiva, *La Gran Colombia*, 110–115; Castro Leiva, "The Ironies of the Spanish-American Revolutions," *International Social Science Journal* 41, no. 1 (1989): 53–67; Hilda Sabato, "On Political Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Latin America," *AHR* 106, no. 4 (October 2001): 1290–1315, 1301.

[66] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourses* (New York, 1950), 26–28; Castro Leiva, *La Gran Colombia*, 110, 125.

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Racial differences were inscribed in these notions. Race facilitated the emergence of factions, which made it all the more difficult to achieve the dream of a society ruled by virtuous citizens. From this perspective, Bolívar's notion of "pardocracy" represented the triumph of a particular faction, the *pardos*, over the unity of the nation. It followed that racial politics equaled factional politics, and as such constituted a threat to the nation. As long as Colombia continued to be divided by race, virtuous politics would be impossible. For the early republican political ideology, citizenship and race were incompatible; the first stood for union and equality, the second for division and antagonism. Thus, the racial policies of this period need to be understood within this overarching goal of eliminating any cause for racial conflict and division, and fostering a nation of citizens, which is to say, a nation of men with equal interests and values.[67]

Another element of the new republican racial ideology was interracial mixing between Europeans, blacks, and Indians. As early as 1819, Bolívar had proposed that national unity could be achieved through racial mixing.[68] As a path to national unity, it was also an important element of one of the first independence histories of Gran Colombia. Drawing parallels between Spain and Spanish America, this independence narrative highlights how the expulsion of the "Moors" from the Iberian peninsula was achieved not by "the aborigines" but by "a distant generation of mixed blood," whose "right to recover the independence of their country" no one had questioned. The same, the author continued, had happened in Spanish America, but with the difference that "we have not had the time to prevail over the heterogeneous elements and condense a new mass, like the Spanish did in 1600 years." Several elements of this narrative foreshadow later ideologies of *mestizaje*: first, the notion that people of mixed descent embody the nation; second, the idea that racial mixing leads to the creation of a "new mass," a new type of people.[69] A less neutral view of racial mixing was proposed by Gerónimo Torres. He sought to "extinguish the black race" by sending vagabonds and prostitutes from regions with lighter people to live in regions populated mostly by blacks. This measure would accomplish the double objective of mixing blacks and whites and contributing to the population growth of Colombia.[70] These projects could be interpreted exclusively as racist attempts to eliminate Colombian racial diversity, but that would be of little help to us in attempting to understand the political values and ideologies that gave coherence to early republican racial policies. This is not to say that racial prejudices were absent among the elite. Quite the contrary, Gerónimo Torres was not afraid to express his negative views of free and slave blacks. Moreover, these projects did not envision racial mixing in neutral terms but were part of a conscious attempt to "whiten" the country. Racial policies have to be understood in relation to broader contemporary notions of citizenship, which could not imagine difference and diversity in positive terms. In the words of the *pardo* intellectual Juan García del Río, "heterogeneity [which, significantly, he linked to caste divisions] was a malefic principle." Colombians could only hope for the benefits of the revolution to take effect and "fuse our

[67] Castro Leiva, "The Ironies," 59.

[68] Bierck, *Selected Writings of Bolivar*, 2: 191–192.

[69] "Independencia," *Gaceta de Cartagena de Colombia*, no. 157 (1824): 2. The *Gaceta de Cartagena* published this history of independence in various segments.

[70] *Observaciones de G.T.*, 37–38.

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population."[71] For him, as for other Colombian intellectuals and politicians, to imagine Colombians was to imagine citizens with similar interests and values. Thus, confronted with citizens of different colors, early legislators could think either in terms of blending, mixing, and assimilating, or in terms of exclusion.[72]

The Americas provided different models for "solving" this national problem. One was the U.S. model. The United States had developed ideologies of manifest destiny and white supremacy, which excluded blacks from citizenship, either through schemes for expatriating ex-slaves or by withholding full citizenship rights from free blacks.[73] The second model was Haiti, which had initially "solved" conflicts between blacks and mulattos by declaring all its citizens, regardless of color, black by constitutional decree. When the Haitian constitution declared in 1804, "the Haitians will be known under none other than the generic denomination of blacks [*noirs*]"—including in this measure Haitians of all shades, even whites—it also followed an ideological belief in the necessity of a homogeneous citizenry, of eliminating color as a cause of conflict.[74] Colombia followed yet a different path: blending. This solution skillfully adapted Colombia's peculiar social and political reality to contemporary notions of nation and citizenship. The war had made the political and legal exclusion of *pardos* impossible, both because of their military power and because of the link between racial equality and patriot nationalism. Racial mixing was one component of the larger project of creating a unified nation of Colombians.

The report to the 1823 congress of Minister of Interior José Manuel Restrepo summarized the strategy and values of early republican projects to eliminate racial conflicts and promote a homogeneous citizenry. He predicted that within sixty years, *castas* would disappear and Colombia would be inhabited only by free men, which he considered a "most pleasing and comforting" perspective. Thus, one of the priorities of the new government was to pass laws that eliminated racial differences through cultural and physical amalgamation, which they hoped would gradually eliminate the colonial legacy of racial conflict and division.[75] First and foremost, it was

[71] Quote from Múnera, *Fronteras imaginadas*, 148. In the excellent essay "En busca del mestizaje," Múnera highlights the importance of the idea of *mestizaje* among nineteenth-century Colombian intellectuals.

[72] This was hardly a problem faced exclusively by Colombians or Spanish Americans. As David Bell shows, French revolutionaries, while invoking the nation, confronted the problem of how to create the Frenchman who did not yet exist. Bell, "The Unbearable Lightness of Being French," 1215–1235. See also Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, 72–86.

[73] Since the United States left the legal status of people of African descent to the individual states, legislation varied from the abolition of slavery and granting blacks full citizenship rights to slavery and disenfranchisement of free blacks. For a summary of the various state legislations, see Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery*, 111–127, 267–291; Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*; Sweet, *Body Politics*, 314–350.

[74] This quote from the Haitian constitution comes from Mimi Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville, Fla., 2000), 73. David Nicholls acknowledges the ideological and political dimension of this notion of "black," which included the hundreds of Polish soldiers who fought with Dessalines. Yet he links it to twentieth-century notions of black liberation rather than to contemporary notions of race, nation, and citizenship. Nicholls, *From Dessalines to Duvalier: Race, Colour, and National Independence in Haiti*, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1996), 35–36. David Geggus points out the use of a shared black identity in contemporary attempts to unify a nation divided by class and color. Yet he also points out that the first constitution represented the only and a very short-lived attempt to stress blackness. Geggus, "The Naming of Haiti," *New West Indian Guide* 71 (1997): 45–46.

[75] José Manuel Restrepo, "Memoria que el secretario de estado y del despacho del interior presentó

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necessary to abolish colonial laws that fostered racial inequality and antagonism. As part of its policy to promote legal equality, the central government eliminated racial identification from state records.[76] The free-birth law was the most controversial of such racial legislation. Restrepo told legislators that few laws would have a larger impact on Colombians' future than the free-birth law. Although he acknowledged the economic problems that could derive from it, he asserted that it was a much lesser evil than the inevitable race war that would follow if slavery were maintained.[77] Manumission was explicitly considered an antidote to race war, and eliminating racial conflict was the guiding principle behind this law. If a racially harmonious citizenry was the goal of manumission, it followed that the former slaves had to become Colombians with full legal rights.[78] This notion was publicly expressed in manumission ceremonies, which re-created the rebirth of slaves as citizens. During these ceremonies, slaves took an oath to defend the constitution and the laws, and Colombians were asked to "recognize them as compatriots, Colombians, and fellow citizens." In return, the ex-slaves were asked to live as peaceful, law-abiding citizens to show their gratitude to a country that had fought a long and bloody war for their freedom.[79]

Education was another pillar of the state program for creating a nation of (homogeneous) Colombians out of a "racially" diverse population. Legislative projects sought to educate all Colombians, including blacks, by bringing schools to all corners of the republic.[80] The 1814 constitution of Mariquita, for example, explicitly declared, "no school shall make any distinction between whites, *pardos*, or any other class of people. It is talent and progress in learning that shall distinguish youth in the Republic."[81] The 1821 Colombian constitution was not so explicit, but the 1823 congress clarified that it was unconstitutional to discriminate against *pardos* in admissions to universities or seminaries.[82] One purpose of these laws was to eliminate yet another legacy of conflict and resentment. Perhaps more important, the inclusion of blacks in the educational system was part of a larger project that sought to unify the mores and values of Colombian citizens and to foster the progress of the nation through an educated and industrious citizenry.

By the 1820s, racial harmony had become so embedded in Colombian nationalism that to deny its desirability would have been like opposing republicanism and favoring the Spanish monarchy. To oppose the notion of racial harmony and equality

al Congreso de Colombia sobre los negocios de su departamento: Año de 1823–13," Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Miscelánea no 1,160.

[76] David Bushnell, *The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia* (Newark, Del., 1954), 173.

[77] Restrepo, "Memoria que le secretario de estado," 14–15. This theme was recurrent in Bolívar's speeches in favor of abolition. His address to the Congress of Angostura, as well as his constitutional project for Bolivia, expressed his belief in the incompatibility between republicanism and slavery. Bolívar, *Proclamas y Discursos*, 232 and 332.

[78] The 1821 constitution of the Republic of Colombia declared all free men born in its territory to be Colombians. This constitution did not distinguish between the categories of Colombians and citizens, which were thought to be the same. The difference was established between those who were entitled to vote and those who were not.

[79] *Gaceta de Cartagena de Colombia*, January 29, 1825.

[80] Bushnell, *The Santander Regime*, 183–193.

[81] Decree establishing the elementary schools in the cities of Honda, Mariquita, Ibagué, and Ambalema y Espinal, *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades* 10, no. 109 (May 1915): 78.

[82] Session of May 16, 1823, *Santander y el Congreso de 1823: Actas correspondencia, senado* (Bogotá, 1989), 3: 67–68.

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was to be incapable of one of the most important forms of patriotic love: loving your Colombian brother.[83] This is not to deny that some people rejected the idea, just as some remembered with nostalgia the peace and order of Spanish rule and sought to reestablish the monarchy. However, there was a political and personal cost for expressing such opinions publicly.

POLITICAL CONSENSUS ABOUT THE VIRTUES OF RACIAL EQUALITY did not mean agreement on the specific implications that this new equality would have for the political and social relations of Colombian towns. This lack of accord was further complicated by the political and social instability that characterized the war years. Political notions of legitimacy had dramatically changed. Changes in the composition of the political and military elite seemed initially to support the new notions of citizenship and racial equality. Spanish authorities were replaced by Creole authorities, which sometimes included *pardos* who had risen to positions of political and military power during the wars. Moreover, in coastal regions such as Cartagena, *pardos* took seriously the government's declarations of equality, which they saw as an outcome of their own contributions as patriot soldiers in the war against Spain. They actively denounced instances of racial discrimination that contradicted the new republican laws, which some of them interpreted as the end of white social and political control. Finally, although slavery continued to be legal, it was greatly disrupted by the wars. In the province of Cartagena, the number of slaves fell by 50 percent during the course of the independence wars.[84] Slaves who joined the patriot army were now legally free, and slaves who lived on the numerous haciendas that were abandoned by their owners during the wars had grown accustomed to their de facto freedom.[85]

Nothing expressed the social instability of the period and elite racial anxieties as did the rumors of race war (*guerra de colores*). References to race war were an integral part of the political discourse of early republican Colombia. Vice-President Santander wrote to the minister of interior about the need to create more effective criminal laws to deal with blacks who were "developing projects of domination." According to him, blacks' dangerous behavior and ambitions were "the result of ten years of revolution, during which the foundations of social order have been shaken, while the government has not been able to consolidate itself."[86] Similarly, in 1823, Minister of Interior Restrepo mentioned in various entries in his private diary a number of conspiracies against whites. He pondered, "it is most probable, and the

[83] *Gaceta de Cartagena de Colombia*, June 7, 1823.

[84] See the 1780 and 1825 censuses for the province of Cartagena in Hermes Tovar Pinzón, *Convocatoria al poder del número: Censos y estadísticas de la Nueva Granada 1750–1830* (Bogotá, 1994).

[85] On public order and abandoned hacienda slaves, see Gustavo Bell Lemus, "Deserciones, fugas, cimarronajes, rochelas y uniones libres: El problema del control social en la provincia de Cartagena al final del dominio español 1816–1820," in Lemus, *Cartagena de Indias de la colonia a la república* (Bogotá, 1991), chap. 3; Cartagena, March 1816, AGI, Cuba 717. For the congressional dossier on the freedom of slave soldiers, see, for example, Archivo Legislativo del Congreso de Colombia, Senado, Consultas, t. 58, fols. 28 and 45–47. For the impact of the war of independence on slave soldiers, see Blanchard, "The Language of Liberation," 499–523; Meisel, "From Slave to Citizen Soldier," 65–82; Bierck, "The Struggle for Abolition in Gran Colombia," 365–386.

[86] Francisco de Paula Santander to the Minister of Interior, September 7, 1824, Archivo Legislativo del Congreso de Colombia, Senado, Consultas, t. 58, fols. 43–44.

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Liberator always predicts it, that once the war with the Spanish is finished, we will have a new one with the blacks."[87] In its secret sessions, the 1823 senate discussed "the dangers racial differences pose to the Republic if the problem is not conveniently solved."[88]

Fears of race war were not only a concern of the presidency, the senate, and other central authorities in Bogotá, but also a constant worry for local elites. On June 5, 1831, Juan Barbosa, who was traveling from Cartagena to Kingston, wrote in his personal diary, "yesterday I heard a lengthy discussion of great transcendence among the sailors about a conspiracy of blacks in Colombia." Two days later he wrote again, "the discussion of the previous days continued. This talk, which is encouraged by any Colombian sailor, predicts another Saint Domingue in Colombia."[89] Back in Colombia, Barbosa told the authorities about these conversations, providing them with excerpts from his diary, as well as with information about the nature of the sailors' discussions. Although he denied that such discussions provided grounds for prosecution of the sailors, he thought these conversations "showed the degree to which the notion of revolution was in the minds of all these types of people."[90] Barbosa's account was not unique. It was not the first time, nor would it be the last, that Colombian authorities had received denunciations of race war talks and alleged racial conspiracies. From 1811 to 1828, rumors of race war had surfaced during the trials of politically active *pardos* in Honda, Majagual, Mompox, and Cartagena. In 1832, talk of race war emerged yet again in Caribbean Colombia. In January, two men were executed in the city of Santa Marta for conspiring against whites, while their accomplices were banished from the region.[91] That same month, another *pardo* was executed in Mompox for conspiring to start a revolution of *pardos*, while a man and a woman were banished for not denouncing the conspiracy.[92] At the same time, race war rumors were spreading in Cartagena, but the governor found no conspiracy.[93] One year later, however, fifty *pardo* artisans were denounced for plotting a revolt against whites in Cartagena.[94]

That none of these conspiracies resulted in a race rebellion does not diminish their historical relevance. Quite the contrary, they pose the question of why rumors of race war were so prevalent during this period, what they tell us about contemporary fears and expectations, when and why they were most likely to emerge, and what impact they had on republican racial constructs.[95] An analysis of the political

[87] José Manuel Restrepo, March 23, 1823, *Diario político y militar: Memorias sobre los sucesos importantes de la época para servir a la historia de la Revolución de Colombia y de la Nueva Granada, desde 1819 para adelante* (Bogotá, 1954), 1: 211.

[88] Senate to Santander, June 7, 1823, *Santander y el Congreso de 1823*, 1: 309.

[89] Ministerio de Interior, t. 1, fol. 155, República, AHNC.

[90] Ibid.

[91] AHNC, República, Ministerio de Interior, t. 1, fols. 154 and 163.

[92] Ibid., fols. 5–32.

[93] AHNC, República, Gobernación de Cartagena, t. 42, fols. 2–8; AHNC, República, Ministerio de Interior, t. 1, fols. 99–105.

[94] AHNC, República, Ministerio de Interior, t. 1, fols. 351–353.

[95] In her analysis of José Padilla, the most prominent and best-known Colombian *pardo* to face race war accusations, Aline Helg emphasizes the relevance of patron-client relations between whites and *pardos* to explain Padilla's failure to rally enough support in Cartagena. She argues that because of these clientelistic relationships and the appeal of legal racial equality, race-based rebellions were destined to fail. Helg, "Simón Bolívar and the Spectre of *Pardocracia*: José Padilla in Post-Independence Cartagena," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35, no. 3 (2003): 447–471, and Helg, *Liberty and Equality*,

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circumstances surrounding rumors of race war reveals that they surfaced at foundational moments of the revolution when the extent and meaning of revolutionary change and its influence over the power relations between blacks and whites were at stake. In some cases, such rumors began to circulate when *pardos* rose to positions of local authority and tried to impose their authority on the local white elite. This is evident, for example, in the criminal trial against the *pardo* Justice Valentín Arcia for his "criminal aversion toward whites." According to Justice Arcia, the elite had accused him only because they were "uncomfortable with having him as a judge and being under his command, because he belonged to the class of *pardos*."[96] Indeed, the details of the accusations against Arcia reveal an intense struggle over whether a *pardo* carpenter "with no more means of subsistence than his tools" could impose his authority over the local elite. Arcia responded to the elite's attempt to ignore and hamper his authority by publicly denouncing racial discrimination and warning the local elite of the danger of continuing with such unrepublican practices.[97] His case, like others in which influential *pardos* were accused of seditious enmity toward whites, reveals conflicts between whites and *pardos* over the implications that their new political power would have for local social relations.[98]

Other racial rumors coincided with major political changes such as the establishment of Creole revolutionary juntas and the calling of constitutional conventions. These constituted veritable foundational moments of the revolutionary era, during which notions such as tyranny, anarchy, demagoguery, equality, and liberty and its implications for social/racial relations were passionately debated. For example, rumors of race war emerged during the First Republic of Cartagena when the congress gathered to elect a governor in 1814. Conflicts between two local factions over who would occupy that office gave rise to rumors about a conspiracy among *pardos* to install one of their own in the governorship.[99] Rumors of race war also appeared during the 1828 Ocaña convention when *pardos* opposed Bolívar's constitutional project and denounced instances of racial discrimination.[100] Again in 1831, attempts

195–222. However, since Padilla's case was only one of a series of alleged racial conspiracies, the question remains why social tensions were expressed in the language of race war during this period. The answer requires analysis of racial conspiracies as a group rather than in isolation, which allows patterns to be observed that are otherwise not apparent.

[96] "Causa criminal contra Valentín Arcia, alcalde ordinario de segunda nominación de Majagual por hablar mal contra los blancos y contra el gobierno," AHNC, República, Archivos Criminales, t. 61, fols. 1143–1209, and t. 96, fols. 244–322.

[97] Ibid.

[98] See, for example, the trials of Colonel and Senator Remigio Márquez and General and Senator José Prudencio Padilla. A detailed analysis of these trials and Arcias's trial can be found in Marixa Lasso, "Haiti as an Image of Popular Republicanism in Caribbean Colombia, Cartagena Province (1811–1830)," in Geggus, *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* , 178–186, and Lasso, "Race and Republicanism in the Age of Revolution, Cartagena 1795–1831" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 2002), 133–168. For a different interpretation of Padilla's case, see Helg, *Liberty and Equality*, 195–223.

[99] José Salvador de Narváez, "Operaciones del Ejército de Cartagena situado en la línea occidental del río Magdalena, desde el 22 de diciembre de 1814 hasta el 18 de enero de 1815, con motivo de lo ocurrido en el Colegio electoral y Revisor el 17 de diciembre citado," January 30, 1815, in Manuel Ezequiel Corrales, *Efemérides y anales del Estado de Bolívar* (Bogotá, 1889), 2: 172–176. Pedro Gual, "Primer oficio del gobernador de la provincia al secretario del Estado y Relaciones Exteriores del Gobierno de la Unión," January 30, 1815, AHNC, Restrepo, rollo 5, fols. 115–116.

[100] "Cartagena, Sumaria averiguación para aclarar asuntos relacionados con la seguridad pública y

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by local radical liberals to redefine Cartagena's power relations were inscribed in the language of race war. In short, rumors of race war coincided with moments in which national or local political changes promoted acute conflicts and negotiations over racial, social, and political relations.[101]

Underlying most of the alleged racial conspiracies was pressure from *pardos* to force the elite to fulfill their promises of racial equality. Although the two sides were in agreement about the virtues and desirability of racial harmony and equality, they had quite different perspectives on the contemporary reality of this republican ideal. In contrast to the elites, *pardos* did not think that their political struggle for equality had ended. Again and again, they complained about persisting practices of racial discrimination. The language in which they expressed their grievances can be fully appreciated in the following satirical denunciation of racial discrimination in a café in the city of Cartagena, which a *pardo* artisan publicized in a printed pamphlet:[102]

WARNING

In the café of Mr. Cayetano Corrales on Saint Augustine Street, everybody's money is welcome; but only men of high status (those called *whites*) can sit down, converse and play cards, and come and go as they please, because they have money or blue blood. An honest, decent artisan who does not enjoy those eminent qualities and characteristics can leave his money, but then he himself must immediately leave, because it would be a sacrilegious impertinence to stay in the company of such distinguished men. Long live the aristocracy, long live the arrogance of the fatuous and the foolish such as Mr. Corrales, and death to him who, without being *white*, lacking blue blood or epaulettes, shamefully goes in and allows himself to be insulted and scorned for staying.

AN HONEST *PARDO*

This pamphlet uses the language of racial grievances voiced by most *pardos* accused of racial enmity against whites. A salient characteristic is its emphasis on the aristocratic nature of racial inequality, which was a recurrent theme of early republican racial language. To discriminate against honest *pardos* was a sign of arrogant aristocratic behavior. The pamphlet contrasted the "vanity," "blue blood," and "high status" of those who discriminated against *pardos* with the "decency" of the victimized artisans, who embodied the republican values of work and honesty. Secondly, the author was willing to use racial terms and identification. He associated the labels "*pardo*" and "white" with archaic aristocratic values. However, because experience had shown him that they had not yet been relegated to the past, he publicly used them to expose discrimination. He was unwilling to bury and silence race as long as it continued to be used to discriminate against *pardos*. Thus, the "honest *pardo*" openly spoke out against the arrogant whites who refused to seat *pardos* in their cafés. Cartagena's judicial authorities declared the pamphlet signed by an "honest *pardo*" to be a "subversive publication," and the author, Agustín Martínez, was

con la subordinación y disciplina en las clases del ejército," AHNC, República, Archivos Criminales, t. 44, fols. 86–118.

[101] I further analyze the context of these cases in Lasso, "Race and Republicanism during the Age of Revolution," 89–201.

[102] AHNC, República, Gobernación de Cartagena, 42, fol. 5.

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accused of sedition and banished for two years.[103] He learned the hard way that it was dangerous to seek public redress of racial discrimination.

Martínez's experience was not unique. Other *pardos* who were willing to denounce racial discrimination encountered similar problems. This can be observed among a group of artisans who had gathered to celebrate a baptism. They discussed the discrimination against *pardos* by local authorities. One of them stated, "when a white fights with a black, the black goes to jail, while the white walks away laughing."[104] Another told his fellow artisans that "their economic difficulties were caused not by the city's monetary problems but by the actions of eight or ten whites."[105] As a result, fifty of them were jailed for "trying to rob, murder, and maybe even destroy the government." When the government decided that the alleged conspiracy was merely an act of drunkenness, they were set free.[106] Others were less fortunate. Some *pardos* who faced similar accusations were executed, some were banished, and others were set free only after enduring long, painful trials. *Pardos'* political denunciations, which they framed as righteous attempts on their part to impose republican law—in contrast to despotic elite cliques—were now described as factious attempts to promote race war. Trial after trial conveyed the message that public expression of racial grievances was dangerous and could lead to fatal personal and political consequences.[107]

The criminal cases against *pardos* accused of sedition or racial enmity show the mechanisms through which local authorities inscribed racial grievances in a language of race war. The testimony of elites reveals not only their recalcitrance in accepting *pardos* with political authority—hardly a surprising reaction—but also their difficulties in expressing their antagonism. They could not openly accuse *pardos* of not knowing their place, or of not respecting natural hierarchies, because such notions were now declared despotic and antinational. Yet by inscribing *pardos'* denunciations of racial discrimination and defiance of elite authority in terms of racial enmity, the white elite managed to expunge *pardos'* actions from the sphere of legitimate politics.

Local elites referred to racial harmony as something that had already been achieved. They described their towns as places where racial peace and harmony already reigned, which made further change unnecessary and any reference to race pointless. This rhetoric left little, if any, room for racial grievances. The accusation against Justice Arcia provides a clear example of how this rhetoric was used. Justice Arcia's written dialogue about the persistence of racial and social discrimination in his town earned him accusations of seditious promotion of race war.[108] His complex conflicts with the local white elite were summarized thus: "he continues to lash out against the white class, with no consideration of the fact that we are all undifferentiated members of society. He has taken it upon himself to destroy the marriage that this tranquil town has enjoyed, promoting a criminal antipathy toward

[103] AHNC, República, Ministerio de Interior, t. 1, fol. 102.
[104] Ibid., fol. 353.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid., fols. 351–353.
[107] For a detailed analysis of criminal cases against *pardos* in Cartagena during the first decade of independence, see Lasso, "Race and Republicanism in the Age of Revolution."
[108] AHNC, República-Archivos Criminales, t. 96, fols. 244–322.

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whites."[109] Since harmony and equality were already present, Arcia's racial complaints had to be a manifestation of his aversion to whites.

Once declared unnecessary, racial grievances became dangerous attempts to upset the public order. Thus, the white elite attributed any expression of racial conflict to the negative influence of disruptive figures who were trying to disturb the unity, peace, and tranquility of their towns. By associating racial grievances with race war, local authorities inscribed them within a general discourse of revolt and sedition. Let us return to the "honest *pardo*." He was accused and convicted for his "alarming and threatening expressions against the government," and for "attempting to provoke a popular commotion with his pamphlet." He was also accused of spreading "seditious ideas" against the government—ideas capable of "inciting rebellion or at least disturbing public order." The prosecutor claimed that since the publication of his pamphlet, the city had been "in constant alarm, fearing an insurrection at any moment."[110]

In this way, the elite inverted notions of victimization. *Pardos* ceased to be victims of discrimination and became agents of racial hatred, while the elite ceased to be upholders of racial hierarchies and became the victims of racial hate. Moreover, there was no room for the notion of racial grievances within an elite discourse that declared equality to already have been achieved. The discourse of the authorities allowed no overlap between harmony and war; racial grievances had to fit into one category or the other. Through their association with race war and sedition, open debates about race and racial identification became marked as unpatriotic and antinational, and thus were excluded from legitimate public discourse. In short, not only was explicit racial talk criminalized by local elites, it was transformed into a seditious attempt to disturb public order and harmony.[111]

The nationalist discourse of racial harmony was further consolidated by the ways in which local actors—*pardos* and the elite—related to the central state. Neither local authorities nor *pardos* could take the support of the state for granted. Not all *pardos* were found guilty by the central authorities. In some cases, the central state not only declared *pardos* innocent, but accused the local elite instead.[112] In others, they rejected the gravity of *pardos'* racial speech. In one instance, the secretary of interior not only dismissed the alleged severity of *pardos'* racial speech as an inconsequential act of drunkenness, but also reminded Cartagena's government that it was "important as well as just" to ensure that the fair administration of justice eliminated any residue of old racial resentments between sections of the population.[113]

Success in obtaining a favorable decision from the central authorities depended in large part on the actors' ability to frame their position according to legitimate republican principles. It was particularly important for them to express their support

[109] Ibid., t. 61, fols. 1143–1209.

[110] AHNC, República, Ministerio de Interior, t. 1, fol. 102.

[111] This process was not unique to early-nineteenth-century Colombia. A century later, black Cubans who organized to combat the persistence of racism were also accused of promoting race war. Helg, *Our Rightful Share*. For a different approach to the relationship between crime and race in Cuba, see Alejandra Bronfman, "'En Plena Libertad y Democracia': *Negros Brujos* and the Social Question," *HAHR* 82, no. 3 (2002): 549–587.

[112] See the cases of the aforementioned senator Remigio Márquez and of Buenaventura Pérez, AHNC, Anexo, Guerra y Marina, 106, fols. 445–477.

[113] AHNC, República, Ministerio de Interior, t. 1, fol. 351.

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for racial equality and public order. This tactic is clear in the response of the elites to *pardos'* denunciation of racial inequality. Local authorities had to convince the state that they were successfully promoting racial harmony and equality in their towns. The governor of Cartagena felt compelled to cite his efforts to lead people of all colors (*clases*) to "the most perfect union and social harmony" before denouncing Calixto Noguera—a politically active *pardo*—as an enemy of the whites. Local elites needed to make it clear that any racial conflicts that surfaced in their towns originated not in their discriminatory behavior but rather, to put it in the words of Cartagena's governor, in the "ignorant ambition" of "ungrateful men" who were not satisfied with the benefits the republic had bestowed on them.[114] Thus, every time *pardos* raised the issue of racial discrimination, local elites had to repress and silence them while at the same time reiterating their public commitment to racial equality. The central state played a crucial role in consolidating the transformation of racial grievances into a taboo subject. It did so not only by further repressing *pardos*, but also by upholding the notion of racial harmony; with recalcitrant local elites forced to comply with a greater degree of racial equality than they may have been willing to accept, the fiction of harmony was maintained.

THE SPANISH AMERICAN WARS OF INDEPENDENCE raise some crucial questions about the impact of anticolonial struggles in the development of national racial imaginaries in the Americas. They suggest that the way in which national identity was shaped in opposition to imperialist enemies had a crucial impact on the future of race relations. A brief and tentative comparison between the United States and Colombia underlines this point. In both regions, patriot nationalism exalted the differences between tyrannical European metropolises and American republican freedom. Yet the place of race in the equation of freedom depended less on patriots' notions of freedom—which, after all, drew on the same Enlightenment tradition—than on where their colonial power stood on the issue of race. In other words, it depended on whether racial equality was perceived as a colonial imposition or as a patriot aspiration.[115] In the United States, war propaganda made England the "champion" of blacks' rights. Patriots denounced England's support of blacks as yet another sign of that country's tyrannical attitudes toward Americans and its evil intentions of degrading them to equality with blacks.[116] Their propaganda proclaimed that under the British, "the Negroes shall be free, and the Liberty Boys slaves."[117] English propaganda echoed these feelings by highlighting the hypocrisy of patriots who proclaimed freedom while maintaining slavery and applauding Britain, "where Liberty reigns—where Negro no beaten or loaded with chains."[118] As John Sweet points out, one of the "colonists' worst nightmares was the prospect of being degraded to equality with

[114] AHNC, República, Secretaría de Guerra y Marina, t. 14, fol. 115.

[115] I am inspired by Linda Colley's notion that "men and women decide who they are by reference to who and what they are not." Colley, *Britons*, 6. Her idea that national identity is shaped in opposition to national enemies is crucial for understanding the impact of anticolonial wars in the development of national racial identities.

[116] I am summarizing Sweet, *Body Politics*, 191.

[117] Quoted in ibid., 189.

[118] Ibid.

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blacks."[119] These sentiments were strikingly similar to those of Colombian and Venezuelan whites in the 1790s who denounced Spanish support of black militias as a clear sign of their disregard for the welfare of Spanish American subjects. Yet the Spanish American wars of independence inverted these notions. Patriot propaganda now harshly denounced Spanish "autocratic" opposition to blacks' representation rights, inviting blacks and whites to "unite and give Europe an example of fraternity."[120]

The divergent associations between patriot nationalism and race that developed during the wars would have an enormous influence on the construction of modern imaginaries in both regions. Nationalism would determine whether racial equality would become a core element of the national ideology, as in Spanish America, or a precarious concept constantly subjected to challenge, as in the United States. In Colombia, the revolution had transformed racial equality from one of several political positions into an unchallengeable nationalist principle. That is why, in spite of the numerous civil wars and constitutional changes that shifted Colombia back and forth from federalism to centralism and from universal manhood suffrage to restricted suffrage, the principle of legal racial equality was never questioned. In the United States, racial equality was only one among a number of equally important and respectable positions, including the support of back-to-Africa programs. Few events represented the disconnect between nationalism and racial equality like the 4th of July celebrations of the 1820s and 1830s. Not only were free blacks harassed and expelled from the celebrations by rowdy mobs who claimed that the 4th of July "belongs exclusively to the white population," but many American blacks chose a British holiday—August 1, West Indian Emancipation Day—as their holiday.[121] Even at a symbolic level, the American Revolution failed to inaugurate a new era in race relations. That is why even today it is hard to find a nationalist icon in the U.S. who, like Simón Bolívar, can claim the allegiance of the entire nation. The struggle for racial equality in the United States was linked to bloody regional conflicts, not to a unified front against a common enemy. It would not be until another war—and another enemy—in the 1940s that the racial constructions developed during the Age of Revolution would begin to be successfully challenged.[122]

Modern struggles to end formal and informal racial inequality in the United States and Spanish America would have to confront the conflictive associations between nationalism and racial equality that emerged during the Age of Revolution. In the United States, blacks would be excluded from the national imaginary and denied equal legal rights, yet they would form powerful and lasting political organizations that would effectively fight against formal and informal discrimination and prejudice. In Spanish America, blacks would enjoy legal equality and sometimes even

[119] Ibid., 191.

[120] "Proclama de José Francisco Bermúdez," Cartagena, August 8, 1815, AHNC, Restrepo, rollo 5, fol. 179.

[121] Leonard I. Sweet, "The Fourth of July and Black Americans in the Nineteenth Century: Northern Leadership Opinion within the Context of Black Experience," *Journal of Negro History* 61, no 3 (1976): 258–259; Shane White, "'It Was a Proud Day': African Americans, Festivals, and Parades in the North, 1741–1834," *Journal of American History* 81 (1994): 38–41.

[122] Lary May, "Making the American Consensus: The Narrative of Conversion and Subversion in World War II Films," in Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsh, eds., *The War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness during World War II* (Chicago, 1996), 71–102.

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become part of national imaginaries that acclaimed the mulatto as the embodiment of the nation. At the same time, however, they would face great difficulty in fighting prejudice and informal discrimination in a cultural environment that had made the denunciation of racism a taboo topic and black organizations a sign of unpatriotic divisiveness.

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The Disruptive Comforts of Drag: (Trans)Gender Performances among Prisoners of War in Russia, 1914–1920

ALON RACHAMIMOV

ON MARCH 30, 1918, the German Theatrical Group of the Krasnoiarsk Officer Camp staged its twenty-seventh production of the war: Johann Nepomuk Nestroy's 1842 farce *Einen Jux will er sich machen* [He Intends to Have a Fling].[1] Like all of Nestroy's plays, *Einen Jux* was written not in standard High German but in the spoken dialect of Vienna and Lower Austria, and it appealed on a sentimental level to the interned Austrian officers, the largest group of prisoners in camp. As is often the case with works in this genre, the farce includes its fair share of mistaken identities and narrow escapes, all happily resolved at the end by a triple wedding. In one of these escapes, during the third act, the young commercial apprentice Christopherl, wearing a lady's hat and cloak to keep from being noticed by the police, is mistaken for the boss's niece, Marie. Forced to continue the charade to avoid being arrested, Christopherl hears condemnation of the niece's flawed mores and is labeled "a guilty young lady" for trying to elope with her suitor. "I am a guilty young lady?!" asks Christopherl/Marie semi-naïvely.[2]

For the audience, the joke lies in the fact that Christopherl, despite being guilty of mischief, is not a young woman. They, in contrast to the characters on the stage, know that the bind for Christopherl in this situation is that his options are to be perceived either as a woman or as a lawbreaker. In other words, his alternatives are womanhood or jail, both distressing choices for a young apprentice. Opting for freedom, Christopherl pretends to be Marie until he feels safe enough to escape out the window and return to his previous identity.

Christopherl's awareness that gender impersonation can keep him out of prison was undoubtedly shared by his POW audience. In Krasnoiarsk and forty-five other officer camps in Russia, inmates established highly elaborate theaters and relied on

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[1] Although *Einen Jux* was never translated into English, it was adapted many times for English-language productions. Thornton Wilder adapted it twice—in 1939 as *The Merchant of Yonkers*, and again in 1955 as *The Matchmaker*—and once by Tom Stoppard, in 1982 as *On the Razzle*. Wilder's *Matchmaker* was the basis for the most successful adaptation of *Einen Jux*, the Michael Stewart and Jerry Herman musical *Hello Dolly!* See Johann Nepomuk Nestroy, *Einen Jux will er sich machen*, Komödien Hrsg. Franz H. Mautner, with an introduction by Siegfried Diehl (Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 227–311.

[2] Nestroy, *Einen Jux*, 285.

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the talents of hundreds of female impersonators from among the POW population. These young officers not only performed the roles of women in almost every production, but in many cases they assumed feminine identities offstage as well. "This was the golden age of the female impersonator," wrote POW memoirist Hermann Pörzgen, "when unfulfilled eroticism . . . reoriented the fantasies of the mass [of prisoners] toward a new object and channeled love, sorrow, adulation, and critique."[3]

The centrality of female impersonators in POW camp life has not yet been given much consideration by social and cultural historians of the Great War, including those who deal with gender topics. Despite sophisticated research done in the past two decades on shifting gender boundaries on the "home front," and despite insightful work published on male camaraderie and sexual fantasy among frontline soldiers, little attention has been devoted to the lively and ubiquitous drag performances in POW camps.[4] Other than occasional allusions to the famous drag scene in Jean Renoir's 1937 classic *La Grande Illusion*, the few historical studies that deal with female impersonation focus almost exclusively on frontline all-male theaters ("concert parties" in contemporary British parlance). POW theaters, on the other hand, which were usually more elaborate and spilled over into everyday life, have yet to earn in-depth treatment by historians.[5] In attempting to fill this gap, I hope to stimulate further research into issues of gender and sexuality—a practically new terrain for historians of the eastern front of World War I.[6]

The theatrical activities of German-speaking[7] POWs in Russia during World

[3] Hermann Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau: Das Bühnenleben der Kriegsgefangen Deutschen 1914–1920* (Königsberg, 1933), 78. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

[4] Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I* (Cambridge, 2004); Mark Micale and Paul Lerner, eds., *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870–1930* (Cambridge, 2001); Belinda Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000); Barbara Engel, "Not by Bread Alone: Subsistence Riots in Russia during World War I," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (December 1997): 696–721; Ute Daniel, *The War from Within: German Working-Class Women in the First World War*, trans. Margaret Ries (Oxford, 1997); Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London, 1996); Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 2 vols., vol. 1 trans. Stephen Conway, vol. 2 trans. Chris Turner and Erica Carter (Cambridge, 1987, 1989).

[5] On the significance of the theater in exploring what Victor Turner called the "Social Drama," particularly concerns of sexual and gender identity, see Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778–1928* (Chicago, 2004), chap. 7; David A. Boxwell, "The Follies of War: Cross Dressing and Popular Theatre on the British Front Lines, 1914–1918," *MODERNISM/modernity* 9, no. 1 (January 2002): 1–20; Charles Upchurch, "Forgetting the Unthinkable: Cross Dressing and British Society in the Case of the Queen vs. Boulton and Others," *Gender and History* 12, no. 1 (April 2000): 127–157; Laurence Senelick, *The Changing Room: Sex, Drag and Theatre* (London, 2000); Martha Vicinus, "Fin-de-siècle Theatrics: Male Impersonation and Lesbian Desire," in Billie Melman, ed., *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace* (New York, 1997), 163–192; Lenard Berlanstein, "Breeches and Breaches: Cross-Dress Theater and the Culture of Gender Ambiguity in Modern France," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 2 (April 1996): 338–369; Lesley Ferris, ed., *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing* (London, 1993); Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theater: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York, 1982).

[6] A welcome addition to the historiography of gender and sexuality on the eastern front is Maria Bucur and Nancy Wingfield, *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (forthcoming from Indiana University Press).

[7] The designation "German-speaking" refers solely to the language used by these officers. Many of them came from areas of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy where German was the mother tongue; some were citizens of imperial Germany; while others used another language as what was known in contemporary terms as their "language of daily use." Therefore, the term "German-speaking" does not necessarily imply that these prisoners identified as "Germans" by nationality. As the language of high culture in Central Europe and as the lingua franca of the Habsburg officer corps (both professional and

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War I reflected the acute sense of masculine disempowerment experienced by the prisoners. The circumstances of captivity, including the physical separation of the ranks and the removal of insignia, heightened what was already a vulnerable situation for the POWs. Some of the men experienced capture by the enemy as a metaphoric castration and as a precipitous loss of status in the social and gender hierarchy. The all-male theaters that emerged in the Russian camps—*die Plennytheater*[8]—were perhaps the most important medium for exploring and expressing the pressures of captivity. Beyond their immediate purpose of entertainment, POW theaters provided what was perceived by those involved as a therapeutic diversion from the mental and physical decay that came with imprisonment. In officer camps, the POW stage gave rise to an elaborate quasi-bourgeois theater life aimed at re-creating a prewar sense of comfort, power, and self-worth. At the center of this theatrical sociability were the female impersonators, usually young officers, who performed women's roles on the stage and often in everyday life in the camps.

When the *Plennytheater* is examined in the context of theoretical literature about drag written by gender scholars over the past two decades, it can be analyzed in accordance with two major interpretive approaches:[9] the first highlights the function of drag in maintaining gender and political hierarchies (the "safety valve" argument), while the second underscores its nonconformist and disruptive functions. Following the insights of Judith Butler, Lenard Berlanstein, and David A. Boxwell, I argue that drag is by definition ambivalent, and thus POW theatrical performances possessed both disruptive and normalizing potential. The *Plennytheater* was more than just a "safe space" that reaffirmed upper- and middle-class heterosexual masculinity. It simultaneously created powerful contrary undercurrents that sanctioned forms of homoerotic relations and transgender identifications, especially as part of what some POW memoirists called "the cult of the female impersonator."

CAPTIVITY WAS A COMMON EXPERIENCE for soldiers in World War I. During four years of fighting, an estimated 8.5 million soldiers fell into enemy hands—roughly one out of every nine men in uniform.[10] This was only slightly less than the estimated 9 to 10 million soldiers who were killed during the war (750,000 of whom died in captivity). On the eastern front, more than 5 million soldiers from Russia, Austria-

reserve), German was ubiquitously used and understood. On this issue, see István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918* (New York, 1990), 5, 99–102.

[8] The Russian term for prisoner of war is *voennoplennyi*. Hence *das Plennytheater* (*die Plennytheater* in the plural)is the equivalent of "prisoner theater" in Russian, and was used in this form in German texts, too.

[9] In addition to the works cited in note 4, see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 10th Anniversary Edition (New York, 1999); Alisa Solomon, "It's Never Too Late to Switch: Crossing toward Power," in Ferris, *Crossing the Stage*; and Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York, 1992).

[10] For estimates of the numbers of prisoners during World War I, see Alon Rachamimov, *POWs and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front* (Oxford, 2002), chap. 1; Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War: Explaining World War I* (New York, 1998), Table 42, 369.

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Hungary, Germany, and Romania became POWs, some of whom were interned until 1922.[11]

Great War POWs, like prisoners in previous and subsequent wars, often related the moment of their capture in considerable detail.[12] It is clear why so much attention was given to an event that may have lasted only minutes in a saga that went on for years: the moment of capture was the crucial pivot of the entire narrative, when the protagonists first came under direct control of the enemy and began a new chapter in their lives. As a narrative device, it was also an opportunity to solicit understanding from readers while dealing with issues of shame, fear, honor, and personal accountability. The sense of *falling* into enemy hands came across powerfully in POW correspondence (which was diligently copied during the war by censors), and even more so in the hundreds of memoirs that were written by POW officers and published in Central Europe during the interwar years.[13] For these officer memoirists, life before captivity had purpose, honor, and the possibility of heroism, while interwar societies with their sociopolitical dislocations seemed to extend the falling sensation beyond wartime.[14] As historian Peter Melichar noted with regard to Austrian officers, "the work of memory (*Erinnerungsarbeit*) became the focus of their activities" because "their whole form of existence was crucially linked to the past."[15]

Although the moment of capture cannot be viewed as a "rite of passage" in the usual sense (i.e., in the context of "life cycle" rituals), there are elements in it reminiscent of Arnold van Gennep's original formulation of the term, which also included territorial passages.[16] Specifically, the idea of "liminality"—the "no longer/not yet" phase in the passage, when a person has lost one identity but not yet acquired a new one—seemed to resonate loudly in the recollections of many captured soldiers. The Austro-Hungarian military chaplain Karl Drexel, for example, described being overcome by a feeling akin to anesthesia: "All I can remember is the darkness; the only thing I said to the people I knew was, 'So you are here, too.'"[17] The Turkish officer Mehmet Arif Ölçen told of being gripped by intense fright and a conviction that he would shortly be murdered by his Russian captors.[18] Other prisoners reported feeling a profound sense of confusion that sometimes lasted weeks or more.[19]

[11] See Rachamimov, *POWs and the Great War*, 31–44, 191–196, 221–222.

[12] Robert Doyle, *Voices from Captivity: Interpreting the American POW Narrative* (Lawrence, Kans., 1994), 89.

[13] In Austria-Hungary, the Office of POW Censorship alone employed close to 1,200 censors in 1916, who at the height of their activity read 455,000 articles of mail a day in thirty-five different languages. On the activity of the censor's office and the uses of correspondence to access the opinions of prisoners, see Alon Rachamimov, "Arbiters of Allegiance: Austro-Hungarian Censors during World War I," in Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit, eds., *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe* (New York, 2005), 157–177; Rachamimov, *POWs and the Great War*, chap. 6; and Gustav Spann, "Zensur in Österreich während des I: Weltkrieges 1914–1918" (Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 1972).

[14] Ernst Hanisch, "Die Männlichkeit des Kriegers: Das österreichische Militärstrafrecht im Ersten Weltkrieg," in Thomas Angerer, Birgitta Bader-Zaar, and Magarete Grandner, eds., *Geschichte und Recht: Festschrift für Gerald Stourzh zum 70. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 1999), 319–325.

[15] Peter Melichar, "Die Kämpfe merkwürdig Untoter: K.u.k. Offiziere in der Ersten Republik," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften* 9, no. 1 (1998): 52.

[16] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (1909; repr., Chicago, 1960), 15–25; see also Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London, 1969), chap. 3.

[17] Karl Drexel, *Feldkurat in Sibirien 1914–1920* (Innsbruck, 1940), 28.

[18] Mehmet Arif Ölçen, *Vetluga Memoir: A Turkish Prisoner of War in Russia, 1916–1918* (Gainesville, Fla., 1995).

[19] Doyle, *Voices from Captivity*, 89. Even officers who had not fallen into enemy hands reported a

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This confusion and fear about the future were exacerbated by the acts of humiliation that captors sometimes inflicted on their prisoners. For POWs captured by the Russian army during World War I, the most common form of degradation was being forced to hand over their personal effects: watches, rings, medals, and money were stripped away immediately upon capture, or in some cases were "bought" by Russian soldiers for a negligible amount of money. This process of divesting prisoners of their valuables and markers of individual identity is strikingly suggestive of what anthropologists call "effacement rituals . . . [for] liminal initiands."[20] The Hebrew expressionist poet Avigdor Hameiri, who as a Hungarian officer was taken captive during the Brusilov offensive of June 1916, described how bayonet-wielding Russian soldiers lined up prisoners and removed their valuables under a barrage of curses.[21] U.S. Department of State delegates, who represented Austro-Hungarian and German interests until the United States' entry into the war in April 1917, used more diplomatic language: "The first act by which the Russian power manifests itself toward the soldiers made prisoners of war is pitilessly taking from them all their property—an act ordinarily termed pillage."[22]

Even soldiers who were captured in a less brutal fashion experienced a noticeable sense of humiliation when they were first taken prisoner. Among officers, this feeling of disgrace emanated partly from a perception of not having fulfilled their duties as warriors, as well as from anxiety at the prospect of having to submit a formal explanation of their failings after their repatriation. POW physician Burghard Breitner regretted not being wounded during his capture and titled his memoirs *Unverwundet Gefangen* [Captured Unwounded], while Karl Drexel described in his memoirs how POW officers from the same units would work together to prepare an agreed-upon version of the circumstances of their capture.[23] Increasingly isolated from the front line, the only wartime place where masculine vigor could indisputably be reaffirmed, officer memoirists felt vulnerable and defensive. Although these officers remained in the male military setting of captivity—and ostensibly removed from the realm of women on the home front—they felt insecure about their status as warriors. In the gendered spatial dichotomy of wartime, captivity seemed to float freely between the gender poles.[24]

Prisoners sometimes expressed this sensation of fragility in their memoirs while describing the surrender of their swords to the enemy. The pathos invested in the recollection of this episode demonstrates how strongly the chivalric notion of mas-

feeling of apathy and a sensation of "sleepwalking" upon relinquishing their officer corps insignia at the end of the war. Melichar, "Die Kämpfe merkwürdig Untoter," 56.

[20] Turner, *From Ritual to Theater*, 26.

[21] Avigdor Hameiri, *be-Gehenom shel Mata: Reshimot Katzin Ivri be-Shvi Russia* [Inferno on Earth: The Notes of a Hebrew Officer in Russian Captivity], revised, annotated, and ed. Avner Holtzman (Tel Aviv, 1989), 13–14.

[22] "Resumé of Complaints Relative to the Regime Applied in Russia to Austro-Hungarian Prisoners of War," June 27, 1916, July 10, 1916, National Archives of the United States, File no. 763.72114, Suffix 1800, 1.

[23] Burghard Breitner, *Unverwundet Gefangen: Aus meinem sibirischen Tagebuch* (Vienna, 1921); Drexel, *Feldkurat in Sibirien*, 38–39; see also Rachamimov, *POWs and the Great War*, chaps. 1, 4.

[24] Wartime psychiatry in Germany and Austria-Hungary tended to construe the frontline military world as "healthy," while home territory with its female kin was "pathogenic." See Paul Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890–1930* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003), 168; see also Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 5–8, 258–262.

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culinity gripped the imaginations of German-speaking officers.[25] They did not respond as emotionally to the confiscation of other military weapons or insignia, including their guns. Beyond the removal of a millennia-old phallic symbol, the loss of a sword meant losing one of the most important pre–World War I representations of social hierarchy, military authority, and manly skills. The practice of the duel, prevalent before the war in Germany and Austria-Hungary among young men of bourgeois and noble background, linked honor and prowess to representations of medieval knightly masculinity.[26] Being deprived of the means to achieve or defend this honor meant that for the duration of their capture, POW officers could not rely on prewar practices to reassert a sense of manliness. Thus it is not surprising that Lieutenant Hans Baumgartner—forty-two years of age at the time of his capture and a reserve officer—bade a mournful farewell to what he described as a "very dear friend, my sword":

> Many years ago, as a one-year volunteer, I drew it for the first time as I proudly commanded a small platoon. Later it accompanied me on weapons training through many a region and town, and after I became a *Landstürmer* [second-line reservist] and gave away the rest of my equipment, I kept it—rusty and shabby though it was becoming—for memory's sake . . . [After being captured] I made sure it would not serve anyone else! A powerful flat strike against a tree trunk, and the blade was broken into pieces. My opponents would get only the sheath and stump as their booty.[27]

For officers, capture was only the beginning of the loss of honor and authority. The experience of disempowerment continued during their evacuation to the Russian rear, and through the sorting process in the assembly camps in Kiev and Moscow. During this procedure, the officers were separated from their charges, and they would remain apart throughout the many years of internment.[28] Although officers received far better treatment in captivity than did rank-and-file POWs—including decent monthly salaries and exemption from labor—they were now confined to their own world, unable to display their authority. Theirs was a privileged position vis-à-vis the enlisted men, but their fall was in many ways greater. The war ministries of the Central Powers protested that "officers were made to salute" Russian NCOs, and that it was "contrary to the military honor that officer prisoners of war are not permitted to walk on the pavements (sidewalks)," but to no avail.[29] The head of the Political Section in the Department of POW Affairs of the Austro-Hungarian War

[25] Reinhard Nachtigal, *Rußland und seine österreichisch-ungarischen Kriegsgefangenen (1914–1918)* (Remshalden, 2003), 36; for general works about the links between chivalry and masculinity, especially among officers, see Allen J. Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice and the Great War* (Chicago, 2004), chaps. 6–7; Leo Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism: War and the Changing Nature of Masculinity* (New York, 2003), pt. 6; Robert Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (1993; repr., Berkeley, Calif., 1998); Ute Frevert, *Men of Honour: A Social and Cultural History of the Duel* (Cambridge, 1995); Deák, *Beyond Nationalism*, chap. 6; Hanisch, "Die Männlichkeit des Kriegers," 313–338.

[26] Frantzen, *Bloody Good*, chap. 7; Braudy, *From Chivalry to Terrorism*, 349–356; Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, chaps. 8–9; Deák, *Beyond Nationalism*, chap. 6.

[27] Hans Baumgartner, "Kriegsgefangenschaft in Sibirien 1915–1921," manuscript housed at the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Nachlaß Baumgartner B/268, 16.

[28] During the separation of the ranks, the rank-and-file POWs often hurled insults at their former commanders. Hameiri, who described such incidents with great relish, remarked that the only consolation POW officers had in such circumstances was to promise to get even after the war. Hameiri, *be-Gehenom shel Mata*, 27.

[29] "Resumé of Complaints," 6.

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Ministry concluded glumly, "under these circumstances, it seems difficult to explain why the unwritten—but never disputed—universal agreement to accord professional honor to officers was ignored in Russia."[30]

The realization that the knightly code of honor—perhaps the quintessential emblem of middle- and upper-class masculinity in *fin-de-siècle* Europe—was not respected and could not be defended was a nasty shock for POW officers. In terms of material well-being, officers enjoyed preferential treatment in comparison to rank-and-file prisoners, but it was those cracks and fissures in their privileged sense of superiority that may have hurt the most. The dejection they felt about their loss of status and their sense of masculine vulnerability would find expression in the elaborate theatrical performances produced in officer camps.

PRISONER-OF-WAR THEATER IN RUSSIA was part of the larger phenomenon of Great War soldier theatricals. As with frontline theaters, the impulse to perform in POW camps had much to do with overcoming boredom and numbing routine, while creating socially sanctioned "safe spaces" to express the anxieties and dislocations brought on by the war.[31] This drive "from below" to provide entertainment and emotional relief could also offer, as David A. Boxwell recently argued regarding the western front, a "quasi-utopian space where the traumatic undercurrents . . . could receive at least partial salutary psychic and cultural propitiation."[32] Thus, from a functional point of view, theaters provided an important mechanism for articulating and confronting anxiety and trauma.[33]

Camp theaters were initially makeshift affairs that utilized whatever could be rounded up. "Beds, tables, and similar items made up the scenery for such 'theaters,'" wrote Hermann Pörzgen, "with backdrops made out of woolen blankets, all of which were put back at the end of the performance."[34] The need to improvise remained the rule in most non-officer POW camps in Russia, because the rank and file were required to work for their upkeep.[35] The men spent most of the day employed in Russian agriculture or industry—usually for meager compensation—and had little time left in which to establish a high-quality theater. Moreover, they had limited personal means with which to support a permanent theater, while the communal funds donated by international charities or transferred from the home state had to be used for many other purposes as well (such as supplementing rations or

[30] Ernst Ritter von Streeruwitz, "Kriegsgefangene im Weltkrieg 1914–1918," unpublished typescript, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna, 2: 207. The six-volume study was edited in Vienna in 1928 and was based on wartime administrative documents.

[31] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 61; Boxwell, "The Follies of War," 5; the expression "safe spaces" comes from Upchurch, "Forgetting the Unthinkable," 128.

[32] Boxwell, "The Follies of War," 5.

[33] Ibid., 3–5. Boxwell's analysis follows Victor Turner's four-stage model of the articulation and resolution of social crisis: (1) forcing crisis into the open (breach), (2) recognition of crisis, (3) redressing crisis, and (4) resolution/conclusion. See Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre*; see also Paul Lerner and Mark S. Micale, "Trauma, Psychiatry and History," in Micale and Lerner, *Traumatic Pasts*, 1–27.

[34] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 62.

[35] Ibid., 61–66; the rank-and-file camp in Tobolsk seems to have been an exception, with two large bands and a permanent theater troupe. See Karl Franzowitsch, "Anfänge des Gefangenentheaters," in Hans Weiland and Leopold Kern, *In Feindeshand: Die Gefangenschaft im Weltkriege in Einzeldarstellungen*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1931), 1: 138–140.

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buying additional medication). Nevertheless, the scarce documentary material still extant on the rank-and-file theaters suggests that they were rowdy and passionate affairs modeled after contemporary burlesque entertainment.[36] Karl Franzowitsch, who had been a POW in the camp in Tiumen, described the exciting, albeit foul-smelling, atmosphere of the theater:

> One cannot reconstruct this "air"! In the already densely occupied *Germanskybarrack* [*sic*], a platform was placed between two plank beds, and the number of visitors was easily ten times that of the regular occupants of the place. One could slice the air! It is difficult to report much about this "show," which was more variété than theater; first, I arrived too late, and second, I was prevented from seeing or hearing much by the *Makhorka* [coarse Russian tobacco] coming out of the pipe of a Romanian comrade! . . . the fact that people also had to live and sleep in such "air"—which at –35° could not be ventilated at all, so that a thick, foggy cloud came in from the outside every time someone walked in, which blocked the stage and caused moisture to drip on the viewers—fills me today with gratitude and respect for this will to sacrifice.[37]

The POW officer theater, on the other hand, developed into an elaborate, sophisticated, and in some cases fully professional enterprise in dozens of camps in Russia.[38] Some camps had performances in several languages (primarily German and Hungarian), while others organized into "national theaters" (Austrian, German, Hungarian, and on rare occasions Turkish). Viennese *Burgtheater* actor Julius Karsten, director of the Novo-Nikolaevsk and Barnaul officer camp theaters, may have been a bit optimistic when he predicted that the POW stage would occupy an important chapter in the annals of twentieth-century theater history.[39] Yet he was undoubtedly correct in pointing out that POW officer theater in Russia was unlike other soldier theatricals established during World War I.

There are a number of reasons why the officer *Plennytheater* was markedly different from the non-officer stage and frontline "concert parties."[40] On the most basic level, it was a question of spare time. According to the Hague Convention rules on the treatment of POWs, which were in force and were generally respected during World War I, captured officers were not required to perform any labor while in the hands of the captor power. This abundance of free time meant that they could dedicate themselves to diversions in ways not possible for either rank-and-file POWs or most frontline soldiers. Consequently, many officer camps had libraries, sports facilities, and educational courses, all offering the prisoners an opportunity to engage in what German-speaking bourgeoisie of the time venerated as *Bildung* (education/self-cultivation).[41] Yet, as Julius Karsten argued, probably the only "*Bildungsfaktor*" with broad enough appeal to "draw everyone under its spell" was the theater.[42]

[36] Franzowitsch, "Anfänge des Gefangenentheaters"; Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 61–66.

[37] Franzowitsch, "Anfänge des Gefangenentheaters," 138.

[38] Professionalization meant that actors and musicians were engaged full-time in performance, receiving pay for their work and dividends from the theater's yearly profits. See also below.

[39] Julius Karsten, "Kriegsgefangentheater in Sibirien," in Weiland and Kern, *In Feindeshand*, 1: 141.

[40] On the "concert party," see Boxwell, "The Follies of War," 5; see also J. G. Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies, 1914–1918* (Oxford, 1990).

[41] Hans Kohn, the future historian of nationalism and a POW officer in Russia between 1915 and 1920, immersed himself in the study of the Russian language and of Central Asian cultures. In his memoirs, published fifty years later, Kohn described his years in captivity "as the decisive years of my life," not least because of the time available for contemplation and self-development. Kohn, *Living in a World Revolution: My Encounters with History* (New York, 1964), 89–90.

[42] Karsten, "Kriegsgefangentheater in Sibirien," 141.

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In addition to free time, the other major resource available to officers was money. POW officers in Russia (as in other countries) received monthly salaries from their captors, which permitted them to live quite decently, at least until the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917.[43] These monthly sums—50 rubles for a subaltern, 75 rubles for a staff officer, and 125 rubles for a general—enabled officers to set up a theater and support it by selling tickets. After the Bolshevik Revolution and throughout the Russian Civil War, officer salaries—when they were paid at all—were greatly reduced. However, officer theaters managed to stay afloat and even prosper by attracting non-POW audiences from the local population. Outside visitors would normally be charged more than forty times the regular price of admittance and would be encouraged to donate to the *Plennytheater* as "benefactors" or in exchange for "loge" or "first-class seats."[44] In all, forty-six German-language theaters were established in officer camps in Russia, with twenty having a permanent building used solely for performances. Some of these *Plennytheaters* employed ensembles of more than a hundred actors and musicians, while generating work for dozens of technicians, carpenters, and tailors. The theater in the central Siberian camp of Achinsk produced no fewer than eighty-eight different productions prior to its closure by the Bolsheviks in January 1920. It highlighted the talents of Emmerich Laschitz, "Siberia's most famous female impersonator," who played the lead women's roles in many of the productions. Laschitz's great success in Oscar Wilde's *Salome*—"*fin de siècle* favorite phallic female," according to Carl Schorske—attests perhaps to the degree to which POW officers used contemporary drama to articulate their own castration fears.[45] (See Figure 1.) Representing what Bram Dijkstra described as a "bestial virgin Jewess, whose dance revived the dead embers of carnal life," the character of Salome touched on a variety of emotions experienced by the officers in captivity, including hatred of the "Russian" as a cruel "Asiatic" captor, the masochistic excitements of fettered manhood, dread of an imminent ignoble death, and a sense of Christian martyrdom.[46]

The fact that Oscar Wilde's controversial piece could be produced so easily in a Siberian officer camp while audiences in England had to wait until 1931 to see an official production of it underscores the third precious resource at the disposal of officer theaters: artistic freedom.[47] During the first Russian revolution, in March 1917, and for three years thereafter, officer theaters operated with little interference from local Russian authorities, particularly in areas controlled by the White forces of Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak. "Siberia, that fearsome specter of Russia," wrote Pörzgen poetically, "proved to be a blessed and fruitful landscape for the theater. Nowhere else in the world could the German theater have met with such response as here."[48]

Performances involving masquerades and mistaken identity were especially pop-

[43] See Rachamimov, *POWs and the Great War*, chap. 3.

[44] Franz Rehor, "Das Offizierstheater in Krasnojarsk," in Weiland and Kern, *In Feindeshand*, 1: 202–204; Karsten, "Kriegsgefangentheater in Sibirien," 142–143.

[45] On Salome, see Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (London, 1990), 149–168; Carl Schorske, *Fin de Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1981), 224.

[46] Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin-de-Siècle Culture* (New York, 1986), 386.

[47] Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy*, 150.

[48] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 11.

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FIGURE 1: Emmerich Laschitz, "Siberia's most famous female impersonator," as Salome, the iconic *fin-de-siècle* symbol of exotic and emasculating feminine power. From Hermann Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau* (Königsberg, 1933), facing p. 144.

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ular on the POW stage in Russia. Risqué *belle-époque* staples by Arthur Schnitzler and Ferenc Molnár were produced in many of the camps, alongside classic German pieces by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Friedrich von Schiller and an impressive selection from leading European playwrights such as August Strindberg and George Bernard Shaw.[49] The clear favorites among the prisoners were contemporary operettas by Johann Strauss the son, Franz Lehár, and Imre Kálmán. At Krasnoiarsk, Strauss's *Die Fledermaus* had a sensational run of thirty-eight performances, each before a jam-packed (and paying) audience of 450 POW officers. The director of the German-language stage, Major Franz Rehor, reported that the success of *Die Fledermaus* rested equally on the talent of Richard Steiner, who had been a professional tenor in Vienna before the war, and the abilities of Ensign [*Fähnrich*] Birner and Lieutenant Magda, who sang the female roles. "Through vocal inclination and exact training, Ensign Birner excelled remarkably in the performances of *Die Fledermaus*. His ability to sing in falsetto enabled him to perform the part of Adele impeccably."[50]

In contrast to frontline theaters, whose activity was co-opted, financed, supervised, and finally organized by the respective armies, POW officers in Russia after 1917 were free to perform as they pleased. More than any other theater during the Great War, the officer *Plennytheater* was a reflection of the sensibilities, desires, and concerns of the prisoners, rather than a tool encouraged and controlled from above. It is this paradoxical sense of freedom amid captivity that makes the theater such a fascinating historical source for reconstructing the mental states and experiences of interned officers.

Among the multitude of subjective meanings that POW officers found in performing and viewing, one function of the stage runs prominently through their memoirs: its power to combat physical and mental decay (which were often viewed as inextricably bound). The *raison d'être* of the *Plennytheater* lay in its professed ability to counter camp lethargy, improve bad moods, and channel sexual anxiety without its leading to, as one ex-POW called them, "moral transgressions" (*sittliche Verfehlungen*).[51] The prisoners learned that long-term incarceration could have adverse or even debilitating mental effects simply by observing some of their colleagues. Gloom, mood swings, suicides, and fits of madness were a part of daily life in this "compulsory community [*Zwangsgemeinschaft*]."[52] "The prisoners themselves . . . labeled this changed spiritual composure 'camp funk' [*Lagerfimmel*]."[53] The Swiss physician A. L. Vischer, who interviewed hundreds of POWs during the Great War, medicalized this funk as a "nervous disorder," christening it "Barbed Wire Disease" [*Stacheldrahtkrankheit* or *psychose du fil de fer*]:[54]

The disease manifests itself in a series of symptoms, varying in degree with the individual. Foremost is increased irritability, so that the patients cannot stand the slightest opposition

[49] For the full list of plays produced by POW theaters, see Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 156–221; and Rehor, "Das Offizierstheater in Krasnojarsk," 206–209.

[50] Rehor, "Das Offizierstheater in Krasnojarsk," 204.

[51] Alfred Steinpach, "Der Damendarsteller im Kriegsgefangenentheater," in Weiland and Kern, *In Feindeshand*, 1: 145. Also in *Der Plenny: Organ der Bundesvereinigung der ehemaligen öst. Kriesgefangenen*, August 1924, 7. (There, however, the author's name is misspelled as "Steinbach.")

[52] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 3.

[53] Ibid., 4.

[54] A. L. Vischer, *Barbed Wire Disease: A Psychological Study of the Prisoners of War* (London, 1919), 24–25, 50–56.

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and readily fly into a passion. A mania for discussion develops, but sound judgment is entirely lacking in the argument . . . they find intense difficulty in concentrating on one particular object; their mode of life becomes unstable . . . it has even been noticed among the interned that during meal times they will get up several times from the table and sit down again.[55]

Vischer warned gravely that "many [prisoners] will return to their homes with a damaged mentality. Europe will thus be infiltrated with individuals of abnormal psychical tendencies, who will not presumably be without influence on the collective psychology of the community."[56] Vischer's prognosis echoed pervasive fears among Central European psychiatrists that psychologically damaged veterans would return home and establish, as one practitioner put it, a "dictatorship of psychopaths" and hysterics.[57] Although the prisoners themselves seldom viewed the situation in such grim terms, there was broad agreement that for "the threatening manifestation of mental derangement, there was only one solution: diversion! Diversion was the heart of the matter."[58] Thus, on the most basic level, the prisoners understood the theater as a distraction, not for the sake of amusement, but to add some activity to their daily lives and safeguard them from insanity.

This palpable fear of sanity loss had deep roots in *fin-de-siècle* European—especially Central European—discourses about abnormality, perversions, and degeneracy. More than just a direct response to the environment of the prison camp, it arose from a combination of prewar cultural anxieties and the perceived dangers of inactivity during long-term incarceration. Michel Foucault, Robert Nye, and Harry Oosterhuis have used different approaches to trace the expansion of medical discourses in late-nineteenth-century Europe, from the study of physical degenerative insanity to the examination of "sexual perversions" and various types of "social abnormality."[59] Technical studies supposedly intended only for medical professionals, such as Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia sexualis* (eighteen editions between 1886 and 1924), were voraciously read and discussed by a nonspecialist public, even though the sexually explicit sections were customarily translated into Latin in an attempt to limit readership.[60] The mostly bourgeois men who read these studies took a keen interest in medical analyses of "perversions," and in hundreds of cases they willingly shared their personal stories with specialists.[61] *Fin-de-siècle* degeneracy specialists increasingly linked together physical, mental, and moral illness. "Physicians took the initiative," wrote George L. Mosse in *The Image of Man*, "in ratifying the

[55] Ibid., 50.

[56] Ibid., 25.

[57] Lerner, *Hysterical Men*, 193–194; on the general public's hostility toward veterans in interwar Germany, see Deborah Cohen, *The War Come Home: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany, 1914–1939* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), 63–64, 88–97.

[58] Alfred Steinpach, quoted in Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 5.

[59] Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago, 2000); Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*; Edward Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry: From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac* (New York, 1997); George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York, 996); Michel Foucault, *A History of Sexuality*, vol. 1: *An Introduction* (London, 1978), 117–119.

[60] By the time of his death in 1902, Krafft-Ebing had produced fourteen editions of *Psychopathia sexualis*. Three more were edited by his student Alfred Fuchs, the last one in 1918, and a fourth one by Albert Moll in 1924. The book was adapted in 1937 and was reprinted twelve more times until 1962. Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*, 185–194, 275.

[61] Ibid., 174–194.

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equation between morality, health and sickness . . . and lent their medical authority to the creation of the moral and physical stereotype of the outsider."[62] An "abnormal" or degenerate individual could be recognized by certain forms of behavior such as alcoholism and lethargy, or, according to some theories, by the amount of energy expended on nonreproductive activities such as masturbation and anal intercourse.[63]

This conflation of sexual and physical degeneracy is illustrated with unparalleled intensity in Avigdor Hameiri's memoirs:

> Beside us lie two POWs, who are locked in an embrace. "Look!" says Margalit [a fellow POW] in horror. I turn my head: the prisoners are fondling each other. Well, another curse hangs over us here [the camp of Uralsk]. What a terrible place this is . . . Now I see that our neighbors, the two prisoners, are both ill with scurvy. And they have performed this abomination [*toeva*] while sick. The nausea brings my stomach into my throat. This is the first time I have ever felt like this. Two human carcasses fondling each other in the bosom of death. I touch myself: What am I? Am I still a human being . . . I am told that the disease of male copulation [*mishkav zakhar*] is ubiquitous in this place, practically out in the open. Some prisoners walk around nearly naked in this putrefaction, and half-mad, they offer themselves to be "loved."[64]

In the minds of many POW officers, the theater functioned as a therapeutic diversion, an important antidote for abnormality and perversion. It energized the prisoners, gave them a sense of purpose, and directed their energies toward appropriate upper- and middle-class activities. The entire organization of the theater spoke of the desire to create a sense of bourgeois normalcy: a repertoire that could easily have belonged to any "respectable" stage in Central Europe; established box-office practices, such as selling season tickets and a choice of progressively priced seats (loge, first-class, second-class, etc.); a variety of fund-raising techniques, from a lottery to published lists of "benefactors"; and technical ingenuity applied to the creation of highly elaborate sets. (See Figures 2 and 3.) Wherever possible, the theaters were designed to resemble well-known theaters back home. The Peshchenka stage, for example, boasted curtains that were an exact duplicate of those in the *Raimundtheater* in Vienna, including Friedrich von Schiller's oft-quoted verse from *Wallenstein*: "Ernst ist das Leben, heiter ist die Kunst" [For life is stern, but art serenely joyous].[65] The *Plennytheater* of Krasnoiarsk may have outdone all the others, with its four-barrack theater complex including a buffet, a coffee shop, and "one of the barracks converted by a group of German and Austrian architects into an elegant restaurant with all the amenities, decorated in a modern style by the art dealer Lieutenant Kunft."[66]

The goal of maintaining an illusion of prewar comfort, power, and self-worth translated in officer camps in Russia into a rich theater life. This semblance of "bourgeois normalcy"—through the re-creation of former habits and lifestyles—also created a broad space both on and off the stage for one of the most interesting gender performances of the Great War: the POW officer female impersonator.

[62] Mosse, *The Image of Man*, 80.
[63] Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, 100–101.
[64] Hameiri, *be-Gehenom shel Mata*, 341.
[65] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 66; English translation of Schiller's verse from Friedrich von Schiller, *Wallenstein: A Historical Drama in Three Parts*, trans. Charles E. Passage (New York, 1958), prologue verse 138, 7.
[66] Rehor, "Das Offizierstheater in Krasnojarsk," 203.

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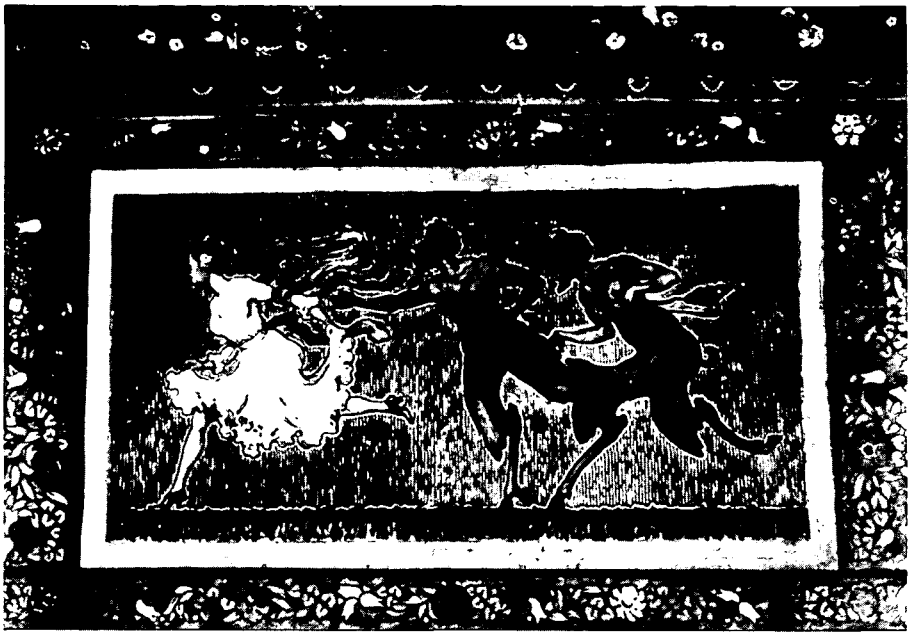


FIGURE 2: Theater curtain from Krasnoiarsk. From Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, facing p. 25.

THE NOTION THAT CROSS-DRESSING RITUALS IN GENERAL and military drag in particular sustain class and gender hierarchies finds support in a great deal of anthropological and feminist literature. Anthropologists such as Victor Turner and James Peacock tended to view transvestite rituals as a way to make a statement about authority and gender roles. By representing a wide array of conflicts within the system, transvestite rituals allow for a limited release—a "safety valve"—"without questioning the basic order of society itself."[67] Social and political boundaries are then safely reconstructed at the conclusion of the ritual, and transgressions are once again proscribed. In the same vein, Marjorie Garber argued that anxieties about transgressing racial, class, and gender borderlines were projected onto the stage in U.S. military drag shows during World War II.[68] The shows became an officially authorized safety valve, enabling such pent-up anxieties to be released in a regulated and safe manner:

> To cross-dress on stage in an all-male context like the army or the navy is a way of asserting the common privilege of maleness. Borderlines like officers/"men" or gay/straight are both put into question and redrawn or reaffirmed: 'woman'—the artifact made of wig, makeup, coconut breasts and grass skirt or sailor's "frock"—offers a space for fantasies that are at once erotic and misogynistic.[69]

Alisa Solomon concisely summed up this view by emphasizing the misogynist component in male drag acts and equating male-to-female cross-dressing with racism in minstrel shows: "Misogynist drag . . . like racist blackface, reassures, making fun of

[67] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," in Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, Calif., 1965), 129–131; see also Berlanstein's comments on Davis's analysis in "Breeches and Breaches," 340, 350.

[68] Garber, *Vested Interests*, 58.

[69] Ibid., 60.

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FIGURE 3: Theater hall in the Berezovka camp. From Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, facing p. 33.

the socially subservient class by parodying it, always reminding the viewer that the power-granting penis remains—what a relief!—just beneath the skirts. This is slumming; in the end it restores and reifies the standing order."[70] It is interesting to note that despite the use of very different terminology and reflecting radically different sensibilities, POW memoirists and a distinguished group of scholars agree on the main functions of the drag theater: maintaining "normalcy" and thwarting changes to established order. Nevertheless, there are significant reasons for rejecting this thesis, both in principle and in its application to the POW theater in Russia.

In her immensely influential book *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler argued for a more nuanced and complex understanding of drag. Despite acknowledging that drag can have misogynist overtones, she asserted that it "displac[es] the entire enactment of gender signification from the discourse of truth or falsity." By this she meant that in established hierarchies (gender or otherwise), people are assumed to have a stable internal identity, or essence, which is manifested externally through the "body surface." Individuals are then rewarded or hindered within social hierarchies on the basis of these readable "inscriptions" on the surface of their bodies. Drag, on the other hand, complicates the distinction between readable exteriors and stable identities, resulting in confusion about the "essence" of a particular body. Is the person wearing women's clothing and using "womanly acts and gestures" indeed a woman "inside," or is it the masculine body that is indicative of the "real" inner identity? In Butler's view, the three dimensions of gender signification—anatomical sex, gender identity, and gender performance—are thrown into misalignment, along with "the claim [of hegemonic culture] to naturalized or essentialist gender identities."[71] With different emphases, Laurence Senelick, Lenard Berlanstein, and David A. Boxwell have all pointed to destabilizing elements contained in drag theater, even in transvestite shows sanctioned and organized by that most hierarchical of institutions, the army.[72] As Boxwell suggested with regard to frontline theater:

[70] Solomon, "It's Never Too Late to Switch," 145.
[71] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 174, 176.
[72] Boxwell, "The Follies of War."

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While the spectacle of a soldier in drag functioned according to the "safety valve" model of cathartic ritual, the form and content of the drag performer's "act," strongly dependent as it was on multiple entendre, close physical contact with other men (both in and out of drag), and the illusion of eroticized, idealized and objectified femininity, disrupted the boundaries that contained the act as a necessary release in an all-male environment. A spectator's desiring and approving gaze on a soldier in drag was not simply a matter of pleasure in a "surrogate" woman; rather, his gaze was directed at a fellow man in drag, a fellow soldier in his own military organization.[73]

This ability of female impersonators to support normalcy and order while at the same time calling it into question is well illustrated in the case of the POW stage in Russia. Because imprisoned officers viewed the theater primarily as a means to combat "abnormality" and decay, the female impersonator in this interpretive scheme had the most important performative role: representing for prisoners what one of them called "the disappearing image of woman."[74] If the officer *Plennytheater* was to be a cultured bourgeois affair and not a rowdy rank-and-file variety show, the POWs performing women's roles had to be perfect. According to theater director Alfred Steinpach, "a manly movement, a masculine shout, could have destroyed the illusion of a highly moving scene in a Sudermann, Hauptmann, or Ibsen drama and unleashed a torrent of merriment."[75] Thus, in Steinpach's mind, "the female impersonator functioned as a hypnotist for the audience, using his art to bring them under the spell of his performance in a way that would make them forget that it was a man in front of them."[76] In her analysis of female impersonation on U.S. stages in the years 1890–1920, Sharon R. Ullman argued that performative perfectionism had to do with the desire to define representations of femininity and through it retain a sense of male control in times of social turmoil.[77] Thus, the most successful impersonators in North America, such as Julian Eltinge and Bothwell Browne, were said to offer a "more authentic representation of femininity than women themselves could."[78] On the POW stage, even in comedies of error and other lighter pieces, the purpose was suspension of disbelief. The aim of the *Plennytheater* was not a burlesque-style drag act, the kind in which the performers remove their wigs to reassure the audience of their masculinity. Rather, female impersonators in Russia were encouraged to adopt a feminine persona and maintain it as much as they could, even off the stage.

"With extreme amazement," wrote Hermann Pörzgen, "camp inmates observed the complete transformation of these young men over the course of their captivity."[79] In camp they were addressed only by their feminine names, and "through mimicry they were able to lose all traces of manliness."[80] Emmerich Laschitz, the famous impersonator of Achinsk, described how "each female impersonator had a circle of fans and admirers, whose assignment was to wash and iron undergarments and ar-

[73] Ibid., 12.
[74] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 77. The expression in German is "Das schwindende Bild der Frau."
[75] Steinpach, "Der Damendarsteller im Kriegsgefangenentheater," 145.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Sharon R. Ullman, *Sex Seen: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 51–55.
[78] Ibid., 50.
[79] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 83.
[80] Steinpach, "Der Damendarsteller im Kriegsgefangenentheater," 144.

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FIGURE 4: Theater group portrait, unidentified camp. Reproduced by permission of Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, Austria.

ticles of women's clothing. All the work was left to the chambermaid [*Kammerkätzchen*], even if that was a gray-bearded reserve officer."[81] Female impersonators received passionate poems and letters from other prisoners on a regular basis, dedicated "to the loveliest of all" or "to the beloved, fair and sweet."[82] POW officer Dr. Arthur Munk reproached "second-string actresses" and "chorus girls" in his memoirs for being "harlots" [*Dirnen*] who were not as classy as the star female impersonators.[83] (See Figure 4.)

Such unreserved behavior beyond the confines of the POW theater did not neatly fit the perception of the stage as an anchor of decency and culture. The clear expansion of "safe space" roles into everyday life required POW memoirists to use some verbal acrobatics to rework them into their framework of "normalcy." This was done through two principal arguments: such actions were interpreted either as part of a theatrical "prima donna cult" or, conversely, as an important way to maintain the men's desire for the "image of woman" and prevent homosexual acts.

The flowers, chocolates, and cosmetics received by female impersonators could easily be packaged by memoirists as typical prima donna adulation. After all, these performers were responsible for the success of the theater, and for their efforts they deserved to enjoy "some semblance of a decent life."[84] Female impersonators were described as throwing diva-caliber tantrums and behaving with extreme jealousy to-

[81] Quoted from Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 81.
[82] Ibid., 82.
[83] Quoted from Von Magnus Hirschfeld and Andreas Gaspar, eds., *Sittengeschichte des Ersten Weltkrieges*, 2nd rev. ed. (Hanau, 1982), 383.
[84] Ibid.

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ward one another.[85] Following the cliché about temperamental divas, "the director had to know how to handle his 'ladies' . . . and to fight against the capricious moods of the prima donnas."[86]

Since devotion to their task required female impersonators to internalize the "image of woman," they could not help but become fussy about feminine matters: "the more a female impersonator lived in her role, the greater were her demands in this department [i.e., clothing]. And not just visible wardrobe pieces, but lingerie, too, especially lingerie; it could not be chic and fashionable enough."[87] Along the same lines, Alfred Steinpach described a "delicious scene" related to him by an English woman living in Russia who had volunteered to lend clothes to a female impersonator from the officer theater:

> The delicate, girlish-looking youth sat down gracefully and gently on the chair offered to him. Bashful and timid like a teenage girl [*Backfisch*], he lowered his eyes, and his narrow hand wandered across the clothes, as though he wanted to make some alterations . . . the real lady was increasingly confused and no longer knew who was standing in front of her. The conversation developed exactly as it would have between two female friends.[88]

Despite the attempts of memoirists to recast apparent transgressions as part of a socially acceptable cult of the prima donna, however, it appears that POW officer camps did exhibit what David A. Boxwell called "the gender disruption associated with modern warfare."[89] Emmerich Laschitz was quite clear on this: "In private contacts, I often experienced an exceptional gallantry that was not without an air of abnormality."[90] An officer who became "too fiery" in his adulation of female impersonators "had to endure all kinds of ridicule, until even he had to laugh about it."[91] Describing the impersonators and their admirers was a grammatical challenge for memoirists. Pörzgen vacillated between the feminine pronoun "her" and the masculine pronoun "him," and was undecided on the use of quotation marks. Were the impersonators "ladies" or ladies? Were they "actresses," actresses, or yet still actors? This morphological incertitude was indicative of the destabilization of a rigid gender dichotomy, and with it the sense of normalcy that the theater was ostensibly designed to create. Perhaps the most interesting way that the female impersonators upset the hierarchy was by affecting the relationship between the ranks. "What had once been clearly indicated lines of demarcation between the ranks," wrote Alfred Steinpach, "were often crossed here, and the commanding voice of a high-ranking officer who had once so mercilessly roared 'you cadet!' while mounted on his horse became the softest of tones when that cadet later became a celebrated female impersonator."[92] POW generals reportedly vied for the affection of actresses, and one

[85] See, for example, Rodion Markovits, *Siberian Garrison*, trans. George Halasz (New York, 1929), 280–283.
[86] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 85.
[87] Ibid., 83.
[88] Steinpach, "Der Damendarsteller im Kriegsgefangenentheate," 144.
[89] Boxwell, "The Follies of War," 1.
[90] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 81.
[91] Steinpach, "Der Damendarsteller im Kriegsgefangenentheater," 145.
[92] Ibid.

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is described as having written a note saying, "you are like a flower, so delicate and pretty and pure."[93]

A second common way to counter the charge of "abnormality" was to depict the stage as a defensive measure against homosexual acts. Reinhold Messner went so far as to claim, "I do not know of one actual case of homosexuality, even of the passive kind," adding, "the sensible men in Russia showed their capacity for woman love."[94] The rationale here was clear: female impersonators were so good at their craft that they managed to keep the "image of woman" alive in the camps and thus prevent the prisoners from engaging in homosexual relationships. The obvious homoerotic quality of the "promenade walks of 'actresses' arm in arm with their admirers" was actually a way of preventing overt male-male love. "For the prisoners," wrote Pörzgen, "he was what he impersonated. He was the only woman that they saw through these long years, the only human being who could show them the grace of the other sex."[95] The female impersonator redirected the unsatisfied erotic drive of camp inhabitants, and the subject of their fantasy was as womanly as possible under the circumstances. Besides, argued Pörzgen, "homosexual epidemics broke out in camps only for short periods of time . . . they did not increase the attractiveness of the female impersonators, and their decline did not diminish it."[96]

Magnus Hirschfeld, the leading activist for homosexual rights in Germany during the first decades of the twentieth century, and who in 1910 coined the term "transvestism," made short shrift of this reasoning. With colleague Andreas Gaspar and collaborators at the Institute of Sexology (Institut für Sexualwissenschaft) in Berlin, Hirschfeld argued that "same-sex intercourse [*Verkehr*]" was very common among prisoners of war, especially among officers who did not have much contact with local women.[97] "Some of these [prisoners] . . . had a true 'urning' [i.e., homosexual] core, while others were pushed by sexual anguish [*Sexualnot*] to pseudo-homosexual practices."[98] In his mind, homosexuality and camp theater were joined together under the auspices of the stage and the conventions of a "big-city temple of muses." The possibility of having some kind of love life behind the barbed wire offered "people robbed of their freedom a means of gratification for many years."[99] In the prevalent epidemiological jargon of the time, Hirschfeld concluded, "homosexuality could indeed be regarded as contagious in the [POW] camps."[100]

These diametrically opposed assessments of the link between homosexuality and the *Plennytheater* had much to do with the different interests of the writers. Hirschfeld and his associates were eager to show that millions of men with no "urning core" were able to obtain satisfaction from homoerotic contacts—and from masturba-

[93] Markovits, *Siberian Garrison*, 281.
[94] Reinhold Meßner, "Liebe in der Gefangenschaft," in Weiland and Kern, *In Feindeshand*, 1: 146.
[95] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 78.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Hirschfeld and Gaspar, *Sittengeschichte des Ersten Weltkrieges*, 382.
[98] Ibid. The term "urning" was coined by Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in 1864 and was in wide use before "homosexual" replaced it. Hirschfeld considered it less pejorative than "homosexual," because of the latter's psychiatric and medical connotations.
[99] Ibid., 386.
[100] Ibid., 382.

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tion—in order to ameliorate "the senseless sorrows of captivity."[101] POW memoirists, on the other hand, wanted to present camp theater as an important inhibitor of homosexual acts. Alfred Steinpach thus finished his recollections by relating what he called "the final act in the human tragedy that was war." As the war ends, the female impersonator returns home and is required to compete for a living with people who are not kind and generous. "And what of the admirers? Once back home, they no longer settled for a surrogate, because 'real women' had something that even the art of the female impersonator could not fake."[102] The fact that Steinpach was now using quotation marks to qualify genetic women indicates perhaps more than anything else the degree to which gender categories were challenged by the POW stage.

The *Plennytheater* was revived in Austria by returning POWs during the interwar years, which suggests that its influence and legacy continued well after the war had ended. Every year just before Christmas, it would hold its annual ball, "A Night in Siberia," receiving front-page coverage in the official organ of the Association of Ex-Prisoners of War in Austria. It was only after the Anschluss of March 1938 and the Nazification of Austrian veterans' organizations that the theater finally ceased to exist. In contrast to the frontline theaters, which were shut down by the respective armies after the war, ex-prisoners kept returning for two decades to their memories and experiences in Russia with the aid of the stage.

THE CROSS-DRESSING STAGE WAS AND STILL IS a complex phenomenon, perhaps more so than is allowed by some scholars. It is inextricably linked to the historical situation that its performers and audiences found themselves in, as well as to other focal points of identification such as class, language, and nation. The organizers of the officer theater in Russia were aiming to reconnect not only with a sense of masculine privileged self-worth, but also with a long tradition of German culture and European sophistication. By staging highly elaborate productions of Strauss, Henrik Ibsen, and Nestroy, with scores of actors and musicians, POW officers flexed their cultural muscle vis-à-vis their Russian captors. It was in part to counter the feeling of "complete impotence [*Ohnmacht*] and powerlessness in all aspects of life" that the officers staged such a display in the vast regions of Siberia and Turkestan (Russian Central Asia).[103]

But it was not only the Russian captors who were asked to decode the performances taking place in front of them. The prisoners themselves had to interpret what they experienced on and off the stage, and decide for themselves how involved they wanted to be in this elaborate fantasy of big-city theater life. The astounding size and complexity of these theatrical productions left ample room for individual contemplation and imagination. The performances could be read in more than one way, as either supporting or blurring rigid categories of sexual identity and orientation.

The ambivalent nature of the *Plennytheater* reflected the ambivalent condition of

[101] Ibid., 386. Hirschfeld also endeavored to show that masturbation could alleviate the sexual sufferings of captivity.

[102] Steinpach, "Der Damendarsteller im Kriegsgefangenentheater," 145.

[103] Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 3.

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officers as neutralized warriors. Removed from the epicenter of wartime masculinity on the front, POW officers wound up occupying a space that was not clearly defined in the dichotomous gendered world of the Great War. With no weapons and no "legitimate" wartime activity to pursue, their sense of self-worth depended, among other things, on their ability to articulate their doubts and fears. For some, the stage provided a way to reaffirm a sense of masculine power and upper-class superiority. Indeed, many memoirists thought the theater offered the most important ingredients for reconstructing a sense of privileged normalcy: purposeful activity, urbane sociability, and the presence of the "image of woman." At the same time, however, the POW stage shook the foundations of *fin-de-siècle* heterosexual normalcy. It allowed a certain measure of homoerotic intimacy between prisoners, it accepted transgender behavior off the stage to a degree that destabilized pronouns, and it blurred the boundary between "normal" and "abnormal": if "pathological" gender behavior in one context could be regarded as "salutary" in another, then the lines between the genders were not so clearly defined after all. It comes as no surprise, then, that some POWs found prison camp to be a liberating experience. Officers who felt at odds with normative sexual mores and prescribed gender roles could live—for a fleeting moment, at least—outside of what Judith Butler called "the heterosexual matrix." Thus the star of the Siberian stage Emmerich Laschitz could look back at his time in captivity and regard it "as the happiest time of my life."[104]

[104] Ibid., 90.

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The Disenchantment of Magic: Spells, Charms, and Superstition in Early European Witchcraft Literature

MICHAEL D. BAILEY

IN 1917, IN A LECTURE IN MUNICH on "Science as a Vocation," Max Weber first articulated his notion of "the disenchantment of the world," later also incorporated into his seminal *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. He presented disenchantment as a hallmark feature of modern Western society, which had come into full vigor with the Protestant Reformation. Initially Weber described this development, in relation to science, as entailing primarily the conviction that "there are no mysterious incalculable forces" and that "one need no longer have recourse to magical means in order to master or implore spirits." Later, and rather more evocatively in relation to religion, he described it as a historical force that had progressively "repudiated all magical means to salvation as superstition and sin."[1] Weber's assertions were hardly uncontroversial, and they have been challenged repeatedly in the century since they were first made.[2] Nevertheless, the basic notion of disenchantment remains very influential on many academic disciplines' understanding of the modern world. Magic and cultural perceptions of the magical occupy a critical place particularly in sociological and anthropological conceptions of modernity, and issues of "magical thought" and "superstition" in opposition to "scientific rationalism" frame discussions not only of the modern West but of instances in which Western modernity confronts the traditional beliefs and practices of other world cultures.[3]

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[1] Max Weber, "Science as a Vocation," in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trans., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946), 129–156, quotes from 139; Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (1930; repr., London, 1992), 61. On the dating of the Munich speech, see Wolfgang Schluchter, "Excursus: The Question of Dating of 'Science as a Vocation' and 'Politics as a Vocation,'" in Guenther Roth and Wolfgang Schluchter, eds., *Max Weber's Vision of History: Ethics and Methods* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979), 113–116.

[2] A succinct critique of the use of "disenchantment" to frame modernity is found in Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1975), 258.

[3] Peter Pels, "Introduction: Magic and Modernity," in Birgit Meyer and Peter Pels, eds., *Magic and Modernity: Interfaces of Revelation and Concealment* (Stanford, Calif., 2003), 1–38, discussion of Weber on 26–29. Randall Styers, *Making Magic: Religion, Magic, and Science in the Modern World* (Oxford, 2004), offers a cogent account of how discourses of magic, especially scholarly ones, are employed to fashion modernity. On the centrality of disenchantment, he notes that all "dominant [modern] theories of magic have as their objective an insistence that the modern subject conform to an emphatic disen-

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Historians of European magic and witchcraft have also engaged, sometimes overtly but often tacitly, with the themes Weber identified and encapsulated as "disenchantment." Keith Thomas in particular, in his groundbreaking *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, made only passing reference to Weber directly but took up the essentially Weberian theme of the degree to which religion (of the more modern, reformed variety) displaced magic from European society. Far from eliminating all magic in the world, however, Thomas concluded that by eradicating the "magical" practices of the medieval church, Protestantism in England actually promoted concern about witches and popular reliance on cunning folk, astrologers, and other types of common magicians.[4] Following this line of argument, historians have since pushed generalized disenchantment back to progressively later points in European history—the Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, even nineteenth-century industrialization. Most recently, historians of the modern period have begun to engage directly with, and further problematize, Weber's analysis by arguing that certain magical beliefs and systems of thought not only endured into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but were in fact essential elements of European modernity.[5]

An underlying issue plaguing any attempt, save perhaps for the modern period, to historically examine key issues entailed in disenchantment—the emergence of putatively purer "modern" religious sensibilities compatible with scientific rationalism out of earlier, supposedly muddled "magical" systems—is the fact, now widely recognized, that the categories of "religion" and "magic" in their current forms are almost entirely creations of the post-Reformation era.[6] Some historians of early modern Europe, however, now present an at least quasi-Weberian analysis of certain shifts toward more modern mentalities in the area of ritual during that period. They have also returned to locating the critical force behind these shifts in the Reformation. Protestant authorities, they contend, largely abandoned the view that real efficacy or presence of power was inherent in ritual acts and began to assert the notion of ritual as mere symbolic signification or representation. This process was most clearly evident in Protestant sacramental and above all eucharistic theology,

chantment" (13). Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Oxford, 1997), 177–178, notes Weber's "lingering influence" on most modern typologies of religion, magic, and ritual. Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford, Calif., 2003), states that disenchantment remains "a salient feature of the modern epoch" (13), even while later calling the interpretive value of the term into some question (48). For an example of the interrelation of magic and modernity outside the West, see Gyan Prakash, "Between Science and Superstition: Religion and the Modern Subject of the Nation in Colonial India," in Meyer and Pels, *Magic and Modernity*, 39–59.

[4] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, 1971), esp. 25–112.

[5] R. W. Scribner, "The Reformation, Popular Magic, and the 'Disenchantment of the World,'" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23, no. 3 (1993): 475–494, reprinted in Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden, 2001), 346–365; Roy Porter, "Witchcraft and Magic in Enlightenment, Romantic, and Liberal Thought," in Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark, eds., *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1999), 191–282, esp. 255–273. Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago, 2004), esp. 10–11 on the centrality of Weberian disenchantment for studies of modern European magic.

[6] Styers, *Making Magic*, 25–68; Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion, and the Scope of Rationality* (Cambridge, 1990), 4–24. Rich discussion of some of the issues and implications inherent in this development can be found in Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore, Md., 1993), esp. 1–54; also Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, esp. 21–66.

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but it also played out in many areas of ritualized activity.[7] While there is no denying the significance of the Reformation in terms of ritual and more general religious developments in European history, there is also considerable danger in positing a single period of relatively sudden, dramatic change, especially when the modern analytical categories employed are largely rooted in Reformation-era debates.[8]

In regard to historical conceptions of magic, shifting notions about the inherent qualities of various kinds of ritualized, magical actions need to be disentangled from the immediate context of the Reformation. In the century prior to the eruption of Protestantism, reformist impulses already animated many clerical authorities, feeding increased concern about proper religiosity, lay piety, and putative superstition.[9] A number of these authorities became particularly troubled by the common spells, charms, healing rites, and other simple ritualized acts widely used by laypeople and also by many clerics.[10] Fearing that these rites entailed at least tacit invocation of demons, authorities judged them to be erroneous and therefore superstitious. In this they followed long-standing Christian conceptions of the potentially demonic nature of virtually all magic. New this time, however, was the degree to which established theories were applied to questions of common practice and belief, and the level of concern these practices now generated. The first half of the fifteenth century, in particular, saw a rash of tracts and treatises produced on the question of superstition.[11] Here, however, the focus is on the treatment of common spells and charms in early witchcraft literature.

[7] Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), 147–223, with discussion of Weber's influence on 185–186.

[8] Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 164–247, offers a bracing critique of how modern conceptions of "ritual" and "religion" developed in the Reformation and post-Reformation eras.

[9] Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979), 213–259, remains an excellent introduction; also Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford, 1991), esp. 38–48. More recently, see Christopher M. Bellitto, *Renewing Christianity: A History of Church Reform from Day One to Vatican II* (New York, 2001), esp. 102–118; Scott H. Hendrix, *Recultivating the Vineyard: The Reformation Agendas of Christianization* (Louisville, Ky., 2004), esp. 1–35. More focused is Krzysztof Bracha, "Kritik an den Glaubens- und Verhaltensformen und an der Aberglaubenpraxis im kirchlichen reformatorischen Schrifttum des Spätmittelalters," in Paweł Kras and Wojciech Polak, eds., *Christianity in East Central Europe: Late Middle Ages* (Lublin, 1999), 271–282; and Bracha, "Der Einfluß der neuen Frömmigkeit auf die spätmittelatlerliche Kritik am Aberglauben im Reformschrifttum Mitteleuropas," in Marek Derwich and Martial Staub, eds., *Die "Neue Frommigkeit" in Europa im Spätmittelalter* (Göttingen, 2004), 225–248.

[10] On this "common tradition" of magic in the Middle Ages, see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), 56–80; Karen Jolly, "Medieval Magic: Definitions, Beliefs, Practices," in Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark, eds., *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2002), 3–71, 30–53.

[11] For an overview focused mainly on influential Latin treatises, see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York, 1923–1958), 4: 274–307; Françoise Bonney, "Autour de Jean Gerson: Opinions de théologiens sur les superstitions et la sorcellerie au début du XVe siècle," *Le Moyen Age* 77 (1971): 85–98; Jan R. Veenstra, *Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France: Text and Context of Laurens Pignon's "Contre les devineurs" (1411)* (Leiden, 1998), 137–153; Werner Tschacher, *Der Formicarius des Johannes Nider von 1437/38: Studien zu den Anfängen der europäischen Hexenverfolgungen im Spätmittelalter* (Aachen, 2000), 269–291. On the numerous German vernacular catechetical texts dealing with superstition from this period, see Karin Baumann, *Aberglaube für Laien: Zur Programmatik und Überlieferung spätmittelalterlicher Superstitionenkritik*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1989). For Spain, see Fabián Alejandro Campagne, *Homo Catholicus, Homo Superstitiosus: El discurso antisupersticioso en la España de los siglos XV a XVIII* (Madrid, 2002). On a single major treatise, that of the Heidelberg theologian Nicholas Magni of Jauer, see Adolph Franz, *Der Magister Nikolaus Magni de Jawor: Ein Beitrag zur Literatur- und Gelehrtengeschichte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1898), 151–195. Those who read Polish (I do not) should also consult Krzysztof Bracha,

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As important studies by Stuart Clark and Walter Stephens on late medieval and early modern witchcraft treatises have shown, authorities often deployed the idea of witchcraft as a tool for dealing with basic ontological and epistemological problems of their age.[12] They employed this concept at least partially to resolve dilemmas of uncertainty raised by common spells and other ritual acts. By the early fifteenth century, witchcraft connoted far more—for authorities, at least—than just the performance of simple malevolent magic (*maleficium*). Witches were now constructed as surrendering themselves entirely to demons, entering into pacts with them, and worshiping them as members of diabolical sects that gathered secretly to devour babies, desecrate sacraments, partake in sexual orgies, and perform terrible rites.[13] The explicit (and horrific) association of witches with demons removed all doubt about the essential nature of their acts. In establishing witchcraft as clearly diabolical in nature, authorities were particularly concerned to strip any effective agency from the simple ritual acts that witches employed. The words witches uttered or the gestures they performed could not directly cause magical effects; nor did these formulas have inherent power to bind or compel demons to cause those effects. Rather, witches' access to and control over demonic power was made to rest entirely on an explicit pact with Satan.

In addressing witchcraft and explicating both the nature of witches' power and the rites by which they might appear to work that power, authorities were also obliged to address the nature of many common healing and protective rites, both official ceremonies and formally approved practices as well as more fully popular improvisations often derived from these—those rites of power that Keith Thomas evocatively, although anachronistically, labeled the "magic of the medieval church," and which David Gentilcore more accurately described as constituting a complex "system of the sacred" that permeated premodern European society.[14] As with witchcraft, authorities again denied any real effect to rites themselves. True agency was either covertly demonic (a frightful possibility) or legitimately divine. Even more than demons, however, divinity could never be compelled or coerced by human acts. Thus ritual forms again became meaningless; so long as intent was good and proper faith was maintained, God should respond. Yet not only did this fly in the face of widespread common beliefs that perceived many church rites, as well as spells and charms based on them, to be automatically efficacious, but it also could be thought to undermine a critical point that witchcraft theorists sought to make: that people should

Teolog, diabeł i zabobony: Świadectwo traktatu Mikołaja Magni z Jawora De superstitionibus (1405 r.) (Warsaw, 1999).

[12] Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1997); Walter Stephens, *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief* (Chicago, 2002).

[13] Focused studies on this period are Andreas Blauert, *Frühe Hexenverfolgungen: Ketzer-, Zauberei- und Hexenprozesse des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg, 1989); Martine Ostorero, *"Folâtrer avec les demons": Sabbat et chasse aux sorciers à Vevey (1448)* (Lausanne, 1995); Ostorero, Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, and Kathrin Utz Tremp, eds., *L'imaginaire du sabbat: Edition critique des textes les plus anciens (1430 c.–1440 c.)* (Lausanne, 1999).

[14] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 25–50; David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester, 1992). A strongly Weberian reading of this system is Lutz Kaelber, *Schools of Asceticism: Ideology and Organization in Medieval Religious Communities* (University Park, Pa., 1998), 101–125.

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eschew questionable rites, even if their intent was good, and employ only the long-approved rituals of the church.

Theorists of witchcraft did not resolve these dilemmas in the course of the fifteenth century. Indeed, as the literature on witchcraft grew more developed and thorough, the problems of properly understanding and categorizing common spells and charms became more complex. Not only did authorities frequently seem to maintain the virtually automatic effectiveness of official ceremonies, but even the most severe opponents of witchcraft still argued for the permissibility of various unofficial rites. Issues of the effectiveness, and appropriateness, of spells and charms, church ceremonies, and sacramentals, as well as the sacraments themselves, continued well into the early modern period.[15] Arguably the two greatest monuments of fifteenth-century witchcraft literature were Johannes Nider's *Formicarius* [Anthill], the most extensive and influential of several early tracts and treatises on witchcraft produced in the 1430s, and Heinrich Kramer's *Malleus maleficarum* [Hammer of Witches], the most important late medieval witchcraft treatise, written in 1486.[16] Both men were members of the Dominican order, which was famous for its pastoral and inquisitorial activities and was in each of these roles deeply involved in investigating and shaping common beliefs and practices.[17] Both were also largely conservative in their thought, grounded in the Thomism of the thirteenth century rather than newer intellectual systems such as nominalism that were developing in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Thus they indicate how growing concerns over spells, charms, and potential witchcraft were rooted in long-established interpretations of Christian belief. Moreover, the two men shared a direct connection, as Kramer drew heavily from and expanded upon Nider's earlier accounts.[18]

Although these works were written in the fifteenth century and reflect a particular strain of thought within that century, insights derived from careful attention to this material carry broad implications for how historians and scholars in other disciplines conceive and periodize a major aspect of Western Europe's development toward modernity. Processes identifiable as "disenchantment"—notably the conceptualization of much magical and religious ritual as merely symbolic rather than directly effective—were evident already in the fifteenth century, and indeed earlier, and thus

[15] See Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*; Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch*; and several essential articles collected in R. W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), 1–16, 17–47, 257–275, and Scribner, *Religion and Culture*, 275–365.

[16] On Nider, see Tschacher, *Der Formicarius*; Michael D. Bailey, *Battling Demons: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Reform in the Late Middle Ages* (University Park, Pa., 2003). On the *Malleus*, see Günter Jerouschek and Wolfgang Behringer, " 'Das unheilvollste Buch der Weltliteratur'? Zur Entstehung- und Wirkungsgeschichte des Malleus Maleficarum und zu den Anfängen der Hexenverfolgung," in Günter Jerouschek and Wolfgang Behringer, eds., *Der Hexenhammer: Malleus Maleficarum* (Munich, 2000), 9–98; Hans Peter Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft: Theology and Popular Belief* (Manchester, 2003). Although traditionally Jakob Sprenger is listed as coauthor with Kramer, there is strong evidence that Kramer was the chief, probably the sole, author. See Peter Segl, "Heinrich Institoris: Persönlichkeit und literarisches Werk," in Peter Segl, ed., *Der Hexenhammer: Entstehung und Umfeld des Malleus maleficarum von 1487* (Cologne, 1988), 103–126; Jerouschek and Behringer, "Das unheilvollste Buch," 31–37.

[17] On the interrelation of these roles, see Christine Caldwell, "Dominican Inquisitors as 'Doctors of Souls': The Spiritual Discipline of Inquisition, 1231–1331," *Heresis* 40 (2004): 23–40; also Christine Caldwell Ames, "Does Inquisition Belong to Religious History?" *AHR* 110, no. 1 (February 2005): 11–37, esp. 17–24.

[18] Tschacher, *Der Formicarius*, 22; Jerouschek and Behringer, "Das unheilvollste Buch," 13; Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 21.

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nothing like Weber's "disenchantment of the world" or any concomitant lurch toward modernity should be bound exclusively to the impact of the Reformation. Critically, locating some "disenchantment" prior to the Reformation helps to decouple these processes from modern conceptions of "magic" and "religion" that are products of Reformation-era debates. They are instead revealed to be deeply enmeshed with medieval Christian beliefs about the nature of superhuman powers, whether those of demons or of divinity, and the means by which human beings might interact with, supplicate, or attempt to direct such power.[19] Yet the tensions and uncertainty regarding this interaction evident in fifteenth-century witchcraft treatises, and especially in their treatment of spells, charms, and other superstitions, reveal a heightened concern with these issues and indicate much of the manner in which they would continue to provoke and inform debate throughout the Reformation and at least until the Enlightenment.[20] The fifteenth century was therefore an important connecting juncture between "medieval" and "early modern" concerns, and the disenchantment it reveals was not a sudden break with or rejection of earlier magical thought, but a development within it that illuminates continuing concern and debate over magical operations into the modern era.

WHEN CONFRONTING COMMON SPELLS AND CHARMS, or any other potential superstition, clerical authorities in the fifteenth century, as throughout the Middle Ages, were concerned above all to correct errors and provide clarity, for in the theological parlance of this period, superstition entailed improper belief and improperly understood ritual acts.[21] Yet whatever efforts authorities made to define superstition in the abstract, the often ambiguous nature of actual practice eluded their attempts at certain categorization. They were aware of, and deeply concerned about, these ambiguities, which touched on profound tensions within essential issues of Christian belief, namely the ways in which humans could, and could not, interact with supernatural forces, demonic or divine, and the real meaning of the ritual forms in which that interaction was frequently cloaked.[22] The category of witchcraft, as constructed

[19] On antique conceptions of such interaction, see Dale B. Martin, *Inventing Superstition: From the Hippocratics to the Christians* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004).

[20] A detailed study of the concept of superstition in the context of Protestant thought is Ernst Saxer, *Aberglaube, Heuchelei und Frömmigkeit: Eine Untersuchung zu Calvins reformatorischer Eigenart* (Zurich, 1970). On superstition into the Enlightenment, see William Monter, *Ritual, Myth, and Magic in Early Modern Europe* (Athens, Ohio, 1983); Martin Pott, *Aufklärung und Aberglaube: Die deutsche Frühaufklärung im Spiegel ihrer Aberglaubenskritik* (Tübingen, 1992). While Monter links superstition to the issue of witchcraft, Pott exposes Enlightenment thinkers' reliance on classical descriptions of *superstitio* and especially *deisidaimonia* (esp. chaps. 2–3).

[21] Virtually all late medieval authorities followed the definition of *superstitio* given in the thirteenth century by Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2.2.92.1–2, in *Summa theologiae: Latin Text and English Translation*, vol. 40: *Superstition and Irreverence*, ed. and trans. Thomas Franklin O'Meara and Michael John Duffy (New York, 1968), 2–8. On the origins and earlier use of the term, see Dieter Harmening, *Superstitio: Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1979). Baumann, *Aberglaube*, 1: 260, indicates late medieval authorities' heavy reliance on earlier scholastic and patristic authors.

[22] On medieval conceptions of the supernatural, and the distinct category of the preternatural, see Fabián Alejandro Campagne, "Witchcraft and the Sense-of-the-Impossible in Early Modern Spain: Some Reflections Based on the Literature of Superstition (ca. 1500–1800)," *Harvard Theological Review* 96, no. 1 (2002): 25–62. Here I intend "supernatural" in the commonly understood modern sense, not the technical medieval one.

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by authorities at this time, allowed them to define a number of malevolent magical practices as definitively demonic (all witchcraft, in this sense, was inherently superstitious, although not all superstition was necessarily witchcraft). The intense diabolism that informed authorities' developing concept of witchcraft entailed the strong denial of any possible direct effectiveness in the spells or other ritualized performances of witches. Convinced that the power of demons lay behind all acts of witchcraft, clerical authorities worked aggressively to promulgate this point and to disabuse the common laity of any notions to the contrary.[23]

Johannes Nider's *Formicarius* includes a story that illustrates the confusion surrounding common spells that so concerned authorities, and their deployment of the concept of diabolical witchcraft to achieve clarity. Although Nider assured his readers of the absolute veracity of all the examples he presented in this work,[24] the tale is too perfect, and may well have been entirely invented. Nevertheless, it encapsulates Nider's vision of the dangers inherent in commonly used spells and charms, and the message of warning he sought to impart. Sometime in the 1430s, in the southern German diocese of Constance, a man suffering from an injury to his foot visited a friend, a laywoman skilled in healing. Nider named her "Seriosa," so we will call her Ernestine here. She was not the first source of relief to which this man had turned. Believing that witches had caused his injury, he had tried numerous cures, including some remedies that church authorities deemed illicit, yet nothing could overcome the initial bewitchment. At last he came to his friend for help. She made the sign of the cross over him, whispered certain words, and immediately his foot was healed.[25] Impressed by her power, yet not recognizing how she had actually cured him, he asked what "incantations" she had used. At this point the acerbic Ernestine began to chide her friend: "Whether from weak faith or feebleness," she addressed him severely, "you don't adhere to the holy and approved rites of the church, and you often use spells and forbidden remedies to heal yourself." Such spells drew on the power of demons, she warned, and while they might sometimes cure his physical injuries, they always damaged his immortal soul.[26]

This is a story rife with uncertainty. The injured man appears sure that he was bewitched, but we are not told how he knows this. Various means were available in late medieval society for determining when witchcraft was present, and there were a range of popular experts, witch doctors, and cunning folk who could identify witches. These practices, too, were full of uncertainty, and—given the strife that could arise once accusations of witchcraft began to circulate within a community—fraught with danger.[27] While the man was certain of the cause of his suffering, he

[23] The clearest study of the imposition of elite concerns about diabolism onto more common concerns about *maleficium* in the late medieval period remains Richard Kieckhefer, *European Witch Trials: Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300–1500* (Berkeley, Calif., 1976).

[24] Johannes Nider, *Formicarius*, ed. G. Colvener (Douai, 1602), prologue (unpaginated).

[25] Ibid. 5.4, 356–357.

[26] "Tunc statim infirmus curatum se sentiens, scire voluit in remedium futurorum quid carminationis virgo applicasset. Quae respondit: Vos, mala fide vel debili, diuinis et approbatis exercitiis ecclesiae non inheretis, et carmina ac remedia prohibita crebro vestris infirmitatibus applicatis; idcirco raro in corpore et semper in anima per talia laedimini." Ibid., 357.

[27] Robin Briggs, *Witches and Neighbors: The Social and Cultural Context of European Witchcraft* (New York, 1996), 169–218; Owen Davies, *Cunning-Folk: Popular Magic in English History* (London, 2003), 62–65, 111–112.

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had no clear idea how to rectify his situation, trying a number of illicit cures, the "spells and forbidden remedies" of further witchcraft. Only when these failed did he finally turn to his friend Ernestine.[28] Uncertainty persisted, however, as he did not realize, or properly recognize, what she did for him. She cured him by making the sign of the cross and silently saying the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, yet he assumed that she had performed some spell or incantation. She then informed him, in no uncertain terms, of the actual nature of the power she had employed, of the condemned nature of the cures to which he had turned in the past, and of the spiritual harm he had suffered as a result.

In correcting her friend, Ernestine was made to stand in for theorists of witchcraft and other witch-hunting authorities, a fact that carries significant irony, since if she did in fact represent a real person living in the early fifteenth century, she almost certainly would have been a local healer or cunning woman and would have run some risk of being identified as a witch herself.[29] Yet in the text, she was made to deliver with confident certainty a basic message that Nider and other theorists of witchcraft sought to convey regarding the spectrum of spells and charms available in late medieval Europe: that many of those rites were in fact diabolical witchcraft as authorities understood and constructed it. Witches could cure illness, heal, and relieve suffering, but all their acts, regardless of effect, were inherently evil because the operative power behind them was demonic.[30] Authorities were deeply concerned that people who believed themselves to be bewitched in some way not turn to further witchcraft for relief. As Nider stressed in *Formicarius*, "rather a person should die than agree to such things."[31]

Witchcraft theorists were obsessed with the notion that the laity tolerated and actively patronized practitioners of common magic, who were, in their perception, witches. By submitting to the devil, worshiping demons, and engaging in diabolical sabbaths, witches damned themselves, and by performing *maleficium* they harmed others; but perhaps their foulest act, in the minds of clerical authorities, was that by deceiving others about the true nature of witchcraft and tempting them into seeking the aid of witches, they corrupted innocent Christian souls. Horrific images of debased carnality and uncontrolled aggression, especially toward infants, proliferated in treatises on witchcraft, as well as in sermons and other forms of propaganda about witches. These served to cast witchcraft emphatically as the inversion of all proper moral order and to warn people against any toleration of suspected demonic activities in their midst.[32] Most laypeople surely understood at least the basic nature

[28] Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch*, 259, describes how recourse to multiple forms of supernatural aid was quite common.

[29] On the relationship of cunning folk to accused witches, see Briggs, *Witches and Neighbors*, 122–123; Davies, *Cunning-Folk*, 2–17; Willem de Blécourt, "Witch Doctors, Soothsayers and Priests: On Cunning Folk in European Historiography and Tradition," *Social History* 19, no. 3 (1994): 285–303, esp. 288–296.

[30] Nider, *Formicarius* 5.3, 352, and 5.6, 371; Nider, *Preceptorium divine legis* 1.11.x (Milan, 1489) (no pagination).

[31] "Immo potius homo mori deberet quam talia consentire." Nider, *Formicarius* 5.3, 352–351 (misnumbered for 353).

[32] On witchcraft and infanticide, see Richard Kieckhefer, "Avenging the Blood of Children: Anxiety over Child Victims and the Origins of the European Witch Trials," in Alberto Ferreiro, ed., *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell* (Leiden, 1998), 91–109. On carnality, the fullest consideration is now Stephens, *Demon Lovers* (although I think he overemphasizes the centrality of demonic sex in intellectual constructions of witchcraft). Stuart Clark, in "Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft," *Past and Present* 87 (1980): 98–127, and more fully in *Thinking with Demons*, has demonstrated how essential the notion of inversion was to the concept of witchcraft.

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of demonic menace as the church depicted it. They did not, however, seem to connect familiar practices with this menace, or they viewed possible involvement with demons far less seriously than did clerics. Common discourse about interactions with supernatural or occult forces typically reflected care and hesitancy about engaging with such power, but also some casualness, evidenced by claims that most laypeople did not well or fully understand the specific nature of the operations involved or the powers invoked.[33] According to the early-fifteenth-century Franciscan preacher Bernardino of Siena, for example, the entire city of Siena stood in peril because of its citizens' unconcerned acceptance of the many "witches" known to inhabit the region.[34]

To clarify and justify their concerns, authorities stressed supposedly direct evidence of the diabolism that witchcraft entailed. For example, in his *Buch aller verbotenen Künste* [Book of All Forbidden Arts], the German courtier Johannes Hartlieb claimed to have personally uncovered such diabolism. In 1447, he was ordered by the duke of Bavaria to investigate a woman who supposedly professed the ability to summon storms and hail, one of the major evils attributed to witches in southern German and alpine lands. Under his questioning, she admitted that, to obtain this power, she had denied God, Mary, and all the saints, as well as her baptism and the other sacraments, and that she had given herself "life and soul" to three devils. Thereafter, she needed only to call these devils, and they would raise hailstorms wherever she desired.[35] Johannes Nider, too, presented an account of a (male) witch who directly confirmed the demonic nature of his powers, also with reference to storm-raising. Captured by authorities, he confessed that he would go with an accomplice to an open field and there implore the "prince of all demons," the devil, to send a lesser demon. The witch would immolate a black fowl at a crossroads and throw it into the air as an offering, and the demon would then cause hail and lightning to strike at his command.[36]

Like Ernestine, the woman in Hartlieb's account spoke to confirm the message that authorities sought to impart. As for Nider's weather-working witch, he supposedly confessed to a magistrate who had captured him, who then reported this story to Nider. Assuming that Nider did not simply invent the tale or recast it wholesale in his retelling, certainly the judge could have extracted a confession that suited his own purposes as an authority bent on stressing the demonic nature of much

[33] Bengt Ankarloo, "Witch Trials in Northern Europe, 1450–1700," in Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark, eds., *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Period of the Witch Trials* (Philadelphia, Pa., 2002), 53–95, 58.

[34] A translation of the sermon appears in John Shinners, ed., *Medieval Religion, 1000–1500: A Reader* (Orchard Park, N.Y., 1997), 242–245; original Italian in Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari sul Campo di Siena, 1427*, ed. Carlo Delcorno, 2 vols. (Milan, 1989), 2: 1002–1040. Nider knew of and admired Bernardino; *Formicarius* 4.9, 311–312. On Bernardino and witchcraft generally, see Franco Mormando, *The Preacher's Demons: Bernardino of Siena and the Social Underworld of Early Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1999), 52–108.

[35] Johannes Hartlieb, *Das Buch aller verbotenen Künste, des Aberglaubens und der Zauberei*, ed. and trans. Falk Eckhard Graf (Ahlerstedt, 1989), 46–48.

[36] Nider, *Formicarius* 5.4, 358. Although he was the earliest authority to address the frequent association of witchcraft with women, Nider often related examples of male witches. See Michael D. Bailey, "The Feminization of Magic and the Emerging Idea of the Female Witch in the Late Middle Ages," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19 (2002): 120–134; Bailey, *Battling Demons*, 48–52.

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common magic.[37] Interestingly, elsewhere in *Formicarius*, Nider related how this same witch supposedly prevented a married couple from having children over the course of several years. In this account, no overt diabolism was present; the man cast the spell simply by burying a lizard under the threshold of the couple's dwelling, although since the accused in this case had already been deemed a witch, Nider was certain that demonic power was somehow in operation.[38] Amid the doubt and confusion that authorities seem to have faced, and which they certainly feared, regarding the nature of many common magical practices, the figure of the witch, forced either in reality or in exemplary accounts to confess the explicitly demonic basis of her (or sometimes his) power, was made to be reassuringly definitive.

THE PRESENCE OF DEMONIC POWER behind most forms of magic was a long-established fact in Christian thought, deriving from the earliest church fathers.[39] Late medieval witchcraft theorists simply stressed this point in the face of perceived common uncertainty or lack of proper understanding. Yet in their discussions of the power behind magical acts, they also had to define how humans could access and manipulate that power. Here too they addressed, in an even more nuanced way, the function and real effect of the rites involved. And here too they removed from ritual actions, however complex or simple, any direct operative power. Such a conclusion was relatively unproblematic when applied to witchcraft or other magical actions that authorities sought to denigrate and condemn, but matters became more complicated when authorities turned to approved ecclesiastical or other rites that they wished to valorize, or at least not vilify. While they still maintained that rites had no inherent operative or directive force, they were nevertheless deeply concerned that the proper forms of these rites be maintained, for improper forms could entail dangerous superstition.

Even when it was agreed that "magic" functioned through demonic power, how did a spell draw on that power? Common people either thought little about such issues or found it expedient to claim disinterested ignorance when questioned by authorities. Learned clerics, however, pondered the matter at length, and not just those who sought to condemn magical practices. Medieval necromancers, learned and literate magicians who were mostly clerics, practiced complex forms of ritual magic and readily admitted to invoking and exploiting demonic power.[40] They maintained, however, that they were in no way subservient to demons, but commanded and compelled them by virtue of the powerful rituals they employed. Most clerical authorities argued strongly against this position, claiming that any invocation of de-

[37] On ways in which Nider may have reinterpreted earlier reports, see Blauert, *Frühe Hexenverfolgungen*, 57–59.

[38] Nider, *Formicarius* 5.3, 350.

[39] The most influential patristic treatment of demons was that given by Augustine, chiefly in his *De doctrina christiana*, *De divinatione daemonum*, and *De civitate dei*, esp. books 8–10. Thomas Linsenmann, *Die Magie bei Thomas von Aquin* (Berlin, 2000), devotes several chapters to the Augustinian background of Aquinas's thought; see esp. 73–98.

[40] On medieval necromancy, see Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 151–175; more fully, Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (University Park, Pa., 1998).

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mons involved some degree of supplication and implied at least a tacit pact.[41] Witchcraft theorists, focusing on the very simple rites of common magic, stressed explicit pacts that were necessarily prior to any magical activity. In 1437, the same year Nider wrote much of his *Formicarius*, Pope Eugenius IV issued a statement on witchcraft in a directive to papal inquisitors, declaring that witches worshiped demons and entered into formal, often written pacts with them "so that by a single word, touch, or sign they might perform whatever harmful magic they desire."[42] Similarly, Nider recounted how witches might raise storms by stirring water with a broom. This action had no direct effect, either to raise the storm or to compel demons to do so. Rather, demons responded to this sign because of binding pacts that had existed between them and witches since time immemorial.[43]

In this way, witchcraft theorists radically disempowered the simple ritual actions involved in the performance of various kinds of common magic that they perceived to be diabolical witchcraft. Not only did these rites have no causative force, they had no necessary directive effect on the agents (demons) that did cause the magical result. They merely signified the witch's desire. Seeking always to argue that witches were utterly subservient to demons, authorities had every reason to denigrate and dismiss the simple rites that supposed witches performed. Matters necessarily became more complex, however, when authorities addressed various rites that they sought to validate and maintain. Aside from explicating the horrific nature of witchcraft itself, most theorists also sought to clarify how people might properly respond to the threat that witches represented. Certainly this was the case with Nider, whose *Formicarius* was mainly a collection of instructive stories, moral exempla intended for use in sermons delivered to the laity.[44] As noted already, he warned that under no circumstances should people have recourse to further witchcraft to remedy bewitchments. Instead, they should turn to the church and such remedies as prayer and penance, the sign of the cross, meditation on the passion of Christ, pious attendance at church rites and ceremonies, or pilgrimage to saints' shrines.[45]

While such approved rites often closely resembled magic spells and charms in their effects and even in their formulas, for medieval authorities the two systems were entirely distinct and dramatically opposed in the most important way possible. Prayers and approved blessings drew on divine power, while magic spells relied on

[41] The most influential authority in this regard was the late-fourteenth-century Catalan inquisitor Nicolau Eymeric. See Michael D. Bailey, "From Sorcery to Witchcraft: Clerical Conceptions of Magic in the Later Middle Ages," *Speculum* 76, no. 4 (2001): 960–990, 971–976.

[42] "[. . .] et in signum desuper chartam scriptam vel quid aliud tradunt, cum ipsis obligatoria, ut solo verbo, tactu vel signo malefica, quibus velint, illis inferant sive tollant [. . .]." In Joseph Hansen, ed., *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwahns und der Hexenverfolgung im Mittelalter* (1901; repr., Hildesheim, 1963), 17.

[43] "De hoc etiam infra dicetur non autem faciunt ista immediate maleficorum opera actione propria et immediate, sed talia fiunt per demones qui uisis maleficiis immediate ex pacto dudum cum maleficis a principio mundi et tempore ueteris idolatrie habito sciunt qualem effectum debent ad intentionem maleficorum procurare. Ut exempla gratia: Scopa quam malefica intingit in aquam ut pluat non causat pluuiam, sed demon talibus visis qui, si deus permiserit, potestatem habet in omnia corporalia, et in aerem, uentos, et nubes, ut statim talia procuraret et causare ualeat. Maga siquidem signum dat per scopam, sed demon illud procurat et agit ut pluat per demonis actionem." Nider, *Preceptorium* 1.11.v.

[44] Bailey, *Battling Demons*, 99–101.

[45] Nider, *Formicarius* 5.4, 356, and 5.6, 370; also Nider, *Preceptorium* 1.11.x.

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demons.[46] Yet authorities treated both systems similarly in this sense: if the rites of witches played no part in compelling demons to respond, still less could sanctioned rites, although laudable, compel divine power. These rites, too, were merely signs. In some cases, notably the sacraments, God responded because of a covenant (or, in language that could appear shocking when surrounded by demonological arguments in treatises on magic, superstition, or witchcraft, a "pact") with the church.[47] More often he responded out of mercy, not because of the performance of some specific rite but because of the internal moral state of the person seeking divine help.[48] Nider, for example, related a long account of a secular judge, Peter of Bern, who conducted numerous witch trials in the early 1400s. He was immune to the power of the witches he hunted because he diligently protected himself with the sign of the cross, but more basically because he always "acted in good faith." One morning he failed to make the sign of the cross when he arose, and he was almost immediately struck down and injured by witchcraft. Nider explained, however, that Peter was wrathful that day, and may even have cursed in the name of the devil.[49] Thus his vulnerability to witchcraft was due to his spiritual state, not simply his failure to perform a ritual act.

Nider made the unessential nature of even official ritual clear when he discussed exorcism as a means to counteract bewitchment.[50] Given that witchcraft functioned through the power of demons, many bewitchments could be undone by driving off the demons responsible for inflicting them. This was a power that Christ had promised to the apostles and all faithful Christians in the Gospels.[51] Nider made clear that even informal acts of exorcism performed with faith could be as effective as the formal church rite that clerics performed "ex officiis."[52] Such basic rejection of the essential importance of specific ritual forms probably contributed to authorities' willingness to countenance many unofficial rites used against witchcraft. Nider, for example, approved of such practices as ringing church bells to protect crops from storms.[53] He also accepted and essentially recommended in *Formicarius* a counter-rite revealed by a witch under interrogation. To disperse hailstorms raised by witchcraft, one could recite this formula: "I adjure you, hail and winds, by the three nails of Christ, which pierced the hands and feet of Christ, and by the four evangelists, Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, that you should fall dissipated into water."[54]

[46] The importance of the distinction is stressed by Richard Kieckhefer, "The Specific Rationality of Medieval Magic," *AHR* 99, no. 3 (June 1994): 813–836.

[47] Nicholas Magni of Jauer, *Tractatus de superstitionibus*, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 78, fol. 58r.

[48] Nider, *Preceptorium* 1.11.gg; based on Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2.2.96.4, 80–84.

[49] Nider, *Formicarius* 5.7, 380–381. For a fuller account of Peter's witch-hunting activities, see Arno Borst, "The Origins of the Witch-Craze in the Alps," in Borst, *Medieval Worlds: Barbarians, Heretics, and Artists in the Middle Ages*, trans. Eric Hansen (Chicago, 1992), 101–122.

[50] Nider, *Formicarius* 5.6, 370; Nider, *Preceptorium* 1.11.x.

[51] Matthew 12:26–28, Luke 8:29 and 9:42.

[52] Nider, *Formicarius* 5.6, 372; also Nider, *Preceptorium* 1.11.nn. Heinrich Kramer drew a similar point in *Malleus maleficarum* 2.2.6, *Nachdruck des Erstdruckes von 1487 mit Bulle und Approbatio*, ed. Günter Jerouschek (Hildesheim, 1992), fols. 85v–86r.

[53] Nider, *Preceptorium* 1.11.pp; also Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum* 2.2.7, fol. 91r. On the protective power of church bells, see Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 31.

[54] "Adiuro vos, grandines et ventos, per tres Christi diuinos clauos qui Christi manus et pedes perforarunt, et per quatuor euangelistas sanctos Matthaeum, Marcum, Lucam, et Ioannem, ut in aqua resoluti descendatis." Nider, *Formicarius* 5.4, 358.

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Christian thinkers had debated the significance of specific ritual directed toward an omnipotent and omniscient God since the earliest days of the church, and in the early medieval period, ecclesiastical officials had frequently accommodated themselves to unofficial and even pagan rites, so long as these were purged of any overtly demonic elements and were made to reflect Christian faith.[55] Thus the struggles of late medieval witchcraft theorists to come to terms with the nature and function of various rites must be understood as part of a long tradition running through Christian history, as well as the result of specific debates about the nature of common magical operations and the potential threat of superstition developing in the fifteenth century, largely in the context of witchcraft. Seeking to clarify the absolute demonic nature of witchcraft, authorities aggressively stripped all power from the simple rites performed by supposed witches. Against witchcraft they sought to recommend the power of official Christian rites such as prayer, blessings, or the sign of the cross. While they frequently stressed that formulaic rites could not compel divine power,[56] they certainly did not want to devalue these rituals to the extent they had the rites of witches. Authorities also accepted a number of unofficial rites or practices by which the faithful could counteract demonic witchcraft. Again their underlying position was that God responded to pious intent, not specific ritual formulas. Yet they remained deeply concerned about the particular forms these rites took, for while God responded to true faith, an improperly enacted ritual could allow demonic forces to intrude regardless of the intent of the person performing the rite.

The essential element that made any spell, charm, or other formula illegitimate and illicit, all authorities agreed, was the invocation of demonic rather than divine power. Yet such invocation could be tacit or unintended as well as express, making reliable judgments on particular practices difficult to render. This dilemma of discernment is evident in Nider's account of the lay healer Ernestine.[57] In his relation of events, Ernestine delivered a reassuringly confident categorization of what had taken place. The injured man initially sought relief through illicit means that imperiled his soul. Ernestine healed him using the divine power of prayer and the sign of the cross. Yet the man could not tell the difference. In fact, many common spells and charms incorporated the sign of the cross, along with other gestures and phrases drawn from official ecclesiastical rites, and even the explicitly demonic rituals of learned, necromantic magic might include liturgical elements.[58] Ernestine also em-

[55] Most detailed is Valerie I. J. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), although Flint focuses too much on an oppositional dynamic between Christian and pagan practices that was probably not so strongly perceived by contemporaries. On this, see Karen Louise Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996). See also Kieckhefer, "Specific Rationality," for criticism of Flint's inattention to the contemporary distinctions that were made regarding the nature of the power—divine or demonic—perceived to underlie different rites.

[56] Nider, *Preceptorium* 1.11.gg; also Nicholas Magni of Jauer, *De superstitionibus*, fol. 27r; Heinrich Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum* 2.2.6, fol. 86v. The ultimate source was Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2.2.96.4.

[57] Discernment of demons and demonic activity in general was a major issue for late medieval authorities; see Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2003), 274–319. Caciola focuses more than I do on the nature of church control in these areas, especially its gendered quality, and she draws useful comparisons to witchcraft.

[58] On liturgical elements of common spells, best is Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 266–287. On liturgical elements of necromancy, see Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 70–74, 160–161, 166–168; Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 3, 13–17.

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ployed the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, albeit spoken silently so that her friend was unaware of what she had said. A problem for authorities would have been to determine whether she fully understood her own words, and whether she had delivered them correctly in Latin. Even a slight change in a verbal formula, intentional or inadvertent, could corrupt a wholesome prayer into a demonic invocation.[59]

While late medieval witchcraft theorists frequently expounded the seemingly "disenchanted" view that ritualized actions lacked any real power to coerce or direct supernatural forces, they could not entirely abandon the notion that improper rites, or improperly performed rites, carried dire consequences. At one point in his writings, Nider discussed certain healing spells and charms commonly used by old women. He recognized that these procedures closely resembled approved blessings and exorcisms. Such actions, he concluded, were inherently legitimate and could readily be permitted to trained clerics, but among the uneducated laity the danger of error and demonic infiltration was too great to allow.[60] Here was a straightforward admission that rites seeking to call on divine power for permissible ends could be fatally corrupted if their forms were mangled. Here was also a straightforward response to such complications surrounding conceptions of ritual practice—deploying the coercive power of the church to restrict to itself all such activity. This was a course increasingly taken in the fifteenth and subsequent centuries. Yet the uncertain status of ritual power persisted. As theories of witchcraft became more developed, the confusion would only grow more pronounced.

Malleus maleficarum was the most extended and influential treatise on witchcraft composed in the fifteenth century. While it repeated many examples and reiterated many conclusions from earlier treatises, it was also the fullest consideration of witchcraft thus far produced.[61] Its chief author, Heinrich Kramer, delved more deeply than many previous authorities into the nature and function of witchcraft, church rites, and the many common spells and charms that seemed to hover between them. The result was by no means greater clarity. Like all late medieval witchcraft theorists, Kramer feared that many common spells might be witchcraft in disguise. He repeated standard prohibitions against including strange words or unknown names in spells or charms, for these could signify compacts with the devil. Those who used such spells might be entirely unaware of their true character, and the results

[59] "Questio xxvi vtrum licitum sit per carmina scripta uel uerba sacra benedicere infirmos homines uel iumenta [. . .] Respondet Thomas 2.2, ubi supra, quod sic septem conditionibus seruatis. Una est ut uideatur ne uerba aliquid contineant quod pertineat ad inuocationes demonum expressas uel tacitas. Secunda ne contineant ignota nomina [. . .] Tertia ne materia uerborum aliquid falsitatis contineat [. . .] Sexta ut in alligatione prolatione uel scriptura diuinorum uerborum respectus solum habeatur ad sacra uerba et ad intellectum eorum." Nider, *Preceptorium* 1.11.gg.

[60] "Questio xxvii unde ortum habeant benedictiones et carminationes quas uetule hodie super infirmos et uiri quidam faciunt? Respondetur quod principium horum fuit sanctissimum, sed sicut omnia demonis instinctu deprauantur mediantibus demonibus et malis hominibus [. . .] Sicuti etiam hodie literatos et sacre theologie doctores noui qui infirmos uisitantes similia uerba egrotis applicauerunt non solum demoniacis." Ibid. 1.11.hh.

[61] On the lack of originality in the *Malleus*, see Brian P. Levack, *The Witch-Hunt in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (London, 1995), 54–55. In contrast, Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, makes the *Malleus*'s originality a central theme.

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achieved could be wholly beneficial, but the corrupting power of demons remained.[62] Thus Kramer echoed Nider and other earlier authorities by arguing that no one should seek to relieve bewitchment by recourse to other witches.[63] Like Nider, he recommended ecclesiastically sanctioned remedies such as prayer, confession, the sign of the cross, and exorcism, and he was particularly strong in advocating the use of sacramentals such as holy water, consecrated salt, and blessed candles to combat witchcraft.[64] Nevertheless, he also maintained that the means by which faithful Christians might protect themselves from demonic forces extended beyond the "remedies of the church."[65] He thus entered into a detailed analysis of the nature and effectiveness of many ambiguous rites, and he offered complicated conclusions.

One of the more involved analyses of magical rites in the *Malleus* focused, like Nider's tale of Ernestine and her injured friend, on a man afflicted by bewitchment in his foot. A merchant from the German town of Speyer was traveling through the region of Swabia. One day, as he walked with two local servants, a woman approached. The servants warned that she was a well-known witch and he should defend himself with the sign of the cross, but he was obstinate and refused, whereupon he felt tremendous pain in his left foot, so that he could barely walk. After three days of suffering, a local healer was called, who examined the merchant, but only after swearing that he would not employ witchcraft to cure him. The healer first determined that the injury was in fact due to witchcraft by pouring molten lead into water and observing the shapes that formed. He proceeded to visit the merchant for three days, touching the foot and saying certain words over it. On the third day, the injury was cured.[66]

Kramer stated flatly that this healing rite did not entail witchcraft. Nevertheless, doubts remained about the particular power or "virtue" used to identify and remove the bewitchment.[67] The healer maintained that he was able to divine the presence of witchcraft from the behavior of molten lead because of the nature of lead itself and certain astral forces imbued in the metal, but the degree to which astral bodies could impart occult power to earthly items was a point of considerable debate in this period.[68] Many authorities maintained that much astral magic was simply a screen for demonic operations, since it frequently involved the recitation of secret words or ceremonies that might tacitly invoke demons. Kramer himself noted that astral magic was often merely demonic magic in disguise.[69] Nevertheless, all authorities

[62] Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum* 1.2, fol. 10r; 2.1.16, fol. 76r; 2.2.6, fol. 86v.

[63] Ibid. 2.2, fols. 76v–77r.

[64] Ibid. 2.2.1–3, fols. 79v–83v, and 2.1, fols. 43v–45r. Broedel, *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 152, notes that sacramentals "provided the most consistently reliable protection against witchcraft" described in the *Malleus*.

[65] "In contrarium est quod sicut deus et natura non abundant in superfluis, ita non deficiunt in necessariis, quare et necessario fidelibus contra huiusmodi insultus demonum sunt data non solum remedia preseruatiua." Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum* 2.2, fol. 76v. "Aliis vero duobus modis vltimis tollere maleficium potest esse vel licitum vel non vanum secundum canonistas et quod tollerari possunt vbi remedia ecclesie prius attemptata, vt sunt exorcismi ecclesie, suffragia sanctorum implorata, ac vera penitentia, nihil effecissent." Ibid., fol. 77v.

[66] Ibid., fols. 78v–79r.

[67] "Sed qua virtute maleficium fugauit et species rerum in plumbo causauit sub dubio relinquitur." Ibid., fol. 79r.

[68] Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 131–133.

[69] Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum* 1.2, fol. 10r–v. Similarly Nicholas Magni of Jauer, *De superstitionibus*, fols. 52v–53v and 54v; Hartlieb, *Buch aller verbotenen Künste*, 38.

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admitted that astral bodies could impart some special properties to mundane materials. Only a few lines before he raised doubts about the nature of the action of the lead, Kramer had stated that if the lead's response was due purely to astral influence, the rite would be "blameless and very commendable."[70]

The real cause for concern in the healer's actions was the nature of the healing rite once witchcraft had been identified. No natural power, Kramer argued, could fully remove a bewitchment, and the healer had, in fact, made no pretense of effecting a natural cure, instead speaking certain ritual words over the foot. Were this rite intended to implore divine aid, the healer should have admitted the possibility that it might be ineffective, since God could not be compelled. Yet this man, Kramer noted, was certain that his actions would produce results. Moreover, the fact that he had performed the ritual of speaking over the foot on three consecutive days was ominous. Authorities frequently stressed that divine power did not need to be supplicated in any particular formulaic fashion.[71] That this healer followed such a precise formula caused Kramer to suspect demonic agency. He accepted that the man had probably not formed an express pact with the devil, yet he could not allow that the healing rite might, by any inherent power, have compelled demons to act. That the rite did appear to produce results therefore indicated a tacit pact, and while the healer was no witch, Kramer still judged him guilty of heresy and superstition.[72]

As already noted, the fear of tacit pacts with demons had always been central to Christian authorities' concern about common spells and charms. For witchcraft theorists of the fifteenth century, this concern supported their basic notions about the essential emptiness of ritual acts—that demons always responded because of a pact and not because of any effect of rites themselves—but also stood in some tension to this notion, causing authorities to lavish attention on the specific forms of various rites, as Kramer did above, attempting to discern whether they might tacitly invoke demons. While this tension was by no means fatal, it was problematic, leading many authorities, like Nider, to suggest that only trained clerics be allowed to perform certain rites because of the possibility of dangerous corruptions in their forms. Kramer, too, addressed such issues, but proved fairly tolerant of a number of common rites. At one point, in fact, he repeated Nider's story about Ernestine healing her friend's foot with the power of prayer and then condemning the other remedies the man had tried. While this tale could be taken to indicate that all spells and charms, aside from official prayers, should be rigidly proscribed because of the danger of demonic corruption, Kramer asserted a different interpretation. Ernestine (again made to play the role of a theologian) had judiciously banned only illicit spells

[70] "Et hoc quod saturni influxum super plumbum tanquam ex eius dominio causatum allegauit irreprehensibilis extitit et potius commendandus fuit." Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum* 2.2, fol. 79r. Similarly Nicholas Magni of Jauer, *De superstitionibus*, fols. 40v, 61r; Hartlieb, *Buch aller verbotenen Künste*, 80.

[71] "Quinto ne spes habeatur in modo scribendi aut ligandi aut in quacumque huiusmodi vanitate que ad diuinam reuerentiam non pertineat, quia alias omnino iudicabitur superstitiosum." Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum* 2.2.6, fol. 86v; following Nider (*Preceptorium* 1.11.gg) and ultimately Aquinas (*Summa theologiae* 2.2.96.4).

[72] "Potius videtur quod per aliquid pactum adminus tacitum cum demone initum hoc practicauerit," and later "Non tam suspectus quam vt manifeste deprehensus adminus licet non super expresseum initum cum demone pactum tamen super tacitum iudicatur et tanquam pro coniuncto habere et penis adminus in secundo modo sententiandi infra contentis, sed puniri debet cum abiuratione solemni." Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum* 2.2, fol. 79r.

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and conjurations; legitimate ones existed and should be permitted to the laity to combat witchcraft.[73]

Kramer discussed such spells and other rites at various points in the *Malleus*, sometimes leaving the precise nature of their operation unexplored, but sometimes attempting to explicate it in detail. For example, when women in German lands suspected that a cow had been drained of milk by witchcraft, they would hang a milk pail over a fire and strike it, and the witch responsible for the theft would feel the blows. Likewise, if a cow was injured by witchcraft, it could be brought into a field, usually on a feast day or holy day, with a man's breeches or other "foul thing" (*immundum*) placed over it, and beaten with sticks. It would then go to the door of the person who had bewitched it, identifying the malefactor.[74] Kramer was quite clear that these rites functioned through demonic agency. Always ready to betray his servants, the devil was perfectly happy for witches to be identified in these ways. The rites were not illegitimate, however, because those performing them merely exploited demons; they did not honor or worship demons in any fashion, nor did they form any pact with them, express or tacit.[75] Rather, albeit with diabolical complicity, these rituals seemed to exert some real force of compulsion over demons.

Kramer's impulse to associate some seemingly direct efficacy with certain ritualized acts applied to divine operations as well as demonic ones. For protection from hailstorms, for example, he reiterated the rite discussed by Nider, in which hail was adjured by the wounds of Christ and by the four evangelists to fall as water.[76] He also recounted another ritual. After hail had begun falling, three hailstones should be thrown into a fire while the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the opening words of the Gospel of John were recited. The sign of the cross should be made in the four cardinal directions, "the word was made flesh" repeated three times, and finally "by the words of this gospel may the tempest be dispersed" said thrice. Kramer maintained that this ritual conjuration was "entirely proper, nor should it be judged with suspicion."[77] Of course, the invocation of divine power provided the main operative force of the rite, but he explicitly concluded that casting hail into the fire, while secondary, was not entirely ineffectual, since those performing the rite thereby indicated their desire to destroy the works of the devil. Thus it was more effective to perform this rite while throwing hail into fire than while casting it into water, because

[73] "Gratia hiuis exempli queritur an non alie benedictiones et carminationes seu etiam coniurationes per exorcismos habeant efficaciam cum hic videantur reprobari? Respondetur quod hec virgo non reprobauit nisi illicita carmina cum illicitis coniurantionibus et exorcismis." Ibid. 2.2.6, fol. 86r.

[74] Ibid. 2.2, fol. 79r.

[75] Christians were not forbidden all interaction with demons; as noted above, all the faithful were believed to have some power to exorcise demons. The critical distinction for authorities was that the faithful should interact with demons only in such a way as to "command or compel" them ("imperando seu compellendo"), never to "solicit" them: Nider, *Preceptorium* 1.11.kk; similarly Nicholas Magni of Jauer, *De superstitionibus*, fol. 48r.

[76] Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum* 2.2.7, fol. 91r.

[77] "Lapilli enim tres ex grandine in ignem sub inuocatione sanctissime trinitatis proiiciuntur, oratio dominica cum angelica salutatione bis aut ter adiungitur, euangelium Johannis, In principio erat verbum, cum signo crucis vndique contra tempestatem ante et retro et ex omni parte terre subinfertur. Et tunc cum in fine replicat trinies verbum caro factum est et trinies ex post dixerit per euangelica dicta fugiat tempestas ista. Subito, siquidem tempestas ex maleficio fuit procurata, cessabit. Hec verissima experimenta, nec suspecta iudicantur." Ibid., fols. 90v–91r. "Experimenta" was a common term for the rites of ritual magic, and particularly necromantic conjurations (Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites*, 23).

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fire would destroy the hail more quickly.[78] While one could construct a rationale that hurling hail into fire was still an essentially empty sign indicating to God an intensity of pious wrath against the devil, thus resulting in a more rapid deployment of divine power, Kramer's bald statement that one form of action was more effective than another seems perilously close to asserting that the particular form of this ritual exerted real force.

A final example will serve to highlight Kramer's complicated, often convoluted position regarding ritual invocations of supernatural power. Authorities frequently had difficulty drawing confessions from suspected witches, for the devil would exert his power to keep them silent. As a means of proof, Kramer recommended that judges "conjure" suspects to weep, for a true witch would be unable to cry, although she might feign it by smearing her face with spittle. Placing his hands on the suspect's head, the judge should recite the following formula: "I conjure you by the bitter tears shed on the cross by our savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, for the salvation of the world, and by the ardent tears of the most glorious virgin Mary, his mother, spread over his wounds at evening, and by all the tears that all the saints and elect of God have shed in the world, from whose eyes all tears have now been dried, that insofar as you are innocent you shed tears, but by no means if you are guilty."[79] Shortly thereafter, Kramer noted that inquisitors in German lands had also had success with placing bits of blessed wax in holy water, invoking the trinity, and forcing suspected witches to drink from this mixture three times. The witches would then break their silence and confess.[80]

Kramer would have perceived in these actions divine power operating through the invocation of holy names and the application of sacramental elements. Yet there is cause for confusion. Why was a man who argued against the need for any specific ritual in invoking divine power so careful to present an exact and fairly complex verbal formula? Why was physical contact, the laying on of hands, required? And what, exactly, was being "conjured" here? A demon restraining a guilty witch from confessing might legitimately be exorcised, but here the accused was conjured to weep only if she was innocent.[81] In the case of the holy water and wax, why did a man who elsewhere condemned a rite specifically because it was employed a certain number of times here prescribe having the suspect drink three times? There would, of course, be responses to such challenges. The laying on of hands was often described in the Bible, particularly in terms of healing and casting out spirits.[82] The triple application of the holy potion could be characterized as complementing the

[78] "Respondetur utique per alia sacra verba proiiciens autem intendit diabolum molestare dum eius facturam per inuocationem sanctissime trinitatis destruere conatur. Ad ignem potius quam ad aquam proiicit, quia cicius dum resoluuntur." Kramer, *Malleus maleficarum* 2.2.7, fol. 91r.

[79] "Coniuro te per amorosas lachrymas a nostro saluatore domino Iesu Christo in cruce per salute mundi effusas, ac per ardentissimas lachrymas ipsius gloriosissime virginis Marie matris eius super vulnera ipsius hora vespertina sparsas, et per omnes lachrymas quas hic in mundo omnes sancti et electi dei effuderunt, et a quorum oculis iam omnem lachrymam abstersit, vt inquantum sis innoxia lachrymas effundas, si nocens nullo modo." Ibid. 3.15, fol. 107r.

[80] Ibid., fol. 108r.

[81] One could suppose that Kramer feared the presence of a demon exerting its power to prevent an innocent suspect from weeping, and so the conjuration was directed at this entity, but this would still not necessarily cause the freed suspect to commence weeping, as the conjuration explicitly intended.

[82] For example, Christ in Mark 5:23 and 6:5 and in Luke 4:40–41, and various apostles in Mark 16:18 and Acts 8:18 and 28:8.

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invocation of the trinity. Yet none of these explanations would entirely alleviate the underlying tensions about the efficacy of ritual and the function of ritual forms evident here.

IN IDENTIFYING MAGICAL ACTS WITH DEMONIC POWER, and in their attempts to clearly distinguish the rites of demonic magic from legitimate rituals directed toward God and divine power, late medieval witchcraft theorists engaged with long-standing elements of medieval Christian thought. They did so, however, with a mounting intensity that had not been seen for centuries, arguably since late antiquity.[83] This was at least partly because they increasingly confronted the issue of superstition as a practical problem rather than a purely theoretical theological issue, uncovering and attempting to explicate specific instances of potentially confused belief and questionable practice mainly in the area of commonly used spells and charms. This approach reflected the pastoral "theology of piety" developing especially in German-speaking lands in the fifteenth century.[84] If witchcraft theorists were themselves not always the most profound theological thinkers, many leading theologians in this period were focusing on similar issues, including magic and superstition, and dealing with specific instances of practice rather than grand abstractions.[85] The concerns these men demonstrated, and their focus, derived from major religious and ecclesiastical developments. Particularly in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the medieval church had sought to define and enforce correct belief among the faithful in Europe far more assiduously than it had previously. Through the institution of structures as diverse, although ultimately closely related, as legal inquisition, sacramental confession, and pastoral preaching, the church in the late Middle Ages became increasingly involved in investigating and controlling common beliefs and practices.[86]

The intensity of authorities' concerns surely also rested on the growing fear of demons and the devil in the later Middle Ages. This general development has never been fully explained, but its manifestation in many areas of late medieval religious culture is apparent, particularly in terms of a growing preoccupation among clerical authorities to discern demonic activity in areas such as spirit possession, mystical

[83] On early medieval confrontations between Christian practice and pagan superstitions, see Flint, *Rise of Magic*, but also Jolly, *Popular Religion*. Yitzhak Hen, *Culture and Religion in Merovingian Gaul, A.D. 481–751* (Leiden, 1995), 154–206, argues strongly that little real pagan practice unaccommodated to Christianity persisted after the seventh or eighth century.

[84] On "Frömmigkeitstheologie," see Berndt Hamm, "Frömmigkeit als Gegenstand theologiegeschichtlicher Forschung: Methodisch-historische Überlegungen am Beispiel von Spätmittelalter und Reformation," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 74 (1977): 464–497; Hamm, "Von der spätmittelalterlichen reformatio zur Reformation: Der Prozeß normativer Zentrierung von Religion und Gesellschaft in Deutschland," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 84 (1993): 7–82, esp. 18–24; Hamm, "Normative Centering in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Observations on Religiosity, Theology, and Iconology," *Journal of Early Modern History* 3, no. 4 (1999): 307–354, 325–330. Baumann, *Aberglaube*, 1: 201–202, does not use this term but stresses the desire to create a "theologia practica" and extend scholastic theology to a wider audience evident especially among what she labels the "Vienna school" of late medieval authors concerned with superstition.

[85] Daniel Hobbins, "The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract," *AHR* 108, no. 5 (December 2003): 1308–1337, esp. the chart on 1336–1337.

[86] For one approach to this broad subject, see Dyan Elliott, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 2004).

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experience, and magical activity with less ambiguity than they had previously allowed.[87] Moreover, fifteenth-century authorities concerned with the operation of demonic power, and thus magical practices, were compelled to understand that operation within a much more rigid and precise system of scholastic demonology that had developed since the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Demonic activity in the world was now conceived as strictly limited by the accepted laws of essentially Aristotelian physics.[88] Probing more deeply and with new rigor into demonic action and its supposed manifestation in any number of potentially superstitious common spells, charms, and other rites, authorities clearly pressed the limits of traditional approaches to understanding the workings of demonic, and concomitantly divine, power in the world.

Attempting to reinforce their construction of witchcraft as utterly and absolutely diabolical, late medieval witchcraft theorists emphasized traditional Christian doctrine that magic operated through demonic agency, not any inherent power in the spell or the human spell-caster.[89] They thus reveal an element of "disenchantment" buried at the heart of medieval notions of "magic" itself. Yet they also reveal the dilemma that such disenchantment presented to Christian thinkers, since it impinged on "religious" as well as "magical" rites. For all that Protestantism constructed a new theology of religious ritual, still throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this tension endured. Indeed, while Protestant authorities regarded the medieval church as profoundly superstitious, their basic definition of superstition as deformed or misdirected worship was essentially medieval, and they remained deeply troubled by what R. W. Scribner so aptly termed the "twilight-zone" of spells, charms, and potential superstitions that lay between entirely legitimate ecclesiastical rite and wholly condemned demonic witchcraft.[90] It would be left to the Enlightenment to shift the terms of debate decidedly, reconfiguring superstition as an irrational rather than an improper act. "Magical" rites were no longer condemned because they represented a perverse redirecting of "religious" devotion toward demons rather than toward the deity. Instead they were derided, along with much formally "religious"

[87] Baumann, *Aberglaube*, 1: 318–321, notes but does not extensively analyze the particularly demonized nature of late medieval concern over superstition. On general fear of the devil, see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), 295–296; Robert Muchembled, *A History of the Devil from the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 2003), 20–21. On growing concerns with spirit possession and the discernment of spirits, see Barbara Newman, "Possessed by the Spirit: Devout Women, Demoniacs, and the Apostolic Life in the Thirteenth Century," *Speculum* 73, no. 3 (1998): 733–770; Caciola, *Discerning Spirits*, 274–319; Elliott, *Proving Woman*, 264–296.

[88] The most probing study of this development has been Stephens, *Demon Lovers*. While he concentrates on conceptions of demonic bodies and demonic sex, the ramifications of this development were far broader.

[89] Peter Brown, "Sorcery, Demons, and the Rise of Christianity: From Late Antiquity into the Middle Ages," in Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine* (London, 1972), 119–146, esp. 131–138, although as Brown points out, in late antiquity Christian authorities tended to deemphasize human participation in magic, while late medieval witchcraft theorists focused strongly on human agents, if not human agency.

[90] R. W. Scribner, "Ritual and Popular Religion in Catholic Germany at the Time of the Reformation," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35, no. 1 (1984): 47–77, 71. Saxer, *Aberglaube*, makes clear the degree to which Calvin's notion of superstition, based on ancient and patristic sources, was similar to that of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Catholic reformers, and even to that of medieval scholastic theologians, although he of course located superstition in the world very differently than they did.

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ritual, as silly and nonsensical.[91] Thus the elaborate parsing of proper and improper rites and the convoluted considerations of how they might or might not interact with supernatural entities that had plagued centuries past suddenly became unnecessary, at least for those who considered themselves enlightened.

The fifteenth century was, then, neither an end nor a beginning in terms of "magical thought" or "disenchantment" in Europe. It was, instead, part of a profoundly gradual transition whereby foundational Christian beliefs about the functioning of religio-magical rites shifted ultimately to the enlightened rejection (never fully realized in the eighteenth or subsequent centuries) of all "magic" and much traditional "religion." Yet within that slow shift, the fifteenth century was an important moment, for in it we can see the strands connecting concern about witchcraft and superstition back to earlier medieval doctrines of magic and demonic power, as well as the newly heightened tensions and energies that would fuel these concerns in the coming early modern age. Studies of late medieval Europe are often dominated by overarching paradigms of autumnal waning or, more actively, prolonged crises leading finally to the Renaissance and Reformation.[92] Conversely, some scholars have stressed the enduring vitality of traditional medieval beliefs and practices into the fifteenth century.[93] Growing concerns about witchcraft, common spells, and superstitions, however, illustrate how new dynamics and tensions emerging in this period (neither so extreme nor so sudden as to warrant the term "crisis," perhaps) interacted within long-standing Christian beliefs and helped drive authorities toward new models of thought and understanding, even as they sought to preserve, reassert, or reaffirm traditional ones.

While the arguments, concerns, and conclusions of witchcraft theorists used to be relegated to the fringe of European history, we now know how central demonological thought was to numerous areas of intellectual activity, certainly in the early modern period.[94] Indeed, many scholars are coming to argue that witchcraft, magic, and magical thought remain integral aspects even of Western modernity. Nevertheless, authoritative denial and intellectual dismissal of magic have been salient features of modern Western culture for several centuries. This "disenchantment," whether given that label or not, continues to be viewed essentially in terms of emerging skepticism and repudiation of magical beliefs.[95] Even when Weberian arguments are recast in more nuanced and specific terms, such as conceptions of ritual operations, scholars still tend to seek defining moments of change in which old systems were substantially rejected. Yet elements of disenchantment existed already within premodern European conceptions of magical and other ritual operations. The historical processes of disenchantment, therefore, cannot be understood solely in terms of rejection of magical beliefs motivated by forces external to magical thought, whether Protestant theology, scientific rationalism, or Enlightenment philosophy.

[91] Pott, *Aufklärung und Aberglaube*, 100–124; Campagne, *Homo Catholicus*, 100–112.

[92] Overview and trenchant criticism of these models in Howard Kaminsky, "From Lateness to Waning to Crisis: The Burden of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of Early Modern History* 4, no. 1 (2000): 85–125.

[93] For example, Bernd Moeller's classic "Frömmigkeit in Deutschland um 1500" (1965), translated as "Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation," in Gerald Strauss, ed., *Pre-Reformation Germany* (London, 1972), 13–42; more recently Duffy's magisterial *Stripping of the Altars*.

[94] Most thoroughly demonstrated in Clark, *Thinking with Demons*.

[95] Styers, *Making Magic*, esp. 38–44; Wolfgang Behringer, *Witches and Witch-Hunts: A Global History* (Cambridge, 2004), 165.

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Magical beliefs were themselves, in the tensions and ambiguities they produced, an important force driving European culture along a trajectory of disenchantment.[96] The fifteenth century—itself not a point of radical rupture, but a critical juncture when many older, medieval systems and structures can be seen to shift noticeably toward more modern forms—reveals how the long history of magic in Europe is an important element of the putatively modern narrative of disenchantment.

[96] On belief as a historical force, see Thomas Kselman, "Introduction," in Kselman, ed., *Belief in History: Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1991), 1–15.

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Talking Toads and Chinless Ghosts: The Politics of "Superstitious" Rumors in the People's Republic of China, 1961–1965

S. A. SMITH

SINCE THE DEATH OF MAO ZEDONG in 1976, there has been an astonishing revival in the People's Republic of China of what the government calls "feudal superstition"; this in spite of the fact that under Mao the regime waged a fierce onslaught against the "four olds"—old thinking, old culture, old customs, and old habits—especially during the Cultural Revolution. The 1980s and 1990s saw a rush to rebuild temples and ancestral halls, the resurgence of spirit mediumship and exorcism, renewed interest in divination and geomancy, the reemergence of heterodox religious cults, notably Falungong, and the appearance of "jade emperors descended from heaven."[1] The rapidity and extent of this upsurge in once-proscribed beliefs and practices raised questions about the power of the Maoist state, suggesting that despite its intensive propaganda campaigns and bouts of repression, its capacity to remold popular thinking and behavior was much less than scholars had once supposed. This, in turn, raised questions about the nature of the beliefs and practices that revived during the era of economic reform. Were these manifestations of a tradition that had been preserved unscathed in the face of turbulent socioeconomic and political transformations? Or were these substantially new configurations of beliefs and practices adapted to the changed power relations of the reform era?[2] One form of "feudal superstition"—what the authorities call "superstitious rumors"—maintained a vig-

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[1] Elizabeth J. Perry, *Challenging the Mandate of Heaven: Social Protest and State Power in China* (Armonk, N.Y., 2002), chap. 10; Xin Yuan, "A Place in the Pantheon: Mao and Folk Religion," in Geremie R. Barmé, *Shades of Mao: The Posthumous Cult of the Great Leader* (Armonk, N.Y., 1996), 195–200.

[2] Helen F. Siu, "Recycling Rituals: Politics and Popular Culture in Contemporary Rural China," in Perry Link, Richard Madsen, and Paul Pickowicz, eds., *Unofficial China: Popular Culture and Thought in the People's Republic of China* (Boulder, Colo., 1989), 121–137; Vivienne Shue, "Powers of State, Paradoxes of Domination: China, 1949–1979," in Kenneth Lieberthal, ed., *Perspectives on Modern China* (Armonk, N.Y., 1991), 205–225; Cai Fengming, *Shanghai dushi minus* [Shanghai Urban Folklore] (Shanghai, 2001), 241–272.

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orous existence through the Maoist era, serving to articulate popular concerns and to perpetuate a religious cosmology radically at odds with that of the party-state. The present article aims, first, to explore the meaning of superstitious rumors in the context of the early 1960s, asking what they tell us about the mentality of Chinese peasants and workers and about how they coped with pervasive social uncertainty; second, it explores the politics of superstitious rumor, asking whether the more explicitly political of these rumors can be construed as a form of popular resistance to the party-state.[3] The article conceptualizes rumors as stories about the way the world is, stories rooted in social beliefs about the nature of the human and supernatural worlds. On the one hand, such stories represent responses to the social and political milieu, which refract in a culturally specific idiom the conscious and unconscious concerns of those who retail them; on the other, they intervene in that social and political milieu by investing it with new meanings, and thus potentially have the capacity to change it.[4]

On July 2, 1962, the Ministry of Public Security of the People's Republic of China (PRC) issued a confidential circular to public security organs on the prevention and suppression of rumor.[5] It claimed that "In the most recent period, the number of rumors in circulation has been large" and linked this increase to the activity of counterrevolutionaries, especially Guomindang (GMD) agents, who were said to be using rumor to undermine the authority of the state. The circular coincided with a noisy campaign in the press and on the radio to warn the population of the dangers of spreading and giving credence to rumors. This campaign explained rumormongering entirely in terms of the evil machinations of counterrevolutionaries, hostile class forces, and "bad elements." By contrast, the confidential circular offered a more subtle explanation of the epidemic of rumor. It classified rumors into three categories: those that arose from inadequate understanding of the complicated international situation and the difficult domestic economic situation, those that expressed the "complaints and grumbling of a minority of malcontents," and those that were "fabricated and propagated by counterrevolutionaries and malcontents." In contradiction to everything said in the public campaign, the circular admitted that "not many" rumors fell into the latter category, "although they are very dangerous." By far the largest number, it said, were rumors that "arise from inadequate understanding" of the international and domestic situations.[6] These included rumors of war—said to be the most widespread at the time—rumors about the state of the economy,

[3] For pioneering analyses of "feudal superstition" in the post-Mao era as resistance, see Ann S. Anagnost, "The Beginning and End of an Emperor: A Counterrepresentation of the State," *Modern China* 11, no. 2 (1985): 147–176; and Stephan Feuchtwang, "Religion as Resistance," in Elizabeth J. Perry and Mark Selden, eds., *Chinese Society: Change, Conflict and Resistance* (London, 2000), 161–177. Helen Siu rejects the view that popular religion in the Maoist period was "inherently antistate and antihegemonic"; Siu, "Recycling Rituals," 122. For a subtle account that sees it as an arena characterized by ambivalence toward the state, see Vivienne Shue, "Legitimacy Crisis in China?" in Peter Hays Gries and Stanley Rosen, eds., *State and Society in 21st-Century China* (New York, 2004), 43.

[4] Glen A Perice, "Rumors and Politics in Haiti," *Anthropological Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (1997): 1–10.

[5] *Neibu cankao* (*NBCK*) [Internal Reference Materials], July 2, 1962, 2–4. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

[6] Ibid., 2–3.

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and "superstitious" rumors. The circular recommended that education and propaganda be stepped up to deal with these. On superstitious rumors it said nothing very specific. Yet the increased access to provincial and local archives that has become possible since the 1990s makes it clear that superstitious rumors were rife in the PRC at this time.[7]

For Communist regimes, rumor represented both a form of unauthorized speech (and thus a potential threat to social stability) and a useful insight into popular attitudes and mood.[8] This ambivalence reflected the dilemma of the regimes, which on the one hand were "wary of allowing citizens to express uncensored opinions about matters of public import in public," and on the other were "extremely anxious to know what people were thinking."[9] They thus invested substantial resources into monitoring the moods and opinions of their citizens. In itself this was no novelty: absolutist states in Europe in the early modern period had begun the business of gathering information on the sentiments of their subjects. As Peter Holquist notes, however, "Whereas policing aimed at reporting on delinquents, malcontents and revolutionaries as individuals in order to uphold an existing order, surveillance sought information on the whole population to amass aggregate data on attitudes in order better to act upon them."[10] Communist surveillance, in other words, was designed not merely to measure the public response to various revolutionary measures, but to provide information that could be used to remold popular attitudes and values in accordance with the long-term revolutionary vision. In China, local public security and party organs, trade unions, and the women's federation, together with thousands of informers, reported rumors circulating in villages, marketplaces, teahouses, factories, schools, and university corridors. Public security bureaus collated these rumors in reports on local opinion, which they then submitted to county-level or provincial-level security organs. The latter, it appears, were responsible for producing summaries of the "mood of the population" for party leaders, classified according to the putative social class of those whose sentiments were being reported, social class being seen as the key parameter that could render the social body transparent to party-state manipulation.[11] Extracts from these summary reports were regularly published in *Internal Reference Materials* [*Neibu cankao*], a newsletter pro-

[7] Since the fall of Communism in the Soviet Union, access to archives has revealed how seriously the Soviet authorities also treated rumors. See Lynne Viola, *Peasant Rebels under Stalin* (Oxford, 1996), chap. 2; Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants: Resistance and Survival in the Russian Village after Collectivization* (Oxford, 1994), 286–296; Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism* (Oxford, 1999), chap. 7; Sarah Davies, *Popular Opinion in Stalin's Russia: Terror, Propaganda and Dissent, 1934–1941* (Cambridge, 1997), 113–119; Timothy Johnston, "Subversive Tales? War Rumors in the Soviet Union, 1945–47," in Juliane Furst, ed., *Late Stalinism in Russia: Society between Re-construction and Re-identification* (London, 2006, forthcoming).

[8] In theory, spreading rumors was a criminal activity because it was deemed to threaten the security of the socialist state. Rumormongering was listed in the Criminal Code of the Soviet Union under the articles on anti-Soviet agitation, and in the PRC Criminal Code under the section on crimes endangering national security. http://www.colaw.cn/findlaw/crime/criminallaw2.html (accessed February 24, 2006).

[9] Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, 164.

[10] Peter Holquist, "What's So Revolutionary about the Russian Revolution? State Practices and the New-Style Politics, 1914–21," in David L. Hoffmann and Yanni Kotsonis, eds., *Russian Modernity: Politics, Knowledge, Practices* (London, 1999), 91–92.

[11] These were similar to the "reports on the mood of the population" (*svodki o nastroenii naseleniia*) produced by the Soviet secret police and the *Stimmungsberichte* of the Gestapo in Nazi Germany. Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933–1945* (Oxford, 1983).

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duced by the New China News Agency for restricted circulation among ranking party and state officials. Such extracts invariably appeared under the caption "reports of rumors"; but "rumor" (*yaoyan*) was an elastic term, because it encompassed all manner of opinions about contemporary events and policies, including those that were relatively factual or subject to empirical verification, suggesting that the authorities considered "rumor" to be any information or opinion at variance with the official construction of reality.

Rumor is present in all societies, and in Communist societies it functioned, to a large extent, exactly as it does in non-Communist societies—namely, as "improvised news" in which people comment upon the events taking place around them.[12] In the PRC, where the news media were tightly controlled by the party-state, it reflected a pervasive lack of trust in information that emanated from government. During the Korean War, for example, people in Shenyang, Chengde, and Hunan were reported as saying, "There's nothing in the newspapers worth reading. They publish only the good news, not the bad. If something happens, they daren't talk about it."[13] Teachers in Wuxi and Suzhou were said to feel that the *People's Daily* "has too little and too tardy news about the international situation."[14] In Zhejiang, "merchants" opined: "The *Zhejiang Daily* is a Communist newspaper, so it only publishes news favorable to the Communists."[15] Given this profound skepticism toward the news media, rumors about economic difficulties, about conflict among political leaders, or about tensions in international relations purported to reveal what the party-state was anxious to hide. In addition to the function of rumor as "improvised news," however, much of the sociological literature stresses the role of rumor as a response to situations of crisis or uncertainty. According to Tamotsu Shibutani, when times are out of joint, people share rumors as a way of garnering the support of others in determining the meaning of uncertain, ambivalent, or fear-inducing events.[16] In this context, rumor may express popular fears and anxieties, hopes and aspirations, frustrations or anger. Ralph L. Rosnow expands on this argument, claiming that rumors "give vent or expression to anxieties and uncertainties as to how people attempt to make sense of the world in which they live." The creation and passing on of rumors, he hypothesizes, occurs when there is an optimal combination of four variables: general uncertainty, "outcome-relevant involvement" (i.e., people have a stake in whether a rumor turns out to be true or false), personal anxiety, and credulity.[17] Such conditions were present in abundance in the PRC in the early 1960s.

Between 1959 and 1961, the PRC was ravaged by what was probably the worst famine in human history in terms of the absolute number of deaths. The total of "excess deaths"—deaths that occurred earlier than would be expected on the basis of normal mortality trends—has been estimated at around 30 million.[18] Yet the

[12] Tamotsu Shibutani, *Improvised News: A Sociological Study of Rumor* (Indianapolis, 1966).
[13] *NBCK*, October 25, 1950, 200.
[14] Ibid., November 9, 1950, 40.
[15] Ibid., November 17, 1950, 73.
[16] Shibutani, *Improvised News*, 17, 164.
[17] Ralph L. Rosnow, "Inside Rumor: A Personal Journey," *American Psychologist* 46, no. 5 (1991): 488.
[18] Xizhe Peng, "Demographic Consequences of the Great Leap Forward in China's Provinces," *Population and Development Review* 13, no. 4 (1987): 649; Basil Ashton, Kenneth Hill, Alan Piazza, and Robin Zeitz, "Famine in China, 1958–61," *Population and Development Review* 10, no. 4 (1984): 619.

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newspapers, radio, and propaganda agencies said not a word about the famine, except through allusions to the drought and other natural disasters that occurred during what came to be known as the "three bad years." In the course of 1962, all provinces except Gansu began to recover, as labor and other resources were redirected to agriculture, as procurement quotas were further reduced, and as the weather improved. The death rate returned to normal in all but five provinces, and fertility recovered, although urban areas took longer to recover than rural ones. In 1963, the PRC witnessed the biggest boom in fertility in its history.[19] Interestingly, it was in this period of recovery, rather than in the period when the famine was at its most ferocious, that the epidemic of rumor broke out. For although the country was recovering quite rapidly, uncertainty about the future remained acute. In 1962, the government drastically scaled down the size of the communes, unexpectedly reversing one of the most utopian elements in the Great Leap Forward. At the local level, officials began to contract out farming tasks from the production teams to individual households.[20] The permanency of these policy reversals, however, was by no means clear. For Mao Zedong, the re-empowerment of the individual household, for example, represented an unacceptable concession to capitalist forces, and at the Tenth Plenum of the Central Committee in September 1962, he made an impassioned plea to "never forget class struggle." Domestic uncertainty was massively compounded by the threat of war with Taiwan. The Nationalist government at this time was vociferously broadcasting plans to launch military action against the eastern coastal provinces of mainland China. The Voice of America—a "factory for fabricating rumors," in the view of one commentator—did its bit to step up insecurity.[21] In June 1962, Nationalist guerrillas landed at several places along the coast, and on September 9, a U-2 spy plane was shot down.[22] On June 9, the Ministry of Public Security issued a circular to six coastal provinces, which was extended to eighteen provinces on June 23, urging its organs to step up reconnaissance and investigation of suspected sympathizers of the GMD and to prosecute those suspected of forming subversive organizations, plotting to carry out bombings, or circulating leaflets and rumors.[23]

It was in this context that the government launched its campaign of June 1962 to warn people of the dangers of listening to and passing on rumors, a campaign that harped relentlessly on the connection between rumormongering and counterrevolutionary subversion. In an article entitled "The Truth about Rumors," which appeared in Guangzhou's *Southern Daily* [*Nanfang ribao*], Guan Zhendong explained that throughout Chinese history, reactionaries had utilized rumor as a political weapon, and that the GMD was now resorting to the same tactic, hoping thereby "to fish in troubled waters and stage a comeback." He claimed, doubtfully, that only "a few backward elements" were engaged in spreading rumors, "due to their lesser

[19] Peng, "Demographic Consequences," 645, 643.

[20] Dali L. Yang, *Calamity and Reform in China: State, Rural Society, and Institutional Change since the Great Leap Forward* (Stanford, Calif., 1996).

[21] Guan Zhendong, "The Truth about Rumors," *Nanfang ribao*, July 4, 1962. *Survey of the China Mainland Press* (SCMP), 2788, July 30, 1962.

[22] Roderick MacFarquhar, *The Origins of the Cultural Revolution: The Coming of the Cataclysm, 1961–66* (Oxford, 1997), 272, 300.

[23] *Zhongguo renmin gongan shigao* [Draft History of Chinese People's Public Security] (Beijing, 1997), 318.

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political standing, their relatively low level of revolutionary vigilance, and their inferior abilities to distinguish friend from foe."[24] The press also carried news reports such as that about Yang Ju, who left Guangzhou in 1957 for Hong Kong, where she was recruited as a GMD spy. Posing as a "compatriot of Hong Kong and Macau returning to the homeland to see relatives," she returned to Guangzhou in 1962, where she recruited her husband, Guan Gen, and her adopted son-in-law, Situ Que, to listen to Taiwan radio and the Voice of America and to spread rumors based on what they heard. In return, they were promised several hundred Hong Kong dollars a month. According to the report, Situ and Guan became regular customers at the Yanxiang restaurant, where they invited lineage members and friends to sip tea and have heart-to-heart conversations.

> They were often seen whispering rumors in one another's ears. Sometimes they purposely spoke in a louder tone so that nearby tea-drinkers could hear them. They always began with "I've heard" so as to emphasize their "objective" position. If a tea-drinker sitting at a neighboring table showed some interest by joining in the conversation, they would treat him as a "bosom friend of ten years' standing" and continue to tell him one rumor after another. But if someone was doubtful and questioned them, they would immediately change their tune and say "That's right. I don't believe it either."[25]

That this linkage of rumor to subversion served to intensify the apprehensive mood of many is affirmed by a number of readers' letters. The *reductio ad absurdum* came in a letter from Wu Daihao, a housewife in Guangzhou, who wrote: "One day during the early part of April when I was shopping in the street, I heard a stranger say: 'Rabbits can call their owner's name, and when the owner's name is called he will die.'" Without thinking, she went home and killed three of her five rabbits and sold the other two. "The more I think about it, the more regretful and sorry I am. Naturally, I am even more resentful of the secret agents who spread this rumor."[26]

Over the next three years, the authorities claimed to detect a huge upsurge in "superstitious activity," a key component of which was the circulation of superstitious rumors. We cannot rule out the possibility that this upsurge was, in part, a consequence of heightened vigilance on the part of the authorities, since in February 1963, in response to Mao's concern that capitalist forces were now rampant in the countryside, they launched the Four Cleanups, a campaign designed to combat corruption on the part of local officials.[27] In time this campaign developed into the broader Socialist Education Movement, which entailed sending work teams into the villages to identify cadres on production teams and in brigades who were guilty of "capitalism," which included household contract production, speculation, abandoning agriculture for peddling, and lending at high interest rates; "feudalism," which included mercenary marriages, religious activities, and "superstition" of all kinds; or "extravagance," which referred mainly to lavish celebrations of weddings, births,

[24] SCMP, 2788, July 30, 1962.
[25] "The Secret Agent's Family," *Nanfang ribao*, July 4, 1962. SCMP, 2788, July 30, 1962.
[26] *Nanfang ribao*, July 8, 1962. SCMP, 2788, July 30, 1962.
[27] Frederick C. Teiwes, *Politics and Purges in China*, 2nd ed. (Armonk, N.Y., 1993), chap. 11; Richard Baum, *Prelude to Revolution: Mao, the Party, and the Peasant Question, 1962–66* (New York, 1975); Shiping Zheng, *Party vs State in Post-1949 China: The Institutional Dilemma* (Cambridge, 1997), chap. 6.

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beam raisings, and funerals.[28] A key manifestation of "feudal superstition" was deemed to be the spreading of rumors about supernatural happenings.[29] It seems likely that "superstitious activity" of all types did in fact grow in this period as a result of the pervasive uncertainty of the times and a more liberal policy toward popular religion on the part of the government; but the possibility cannot be ruled out that some of the increase was due to the fact that local officials were now under greater pressure to record and combat acts that they once would have ignored.

AS THE STRUGGLE TO STAY ALIVE RECEDED, ordinary people began to reflect on why the country had been ravaged by famine. The official explanation of the "three bad years" was simple: they were the product of a concatenation of natural disasters that included drought, floods, typhoons, plant diseases, and insect pests. We know that there was skepticism about this explanation even in party circles. At the Seven Thousand Cadres Conference in January–February 1962, a majority of delegates appear to have concluded that the disaster was 70 percent man-made.[30] For millions of peasants and workers, however, the debate as to whether the famine was a natural or man-made cataclysm missed the point; they were convinced that it was the neglect—or active proscription—of rituals designed to energize relations between the spirit and human worlds that was the root cause of the disaster. In Pei County in Jiangsu, peasants declared: "In recent years, people have lost their good conscience, and are not offering incense. Consequently, we haven't had good harvests." They exhorted their fellows to pray to the gods to "wipe out disaster and bestow happiness."[31] In June 1962, the party cell at the No. 9 State Textile Mill in Shanghai asked nine women workers to give their views about the causes of the famine. Six were convinced that the disasters had been sent by the gods (*pusa*). Thirty-nine-year-old Wang Jinxiu said: "During the past years, there have been an awful lot of natural disasters—first we hear of floods, then of droughts, then of hailstorms, then of whirlwinds. This is all because people no longer believe enough in the gods. Buddha has sent us the famine." Yang Jinmei opined: "In the past when it failed to rain, we could burn incense to pray for rain. And when locusts flew down from the sky, we would burn incense, and they would fly away at once. Now we can't even buy incense, and the temple has been demolished."[32] In the countryside, the belief that catastrophe

[28] C. S. Chen, ed., *Rural People's Communes in Lien-chiang: Documents Concerning Communes in Lien-chiang County, Fukien Province, 1962–63*, trans. Charles Price Ridley (Stanford, Calif., 1969), 44. Beam raisings were ceremonies held to mark the raising of the final roof beam of a new building.

[29] The campaign of the CCP was in many respects a continuation of the campaign against "feudal superstition" first launched by the Guomindang in the late 1920s. See Prasenjit Duara, "Knowledge and Power in the Discourse of Modernity: The Campaigns against Popular Religion in Early Twentieth Century China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 50, no. 4 (1991): 67–83; Rebecca Nedostup, "Religion, Superstition and Governing Society in Nationalist China" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2001).

[30] MacFarquhar, *Origins*, 152.

[31] Zhonggong Jiangsu weiyuan xuanchuanbu xuanchuanchu [Propaganda Department of the Propaganda Bureau of the Jiangsu Provincial Communist Party], "Nongcun mixin huodong zeng duo" [Superstitious Activity among the Peasantry Is on the Increase], April 28, 1962, Jiangsu Provincial Archive: 3039-duan-639.

[32] Shanghai shi zonggonghui bangongshi [Shanghai Municipal General Labor Union Office], "Bufen zhong laonian nügong zhong mixin sixiang hai hen yanzhong yiji guomian jiuchang Yang Xiaomei xiaozu guanyu 'Nongye zaihuang shi fou shi bu xiangxin pusa de yuangu' wenti de taolun" [Superstitious Think-

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had struck because the regime was inhibiting rituals of propitiation and exorcism was particularly entrenched. In July 1963, the Rural Affairs Department of Hubei Province reported that people were blaming a new outbreak of drought directly on the antireligious policies of the regime. In the Taizi Temple District of Yangxin County, Daoist monks and sorceresses claimed that the drought had occurred because temples had been pulled down and images of bodhisattvas removed, so there were no longer places where they could pray for rain.[33] Such views were rooted in a cosmology that held that order in the human, natural, and supernatural worlds depended on local communities' observing rituals that were "modes of extending the reach of human agency, of garnering *ling*, the power inherent in the cosmic landscape for human purposes."[34] Crucially, as we shall see, the failure to observe rituals of sacrifice and to practice the mantic arts allowed forces of disorder—demonic spirits and ghosts—to run rampant.

On April 1, 1962, the Jilin Provincial Trade Union reported a rumor that was fast spreading through the province, especially among factory and mine workers. A conversation had been overheard between two toads. One said: "Don't say that I am big. This year none of the old men and women will survive." The other said: "Don't say that I am small. This year people will have abundant food." The big toad retorted that the elderly would survive only if they were each given sugar-filled dumplings equal in number to their age. When questioned, people gave conflicting accounts of where these gnomic utterances had first been heard. In Baicheng, some miners said that a man in Zhenlai County had dug up the toads while digging a grave; others said that the party secretary of the Yaodong commune in Anxian County had raised them from a well while fetching water. In Changchun, workers claimed that they had seen the toads on their way to Chaoyanggou to hold a memorial ceremony for the dead; others said that a woman had given birth to the toads.[35] A year later, the same rumor cropped up in the distant city of Shanghai. In April 1963, the General Labor Union of Shanghai Municipality reported that workers at the No. 9, No. 12, and No. 17 State Textile Mills, at the No. 4 Printing and Dyeing Mill, and in the working-class district of Yangpu were gripped by a rumor that a "toad spirit" (*hama jing*) was roaming the suburb of Pudong—just across the Huangpu River from Yangpu. The toad weighed 2.5 *jin* (1.5 kg) and was able to speak. Like its prototypes in Jilin, it forecast: "This year more than half of the old people will die," but added that they might survive if they ate a toad before the first day of the fifth lunar month. Many workers were said to be frightened by the rumor, and they set off to look for toads to give

ing among Some of the Older Women Workers Is Still a Serious Problem: A Note on a Discussion among the Yang Xiaomei Team of the No. 9 State Textile Mill on "Whether the Agricultural Disasters Have Been Caused by the Gods"], June 20, 1962, Shanghai Municipal Archive, C1–2–3697.

[33] Nongcun gongzuo bu [Rural Work Department], "Qingkuang jianbao" [Situation Report], no. 25, July 11, 1963, Hubei Provincial Archive, SZ 18-2-217.

[34] A. R. Zito, "City Gods, Filiality and Hegemony in Late Imperial China," *Modern China* 13, no. 3 (1987): 350.

[35] "Guanyu changkuang qiye zhong yaoyan feiyu liuchuan qingkuang he jinhou yijian" [On the Circulation of Rumor and Gossip in Factory and Mining Enterprises and on Suggestions for the Future], Jilin Provincial Archive, 17-15-46 (1962).

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to their elderly relatives. Failing to find any, they made toads out of flour, steamed them, and gave them to relatives to eat.[36]

Within a month, the same rumor in a more developed narrative form had spread from Shanghai into the adjacent counties of Jiangsu Province. The women's federation in Chuansha County reported that the rumor was causing considerable apprehension. A large toad had appeared when a building was pulled down. People had tried to kill it, but it uttered the following prophecy: "If you weigh me, I am 2.5 jin. If you don't weigh me, I am still 2.5 jin. Most of the old ladies [*lao taipo*] are going to die." As people scurried indoors, the toad cried out: "Disaster will be averted only if young married women bake toads made from 2.5 jin of flour and give them to their mothers and the old folks to eat." It added that the bread toads must be eaten in the fourth intercalary lunar month, for by the fifth lunar month it would be too late.[37] Women thereupon abandoned work in the fields to bake toad buns and take them to their mothers, who often resided in brigades at some distance. At the start of June, the beginning of the fourth intercalary month, only seven or eight of the twenty-seven communes in Chuansha County had been affected by the rumor; by the second half of the month, twenty-two were affected. When offering the toad buns to their parents, daughters first burned a stick of incense; they then presented the buns and two poached eggs to the kitchen god before giving the food to their parents to eat. The authorities were particularly concerned that party members were participating in this activity. In the Gongbei Brigade, the secretary of the party branch and the head of the women's federation both presented toad buns to their mothers. In the Xinji Brigade, the head of the women's federation, while attending a party meeting, deliberately allowed her children to cause a ruckus so that she could leave the meeting early. She then visited her mother with toad buns that she had made. Among the Nanzhu production team, nine out of fifty-seven households baked toads, giving away a total of twenty-one buns, while four households received a total of seven buns. The greatest amount of flour used by any single household was two jin, and the greatest number of toad buns made by any household was seven. A few communes managed to dispel the "superstitious activity" by acting promptly to organize ideological education for the "female masses." In this way, in six out of thirteen brigades in the Sunxiaoqiao commune, the evil wind (*xie feng*) was dispelled and the masses were enabled to understand the rumor rationally (*dong de liao daoli*). The overall effect of the rumor, the report concluded, was to waste flour, reduce turnout for work in the fields, and increase feudal superstitious thinking.[38]

[36] "Yangpu qu bufen fangzhi chang gongren jizhong juzhu diqu zuijin yaomo-guiguai de yaochuan hen duo" [In Yangpu District, Where the Workers of the Textile Mills Live, There Have Recently Been Many Rumors of Demons, Ghosts, and Monsters], July 15, 1963, Shanghai Municipal Archive, C1-2-3899.

[37] The Chinese calendar combined solar and lunar cycles, a lunar month being approximately 29.5 days in length. In order for the lunar cycle to catch up with the solar cycle, seven leap years occur over a nineteen-year period, in which an extra intercalary ("leap") month is inserted. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, 4 vols. (Cambridge 1959), 3: 390–408.

[38] Chuansha xian fulian [Chuansha County Women's Federation], "Chuansha xian funü qunzhong de yaochuan he mixin huodong" [Rumors and Superstitious Activity among the Women of Chuansha County], Shanghai Municipal Archive, C31-2-910. The importance of this rumor is reflected in the fact that two years later, reference was made to it by the party cell of the Shanghai Municipality's Science and Technology Association. Shanghai Municipality Science and Technology Association, "Guanyu kaizhan pochu mixin de kexue puji xuanchuan de qingkuang huibao" [A Report on Propagating Scientific

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The most obvious message of the toad rumor was that the young should take care of the elderly. Amartya Sen has argued that it is not a decline in food availability that is crucial in causing famine, but a change in people's "entitlement"—their ability to obtain food.[39] It is possible that as a result of the famine, old people felt that their entitlement to food was no longer as secure as it had once been. Although we lack hard evidence, it seems plausible that the toad rumor reflected a determination on the part of the elderly (particularly old women, to judge by the reports) to bolster their entitlement to food. The cultural expectation that children should provide care and security for their parents was still well entrenched after 1949, and backed by a Communist state that expected families (mainly female family members) to provide for the elderly in the absence of state provision, notably, of old-age pensions for rural inhabitants. Scholars, however, have argued that the elimination of private ownership of land and capital weakened the hold that elderly parents exerted over their children, and that the increased involvement of women in paid work, together with official encouragement of equality and mutual assistance in family relations, served to erode traditional norms of filiality.[40] Yunxiang Yan contends that old-age security began to decline in the second half of the 1950s, as young people became more active in public life, and that the balance of public opinion tipped away from support for the older generation in favor of greater autonomy for the young.[41]

Most variants of the toad rumor were pitched at married daughters. It was they who were summoned to bake toads for their parents or for the elderly in general. An earlier generation of scholars maintained that the ties of a married daughter to her natal family were weak, since daughters moved into the households of their husbands and kinship patterns remained patrilineal.[42] More recently, Ellen R. Judd and Neil Diamant have questioned this claim, suggesting that neither marriage out of her natal family nor having children in her husband's village necessarily broke the emotional and practical ties between a daughter and her parents, at least in the early years of marriage.[43] The purpose of the toad rumor was apparently to strengthen ties between daughters and parents, since it is surely significant that no version of the rumor exists in which daughters-in-law were called upon to give toads to the parents-in-law with whom they resided. Another rumor that circulated in Chuansha County at this time also suggests that it was the relationship of daughters to their parents that was salient. An eighty-two-year-old woman in the Huamu commune was said to have grown new teeth and black hair, which those who retailed the rumor in-

Knowledge in Order to Promote the Destruction of Superstition], June 29, 1965, Shanghai Municipal Archive, C42-1-311.

[39] A. K. Sen, *Poverty and Famines* (Oxford, 1981).

[40] Yao Yuan, "Weakening Cultural Support for the Elderly in China," *Chinese Sociology and Anthropology* 34, no. 1 (2001): 26–34; Paul Kwong and Cai Guoxuan, "Ageing China: Trends, Problems, and Strategies," in David Phillips, ed., *Ageing in East and South-East Asia* (London, 1992), 122. For a more positive picture, see Deborah Davis-Friedmann, *Long Lives: Chinese Elderly and the Communist Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 106–107.

[41] Yunxiang Yan, *Private Life under Socialism: Love, Intimacy and Family Change in a Chinese Village, 1949–99* (Stanford, Calif., 2003), 184, 189.

[42] Margery Wolf, *Revolution Postponed: Women in Contemporary China* (Stanford, Calif., 1985); Kay Ann Johnson, *Women, the Family and Peasant Revolution in China* (Chicago, 1983).

[43] Ellen R. Judd, *Gender and Power in Rural North China* (Stanford, Calif., 1994); Neil Diamant, *Revolutionizing the Family: Politics, Love, and Divorce in Urban and Rural China, 1949–1968* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000).

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terpreted as meaning that the younger generation would not grow to maturity. In order to avert this prospect, the rumor advised daughters to feed their parents two bowls of meat, a bowl of eggs, and a bowl of rice.[44] The notion that eating choice dishes could avert disaster was commonplace. A 1962 report from the Propaganda Bureau of the Jiangsu Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) claimed that in areas severely hit by drought, "class enemies" were spreading rumors that the only way to avoid disaster was to prepare expensive dishes of food: "Eating soybeans that have been fried for three nights will protect you from disaster"; "Eating dumplings with meat filling will protect you from disaster"; "Eating pine seeds will protect you from disaster." It noted that in many communes, married daughters were cooking three meat dishes and three vegetarian dishes for their mothers and grandmothers.[45] In these instances, the giving of food seems to have been more self-interested than in the case of the toad rumor, since it was designed to stave off a disaster that would affect the young themselves, whereas the prestation of toad buns was aimed at preventing the extinction of the elderly. In all cases, however, such food offerings between the younger and older generations echoed exchanges between the living and the dead, since the presentation of food by married daughters was central to the funeral rites of their parents.[46] This suggests that the offering of toad buns had a dimension that was as much about restoring harmony between the generations and, by extension, between the living and the dead as it was about strengthening social ties between parents and daughters.

To construe the toad rumor as simply creating and sustaining social networks is only to scratch the surface of its meaning. What are we to make of a story in which a marauding toad strikes fear through its prophecies of doom? Luise White reminds us that people "construct and repeat stories that carry the values and meanings that most forcibly get their points across."[47] It is clear from its reported description and from the attempts made to kill it that the toad, a creature of ugly, warty mien associated with dark, damp places, did not inspire affection. But as an animal that carried multiple symbolic associations, the toad was good to think with. Compared with the fox or snake, it occupied a rather marginal place in Chinese mythology. It was neither one of the four sacred animals nor one of the twelve animals of the calendar.[48] It was, however, one of the five venomous creatures (*wu du*)—along with the spider, snake, scorpion, and lizard—to which demonic powers were attributed.[49] This did not necessarily make it frightening, since its power could be harnessed for good. Indeed, certain Manchu folktales—although from an area of the northeast somewhat distant from that where the toad rumor originated—represent the toad

[44] Chuansha xian fulian, "Chuansha xian funü."

[45] Zhonggong Jiangsu weiyuan xuanchuanchu, "Nongcun mixin huodong zeng duo."

[46] Stuart E. Thompson, "Death, Food and Fertility," in James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 77. Among the Cantonese, however, married daughters may present only a *raw* offering of a pig's head and tail at their parents' funerals, since cooked food is deemed to absorb the "killing airs of death." James L. Watson, "Of Flesh and Bones: The Management of Death Pollution in Cantonese Society," in Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry, eds., *Death and the Regeneration of Life* (Cambridge, 1982), 175.

[47] Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000), 30.

[48] Li Wei-tsu, "On the Cult of the Four Sacred Animals," *Folklore Studies* 7 (1948): 1–94.

[49] Henri Doré, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, 5 vols. (1918; repr., Taipei, 1966), 5: 646.

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in tones that are more humorous than frightening. In Xiuyan County in Liaoning Province, for example, a folktale tells of an old lady who gives birth to a toad that later turns into a young man. He falls in love with a young woman, before turning into a "toad immortal."[50] Within folk culture, it is the association of the toad with the moon that is most pronounced. Chang E, goddess of the moon, drank an elixir of life intended for her archer husband, Hou Yi, and so was transported to the moon and turned into a three-legged toad. (In other variants, she lives on the moon with a three-legged toad, a rabbit, and the woodcutter Wu Gang.) It is said that on the fifteenth day of the lunar month, when the moon is at its fullest, Hou Yi comes to visit his wife in the Palace of the Moon, which represents the meeting of sun and moon. In another variant, the toad on the moon is depicted as dancing on its hind legs while pounding the drug of immortality in a mortar. Here the toad's sloughing of its skin evokes rebirth, a connotation that connects with the moon's phases of growth, decline, and rebirth.[51] The symbolic association of the toad with the moon is present subliminally in the toad rumor, in its insistence that people act in the fourth intercalary month before the onset of the "poisonous" fifth lunar month. Intercalary months "always inspired special terror" because of their irregular appearance in the calendar.[52]

The symbolic chain between the toad, water, darkness, and the moon clearly establishes its *yin* character.[53] Yin and *yang* have been described as the "binary pulse" of a universe that is in a constant process of transformation. The terms originally referred to the shady and sunny sides of a hill; but the essence of the idea is that the shady and sunny sides are constantly changing, nothing in the world ever staying the same.[54] Yin and yang interact to produce creation, reproduction, and transformation. Although they correspond to female and male, darkness and brightness, moon and sun, ghosts and gods, their meaning shifts according to the situation, so they cannot be construed as rigidly dyadic attributes affixed to things.[55] If correctly mediated, yin and yang produce *ling*, which means they make the power of gods and spirits efficacious in the world. What the toad rumor implied was that this mediation was not working, that the yang forces that underpin the structured order of this world were under siege from chaotic yin forces of the spirit world. It conjured up a world in which yin, the principle of disorder, threatened to overcome yang, the principle of order. This particular understanding of the yin-yang dyad reflected the fact that popular religious culture was profoundly demonological.[56] Barend J. ter Haar has questioned the notion that ordinary people saw relations between the natural and

[50] Zhang Qizhno, ed., *Manzu san laoren gushi ji* [Stories Told by Three Old Manchus] (Liaoning, 1988), 256–262.

[51] Anne Birrell, *Chinese Mythology: An Introduction* (Baltimore, Md., 1993), 144–145.

[52] M. Kriukov, V. Maliavin, and M. Sofronov, *Etnicheskaia istoriia kitaitsev na rubezhe srednevekov'ia i novogo vremeni* (Moscow, 1987), 170. The fifth lunar month was sometimes known as the "poisonous month" (*du yue*). From the first to the fifth days of that month, five Daoist gods presided over summer diseases and formed a special board of health officers to whom people could turn if epidemics broke out. Vendors sold pictures of the "five venomous creatures," which could be worn as talismans against the malignant emanations (*xie*) that caused disease. Doré, *Researches*, 5: 645–646.

[53] Vivienne Lo, "*Huangdi Hama jing* (The Yellow Emperor's Toad Canon)," *Asia Major* 14, pt. 2 (2001): 73; Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, *A Dictionary of Symbols* (London, 1996), 1010–1011.

[54] James Millar, *Daoism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2003), 43–44.

[55] Steven Sangren, *History and Magical Power in a Chinese Community* (Stanford, Calif., 1987), 136.

[56] Stephan Feuchtwang, *Popular Religion in China: The Imperial Metaphor* (Richmond, Surrey,

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supernatural worlds in terms of the normative Confucian representation of harmonious integration, arguing instead that they saw the ordered world as under constant violent assault from demonic forces.[57] In the words of an earlier scholar, humanity was "engaged every day in a restless defensive and offensive war" against malevolent spirits, and in this confrontation it needed the protection of whatever arts could be mobilized.[58] This "demonological paradigm" may seem at odds with the yin-yang model outlined above, since the latter is often married to the conception of a holistic and harmonious cosmic order, but popular cosmology was not monolithic, and was capable of embracing both the notion of a "benign imperial cosmos" and the notion of a "demonic cosmos," according to context.[59] In normal times, regimes of propitiation and exorcism could regulate relations between the human and spirit worlds harmoniously, but the neglect of sacrifice and the mantic arts—indeed their active discouragement by the regime—could allow demonic forces to wreak havoc on communities.[60]

That millions felt the world to be under siege from yin forces is confirmed by the many stories of ghosts that circulated at this time. In 1959, women at the textile mills in the Hongqiao District of Shanghai were terrified by the tale of a woman at the No. 6 State Textile Mill who befriended a young man on Hongqiao Street on her way home from work. After some time, the man gave her his home address and a wristwatch. The next day, she went to see him at that address, only to be told by his mother that he had been dead two years.[61] Four years later, a similar rumor flared up in the same district, and women workers were said to be too scared to leave the mills at night. In one variant of the rumor, a woman returning home passed three men playing cards at the side of a road near Qiujiang Bridge. Curious, she walked toward them, but noticed they had no chins. Tearing herself away, she bumped into a policeman who also had no chin.[62] In a panic, she arrived home and promptly fell ill. In a different version, the female worker going home met a "stiff-corpse ghost" (*jiang shi gui*) that also had no chin, and she too fell dangerously ill the same night.[63] This is the "zombie-like chiang-shih," described by Myron Cohen as "the most extreme contrast with the properly dead."[64] According to J. J. M. de Groot, "It is more malicious than any other specter because, having a body at its service, it possesses more

2001), 43–51. For a discussion of early Buddhist and Daoist demonology, see Michael Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine* (Stanford, Calif., 2002), chap. 2.

[57] Barend J. ter Haar, "China's Inner Demons: The Political Impact of the Demonological Paradigm," *China Information* 11, nos. 2/3 (1996): 54–85.

[58] J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 6 vols. (Leiden, 1910), 6: 931, cited in Philip A. Kuhn, *Soulstealers: The Chinese Sorcery Scare of 1768* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 104–105.

[59] Feuchtwang, *Popular Religion*, 51–59.

[60] Richard von Glahn, *The Sinister Way: The Divine and the Demonic in Chinese Religious Culture* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004), 13.

[61] "Zhen 'gui' bu hui you, jia gui dao yao fang" [True "Ghosts" Do Not Exist, but We Must Guard against False Ghosts], *Xinmin wanbao*, June 14, 1959.

[62] The belief that ghosts had no chins was widespread. N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China, and Its Affinities to That of the Aryan and Semitic Races* (London, 1876), 72.

[63] "Yangpu qu bufen fangzhi chang," Shanghai Municipal Archive, C1-2-3899. In the same year, in the Handan Mining District in Hebei, it was said that some party secretaries talked about ghosts so vividly that young workers were scared to work the night shift, since they dared not go home in the dark. *NBCK*, July 19, 1963, 4.

[64] Myron L. Cohen, "Souls and Salvation: Conflicting Themes in Chinese Popular Religion," in Watson and Rawski, *Death Ritual*, 191.

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strength and vigor than other disembodied ghosts . . . It commonly kills its prey by sucking its blood, a proceeding which it completes in a few seconds."[65] Another flurry of rumors was sparked by the death of Dai, a worker at the No. 9 State Textile Mill, who crashed into a truck while cycling home from work. One old lady claimed that for many nights before his death, she had seen two ghosts walking around his house in the new residential area of Kongjiang. Another reported: "Recently, people in Kongjiang have heard ghosts crying and dogs howling at night. They knew someone was about to die, and now Dai is dead." Another said that since Dai's death, ghosts had been seen knocking on his door at midnight.[66] All these rumors feature workers traveling home from work, which suggests that the locality gods (*tudi gong*) who protected people when they were out of doors were not doing their job.[67] These ghost stories did strike terror in those who heard them. By contrast, although the toad rumor often frightened people, it was not what Paul Cohen has called a "dread" rumor, in that it did not provoke panic, hysteria, or pogrom-like behavior.[68]

One influential reading of Chinese religious culture contends that the spirit world is divided into gods, ghosts, and ancestors. Gods and ghosts must be honored (*bai*), whereas ghosts must be propitiated (*ji*).[69] Ghosts include souls that do not have a place in the kinship structure, such as unmarried women; those who die a violent death, such as suicides and those who drown; or those who die in a strange land. Not receiving the sacrifices of ancestors, these "hungry ghosts" are evil and vengeful. Such malevolent ghosts are often visualized as having ugly human features, such as bodies covered with hair, big black teeth, pointed heads, red hair, and dark faces, and sometimes as being without noses, mouths, lips, or chins. In their efforts to annoy and frighten, ghosts breathe noxious fumes, spit cold saliva, knock on doors, whistle, or emit an eldritch cackle.[70] As in other cultures, they personify the dark and frightening forces that are outside the control of humankind. According to Richard von Glahn, "whether envisioned as hapless and beggarly souls or predatory bandits, ghosts were shrouded with a fell aura of malignancy that evoked fear and aversion."[71] Robert Weller qualifies this depiction, arguing that in popular culture, understandings of ghosts were not unitary: whereas ghosts that were understood as marginal gods were indeed dangerous and malignant, those that were understood as marginal ancestors were to be pitied rather than feared.[72] All ghosts, however, are dead per-

[65] J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese* (New York, 1910), 76. See also John L. Nevius, *China and the Chinese* (New York, 1869), 166. The first stories of the "stiff-corpse ghost" are recorded in the Southern Dynasties period (429–500 C.E.), but knowledge of the ghost may have come less from folk tradition than from commercialized fiction, for at least two stories about such ghosts were published in popular magazines in 1942. Xu Hualong, ed., *Zhongguo gui wenhua da cidian* [Dictionary of Chinese Ghost Culture] (Nanning, 1994), 217, 433–434.

[66] "Yangpu qu bufen fangzhi chang," Shanghai Municipal Archive, C1-2-3899.

[67] Feuchtwang, *Popular Religion*, 105.

[68] Paul Cohen, *History in Three Keys: The Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth* (New York, 1997), 162–172. For examples, see rumors about the barbaric behavior of foreigners and Chinese Christians during the Boxer rebellion, or rumors about Japanese poisoning tea urns during the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Cohen, *History*, 162–172; S. A. Smith, *Like Cattle and Horses: Nationalism and Labor in Shanghai, 1895–1927* (Durham, N.C., 2002), 103–104.

[69] Arthur Wolf, "Gods, Ghosts and Ancestors," in Wolf, ed., *Religion and Ritual in Chinese Society* (Stanford, Calif., 1978), 131–182.

[70] Kriukov et al., *Etnicheskaia istoriia*, 160.

[71] Von Glahn, *The Sinister Way*, 6.

[72] Robert Weller, *Unities and Diversities in Chinese Religion* (Seattle, Wash., 1987), 60.

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sons who in some sense are still alive, and their existence in large numbers indicates that social control of the dead is failing, that the boundary between this world and the supernatural world is unstable. During the famine, millions had died unnaturally, and the funeral rites that ensure that the socially appropriate persons absorb the pollution of death and help restore the balance between yin and yang had been observed at best superficially.[73] And since, as James Watson puts it, "the world order and the social structure of the living have meaning only through the manipulation and preservation of the dead," the failure to deal properly with the dead was one reason why chaotic spirits were now believed to be in the ascendant.[74] Stranded in the human world, the ghosts connoted a sense of the normal order besieged by forces of disorder, anomaly, and random tragedy. The stories of the "stiff-corpse ghost," in particular, whose soul was not separated properly from its body by means of correctly performed funerary rituals, seem to echo the fate of famine victims.

Taken as a whole, superstitious rumors constituted an allegory about the wrenching times that people were living through, one couched in terms of widely, if no longer universally, shared beliefs, one at odds with the official narrative of the party-state. The social effect of the rumors was contradictory. On the one hand, the transmission of these stories spread anxiety about the power of yin forces and the threat to cosmic order; on the other, transmission may have been a way of coping with unease. As Marilyn Ivy points out, "As long as one can talk about ghosts, the fear that an encounter would bring is deferred. It frames the fear of ghosts while at the same time, reserving the possibility of encounter."[75] Even where a rumor inspired fear—as tales of the "stiff-corpse ghost" undoubtedly did—they nevertheless fostered communication and local solidarity. Tales of prodigious creatures and their prophecies created spaces in which people could share knowledge about the extraordinariness of the times and gain a measure of psychological control over an ambiguous and threatening situation. As Gary Fine puts it, "In general, having a corpus of shared stories that reflects collective anxiety brings people together and fosters the recognition of community—the commonality of fears, knowledge and attentional focus. These stories help to knot networks . . . and help to cement relationships."[76] We need not suppose, however, that superstitious rumors were a monolithic expression of beliefs and values unquestioningly shared by the vast majority of the population; rather, they served to provide "the terms and tropes through which people caught up in changing worlds may vex each other, question definitions of value, form alliances and mobilize oppositions."[77]

[73] In many areas there was a ban on ceremonial expenditure during the famine. In the village of South Gaoluo, not far south of Beijing, where between 60 and 80 people out of a population of 1,600 starved to death, funerals became perfunctory, and it was hard to find anyone to act as coffin-bearer. Stephen Jones, *Plucking the Winds: Lives of Village Musicians in Old and New China* (Leiden, 2004), 132.

[74] Watson and Rawski, *Death Ritual*, 194.

[75] Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago, 1995), 167.

[76] Gary Fine, *Manufacturing Tales: Sex and Money in Contemporary Legends* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1992), 31.

[77] Jean and John Comaroff, "Introduction," in *Modernity and Its Malcontents: Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa* (Chicago, 1993), xxiii.

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As we have seen, the PRC government was ever alert to the potential of rumor to stir up sedition. If superstitious rumors were not the type of rumor the authorities feared most, some rumors could nevertheless carry a surprisingly powerful political charge that understandably made the government edgy. In Jiangsu Province in July and August 1962, rumors abounded that there was going to be a war and that the CCP and Chairman Mao were going to be defeated. In the Shuangfeng commune in Taicang County, a female spirit medium (*wupo*) declared that Chiang Kai-shek was coming back and that burning incense would help people stay calm.[78] In Chuansha County, an "immortal" who had cast out a devil from a sick person in the Qingong Temple prophesied: "In August there will be huge floods, with water rising higher than our houses. This year there are more caterpillars than usual, dropped by heavenly soldiers and generals. This means that heaven wants to see change. Just before Liberation in 1949 there were also a lot of caterpillars."[79] This particular prophecy fits ter Haar's "demonological paradigm" neatly, for Daoist priests, shamans, and other ritual specialists were commonly called upon to enlist other demonic armies—"heavenly generals" (*shenjiang*) in command of "heavenly soldiers" (*shenbing*)—to counterattack offensives from the underworld.[80] Similarly, in the Yanqiao commune in Chuansha County, worshippers at the Deity Zhou Temple were reported as saying: "Deity Zhou has been fighting a war in the netherworld [*yinjian*]. Now we are going to have a war in this world [*yangjian*]. When the war starts, households will work independently and will have rice to eat."[81] Those who participated in an exorcism in this commune returned home with the news that "Abroad they say that Chiang Kai-shek is coming back. We should prepare to welcome him with firecrackers. People in disaster regions have nothing to eat. Chiang is sending airplanes to drop bread and ration coupons."[82] Similar rumors flourished in Jilin Province. In Tonghua, people said that roosters were crowing and dogs barking before nightfall, and that this was an omen of war, since the last time it had happened was when the Japanese withdrew from China.[83] Workers in Tonghua retailed a story about an old man who had received a book from heaven that foretold impending chaos. Neither Chiang Kai-shek nor Mao Zedong was the Son of Heaven, the book said: Chiang was the spirit of a carp (*liyu jing*), and Mao the spirit of a crab (*pangxie jing*). A true Son of Heaven was now on earth, aged twenty.[84] In Suining County in Sichuan, two years later, redemptive sects were said to be urging people to pray and burn incense in order to avert a new Great Leap Forward in which people would die of hunger in the communal mess halls.[85]

[78] Zhonggong Jiangsu weiyuan xuanchuanbu xuanchuanchu, "Nongcun mixin huodong zeng duo."

[79] "Guanyu chuli jiaoqu qunzhong mixin huodong wenti de qingshi baogao" [Situation Report on Handling the Problem of Superstitious Activity among the Masses in the Suburbs], December 11, 1962, Shanghai Municipal Archive, B22-1-118.

[80] Ter Haar, "China's Inner Demons," 54–85.

[81] "Guanyu chuli jiaoqu qunzhong mixin huodong."

[82] Ibid.

[83] "Guanyu changkuang qiye zhong yaoyan."

[84] Jilin sheng zonggonghui gongzuo zu [Work Department of the Jilin Provincial General Labor Union], "Jieji douzheng zai gongren duiwu zhong de jizhong biaoxian" [Several Manifestations of Class Struggle among the Ranks of the Workers], Jilin Provincial Archive, 17-16-21 (1963).

[85] Zhonggong Suining xian xuanchuan bu, Zhonggong Suining xian wei tongzhanbu [Propaganda and United Front Bureaus of the Suining County Communist Party], "Guanyu zai Lingquan, Guangde 'huiqi,' dui 'jiang xiang' qunzhong he seng-ni jiaqiang jiaoyu, guanli, xueruo zongjiao mixin huodong de

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Such rumors seamlessly combined the idioms of the supernatural and the secular; in so doing, they reflected the political consciousness of millions whose view of the world was rooted in an essentially religious cosmology yet was powerfully shaped by the revolutionary policies and propaganda of the Communist regime. On the one hand, these politically explicit superstitious rumors referred to real events—such as the landing of Nationalist guerrillas on the Fujian coast or the contracting of farming tasks to households; on the other, they drew on occult knowledge derived from magical specialists, from a heavenly book, or from omens, such as caterpillars or roosters crowing at nightfall. This higher knowledge made it clear that heaven wanted to see change and that people must ready themselves for war and social turmoil. Such knowledge was grounded in a cosmology in which no hard-and-fast distinction was made between the world of the gods, the netherworld, and the world of human beings. Chiang Kai-shek's imminent transfer of operations from Taiwan to the mainland was not ontologically different from Deity Zhou's imminent transfer of operations from the yin to the yang world. If the idiom was supernatural, it was nevertheless galvanized by secular fears of war or of a return to the communal mess halls of the Great Leap Forward, by bitter memories of war against Japan or of life under Chiang Kai-shek, and by hopes of a better future that centered on such possibilities as the return of land to households.

In public, the authorities explained rumors of all types as the handiwork of reactionary elements. Superstitious rumors were particularly associated with the redemptive religious sects that flourished during the war against Japan. These sects, promiscuously lumped together as *huidaomen* by the Communist authorities, varied considerably in terms of doctrine, organization, and social appeal. But all were congregations defined in terms of belief, rather than residence or descent, and were oriented toward individual salvation. By 1949, there were said to be more than three hundred redemptive sects, the most significant being the Yiguandao (Way of Pervading Unity), the Xiantiandao (Way of Former Heaven), and the Jiugongdao (Nine Temples Way). Conservatively, they were reckoned to embrace 820,000 masters and ritual specialists plus 1.3 million disciples.[86] The Yiguandao, especially, was subject to heavy repression in 1950–1951, accused of collaborating with the Japanese and the Guomindang.[87] In investigating the genesis of superstitious rumors, the public security organs seldom uncovered the work of the huidaomen. Indeed, privately they sometimes conceded that such rumors were no more than the product of a "tradition of fantasy" (*huanxiang er chuantong de*).[88] Nevertheless, if we must treat with skepticism the claim that all superstitious rumors were manufactured by politically hostile forces, some were clearly sown with the intention of undermining the authority of local officials or of changing government policies. In Hebei, a rumor claimed that Chairman Mao had sanctioned the building of temples after his daughter-in-law was

zongjie baogao" [Summary Report on Strengthening Education and Administration of the Masses Who Offer Incense and of the Buddhist Monks and Nuns in Order to Reduce Religious Superstition during the Temple Fairs at Lingquan and Guangde], April 20, 1964, Sichuan Provincial Archive, 50-174.

[86] Shao Yong, *Zhongguo huidaomen* [Heterodox Sects of China] (Shanghai, 1997), 452.

[87] Thomas David DuBois, *The Sacred Village: Social Change and Religious Life in North China* (Honolulu, 2005), 138–151.

[88] *NBCK*, November 11, 1950, 42. This is not to doubt that huidaomen were behind some protests that occurred in the 1950s. See Perry, *Challenging the Mandate*, 277–290.

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cured by a powerful god; another claimed that Mao had joined the Yiguandao after a "black man riding a black horse and wearing a black armband" told him that supporting the Yiguandao was the only way to stave off foreign invasion.[89] In Yangxin County in Hubei, a female spirit medium in the Taizi Temple District urged members of the Jiatuyan Brigade to rebuild the village temple and not to be intimidated by local officials; as a result, they rebuilt the temple in a single night.[90] In Pei County in Jiangsu, a "reactionary" put out a story that during 1962—an ominous year, because it was the Year of the Tiger—those born in the years of the rat, ox, tiger, rabbit, horse, ram, monkey, dog, or pig should "avoid the stars" (*duo xing*) in order to escape disaster. As a result, everyone on the production team began to start work after sunrise, to leave the fields before sunset, and to refuse to attend evening meetings. Local officials believed that this was a deliberate ploy to sabotage production.[91] In 1964 in Suining County in Sichuan, a rumor circulated that Chairman Mao, "who himself believes in religion," had said that nonbelievers would be sentenced to death and that local officials must allow people to burn incense and to pay their respects to the gods.[92] In the same province, a superstitious rumor was used to scare dependents of members of the Socialist Education Movement work teams. After the work team "squatting" in Mianning County forbade the masses to go to Lingshan Temple to worship Yang Zushi, "class enemies" spread a tale that the child of one work team member had fallen sick because his father had given a lecture that denied that Yang Zushi was a god. His wife, who was distraught that her child had been cursed, was told: "You must bring your husband home; otherwise your child will die."[93]

Despite the utilization of superstitious rumors for clearly political ends, we should be cautious about interpreting them unconditionally as a form of resistance. One of the most influential attempts to theorize rumor as resistance is that of James C. Scott, for whom rumor is a critique of power under the guise of anonymity. He locates it in the realm between what he terms the "public transcript," in which subordinates appear to defer or consent to the expectations of the powerful, and the "hidden transcript," in which they vent their true feelings "behind the backs of the dominant."[94] In this intermediate realm is located a "politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in public view but is designed to have double meaning or to shield the anonymity of the actors." Rumor is one of the ways "by which subordinate groups manage to insinuate their resistance in disguised form into the public transcript."[95] Scott's model is heuristically valuable, but it does not capture the specificity of the rumors discussed above. First, those who circulated superstitious rumors in the PRC were not at pains to conceal their critique of power: some of the rumors,

[89] Rehe sheng renmin zhengfu gonganting [Public Security Department of the Rehe People's Government], "Guanyu Chaoyang dengdi fasheng qunzhongxing de qiushen taoyao shijian de baogao" [Report on Mass Events of Seeking the Gods and Begging for Medicine in Chaoyang and Other Areas], April 8, 1954, Hebei Provincial Archive, 684-2-432.

[90] Nongcun gongzuo bu, "Qingkuang jianbao."

[91] Zhonggong Jiangsu weiyuan xuanchuanbu xuanchuanchu, "Nongcun mixin huodong zeng duo."

[92] "Guanyu zai Lingquan," April 20, 1964, Sichuan Provincial Archive, 50-174.

[93] Ibid.

[94] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), xii.

[95] Ibid., 19, 136.

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as we have seen, were astonishingly frank about people's desire for the return of Chiang Kai-shek or their hope that Mao and the CCP would be overthrown. Second, it does not seem persuasive to read the supernatural idiom of the rumors as a *disguise* of more secular intentions or as a coded attack on the policies and institutions of Communist rule. Certainly they can be considered allegorical, in that they spoke to something beyond their manifest content; and as Caroline Humphrey notes, allegory is peculiarly suited to times of strife because it is a "narrative that demands interpretation."[96] Nevertheless, they were allegories only in the general sense that they provided an extended metaphorical scenario through which people could talk about the disasters that had befallen them and prepare for better things to come. They were not allegories in the narrow sense of inviting the listener to ignore their literal meaning in favor of some deeper meaning. Rather, the rumors created an arena in which people could work out their dilemmas and express their hopes and fears in terms of a cosmology that made sense to them, one at odds with the materialist world view of the party-state.

The cosmology articulated by the rumors—especially where the "demonological paradigm" was most explicit—conforms to what Harry G. West and Todd Sanders call an "occult cosmology": an understanding of the world as animated by secret, unseen, or mysterious powers.[97] Occult cosmologies "claim that power operates in two separate yet related realms, one visible, the other invisible. Between these two realms there exist causal links, meaning that invisible powers sometimes produce visible outcomes."[98] Rather than simply resist power, those who subscribe to an occult cosmology seek to reveal and harness the hidden forces at work behind the scenes. In theory, the cosmology of the party-state was the antithesis of an occult cosmology, since it purported to render the social body transparent through scientific classification and thus make it amenable to the dictates of reason. In practice, however, many in the party subscribed to a world view that was almost as occult as that of the superstitious rumors, insofar as it assumed that the world of appearances was intrinsically deceptive, masking a hidden world whose nature was dark, cruel, and threatening.[99] One could cite many examples. In Hubei Province, for instance, in the wake of the famine, the Rural Affairs Bureau called for the exposure of "cow ghosts and snake spirits," a locution drawn from Buddhist demonology and much favored by Mao Zedong, and urged poor peasants to tear off the masks of "landlord elements," "rich peasant elements," sorceresses and sorcerers, Daoist monks, and all who were secretly sabotaging Communist construction.[100] In a different register, Erik Mueggler has shown how among the Lolop'o people, encouraging young activists to identify the origin of their words and actions in Mao Zedong Thought—that is, outside themselves—reinforced customary notions of gathering and granting

[96] Caroline Humphrey, "Stalin and the Blue Elephant: Paranoia and Complicity in Post-Communist Metahistories," in Harry G. West and Todd Sanders, eds., *Transparency and Conspiracy: Ethnographies of Suspicion in the New World Order* (Durham, N.C., 2003), 198.

[97] Todd Sanders and Harry G. West, "Power Revealed and Concealed in the New World Order," in West and Sanders, *Transparency and Conspiracy*, 1–37.

[98] Ibid., 6.

[99] Lowell Dittmer, *China's Continuous Revolution: The Post-Liberation Epoch, 1949–1981* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 87.

[100] Nongcun gongzuo bu, "Qingkuang jianbao."

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power through bodily possession.[101] There were, in other words, good reasons why ordinary people might suspect the official narrative of societal transparency, seeing in it not so much a scientifically superior account of the world as a rival occult cosmology.

The intention of the regime, of course, was not to put into circulation an alternative occult cosmology. As Katherine Verdery has reminded us, Communist regimes sought to make official discourse authoritative, to create a stable and monolithic universe of discourse by stripping out linguistic ambiguity and by fixing a singular meaning to key terms, since the authorities had relatively few material resources at their disposal to transform the beliefs and values of their citizens.[102] From this perspective, rumor represented a particularly unsettling challenge to the drive to create a monological discourse, since by its nature it is protean and dynamic. Someone hears a story and becomes its teller, interpreting it as she passes it on, changing details, adding new elements, so that different versions coexist and spin off each other. As James Scott puts it, "As a rumor travels, it is altered in a fashion that brings it more closely into line with the hopes, fears and worldview of those who hear and retell it."[103] In that sense, it is a "democratic" form of speech in which there is not the disparity of knowledge between communicator and audience that is built into official discourse. Whereas the latter travels from the top down, rumor travels horizontally, setting up a "chain pattern of communication" that bypasses the vertical lines of communication of the centralized state.[104] In addition, since the origin of a rumor is unknown and since it is anonymous in nature, people can disclaim ownership of it should they be held to account by the authorities.[105] This quality of deniability—what Maurice Blanchot calls "irresponsibility"—was vital in a regime in which the first instinct of the authorities was to assume that rumormongers were engaging in counterrevolutionary activity.[106] Paradoxically, in seeking to track down the perpetrators of rumor and to trace its circuits of travel, the public security organs themselves played a vital role in establishing the credibility of rumor. Through the accusation, interrogation, and confession of individuals and through practices of surveillance designed to measure the impact of the rumor, they helped to give it substance in the eyes of the populace.[107] And while the authorities may have hoped that transmuting the ephemeral and protean character of rumor into the durable, fixed form of writing would serve to control its disruptive effects, we know that in the case of the "stiff-corpse ghost" rumor, its reporting in the press merely served

[101] Erik Mueggler, "Spectral Subversions: Rival Tactics of Time and Agency in Southwest China," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 3 (1999): 471.

[102] Katherine Verdery, "Theorizing Socialism: A Prologue to the 'Transition,'" *American Ethnologist* 18, no. 3 (1991): 431.

[103] Scott, *Domination*, 145.

[104] Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi, 1983), 257.

[105] Maurice Blanchot, "Everyday Speech," trans. Susan Hanson, *Yale French Studies* 73 (1987): 19.

[106] That said, one should note that the Public Security Ministry, in reaction to "leftist excesses" in public security work during the Great Leap Forward, stressed the importance of distinguishing between superstitious activity fostered by counterrevolutionaries and that by peasants seeking "spiritual solace" (*jingshen anwei*) as a result of "the calamities and difficulties." See the circular of August 22, 1961, *Zhongguo renmin gongan shigao*, 311.

[107] For an argument that officialdom creates rumors even as it reports them, see Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, "Plague Panic and Epidemic Politics in India, 1896–1914," in T. Ranger and P. Slack, eds., *Epidemics and Ideas* (Cambridge, 1992), 224–226.

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to lend it authority. All in all, the evanescent, "democratic," "irresponsible" characteristics of rumor made it threatening to a regime that aspired to control the ways in which social and political reality was represented.

If by dint of contesting the efforts of the party-state to centralize and control meaning, superstitious rumors can be construed as a form of resistance, they nevertheless illustrate what has been called the "entanglement of power and resistance."[108] For if these rumors represented a challenge to power, they also represented "an attempt at collective conversation by people who wish to enter their sentiments into a public discourse."[109] While rejecting the right of the party-state to determine the boundaries of power, they nevertheless articulated "a desire for inclusion in the circuits of power, however differently conceived."[110] In the words of Vicente L. Rafael, "by staking for oneself a position from which to imagine the potential occurrence of events (i.e. events as they could have been or might be) one begins to share in the circulation of potentiality itself. Put differently, rumors point to the possible unfolding of history and the circulation of power elsewhere, at a tangent to the present trajectory of events."[111] Retailers of rumor aspired to open up spaces of alterity and opposition within the grid of state power, to "maneuver around the dissimulations of power, circulate stories, and struggle to carve out social knowledge of the 'way things are,'" in ways that complicate the dichotomy of domination and resistance.[112] Insofar as superstitious rumors constituted a form of resistance, it was one that was profoundly implicated in those "processes by which power is tested and eroded by the actions of the subordinate, and by which it reconstitutes itself in response."[113]

In the early 1960s, rumor in the PRC never jeopardized the status quo. Certainly, people acted on the basis of the stories they heard in ways that brought them into confrontation with authority: in the case of the toad rumor, women failed to turn up for work in the fields or illicitly used flour to bake toad buns; in the case of the rumor about "avoiding the stars," people turned up for work late and left work early. In addition, the more political of the superstitious rumors articulated a very public critique of Communist power, even though they do not convey anything like the degree of popular antipathy toward the regime that was evident in the Soviet Union in the 1930s.[114] Nevertheless, the perspective on reality purveyed by the rumors rarely entailed a call to collective action. Those who retailed superstitious rumors saw change as coming through the complex mediation of higher deities, human beings, and lower ghosts. Human agency could—and should—influence this mediation, but change was not seen as coming via confrontation with earthly power-holders.

[108] Douglas Haynes and Gyan Prakash, "Introduction: The Entanglement of Power and Resistance," in Haynes and Prakash, *Contesting Power: Resistance and Everyday Social Relations in South Asia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 18.

[109] Anand A. Yang, "A Conversation of Rumors: The Language of Popular Mentalités in Late Nineteenth-Century India," *Journal of Social History* 21 (1986): 485.

[110] Vicente L. Rafael, "Anticipating Nationhood: Collaboration and Rumor in the Japanese Occupation of Manila," *Diaspora* 1, no. 1 (1991): 75.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Perice, "Rumors and Politics in Haiti," 9.

[113] Haynes and Prakash, "Introduction," 4.

[114] Fitzpatrick, *Stalin's Peasants*, 287. This is a generalization based on my own work on rumor in the Soviet Union. See S. A. Smith, "Heavenly Letters and Tales of the Forest: 'Superstition' as a Weapon against Bolshevism," *Antropologicheskii Forum* 3 (2006) (forthcoming in Russian and in English).

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Admittedly, we still know rather little about the extent and nature of popular protest in the Maoist era, but it seems doubtful that in the early 1960s, at least, rumor served to catalyze organized opposition to the party-state. Apocalyptic rumors do not appear to have swept society to the same extent as in the 1930s and 1940s, when they fueled the rise of the Yiguandao and other redemptive sects.[115] Nor did "dread" rumors mobilize hatred of others to annihilating effect, as they had in the past. To give a full explanation of why there seems to have been so little collective resistance to the party-state—except of the particular kind generated by the Cultural Revolution—would take us well beyond the purview of this essay.[116] But we can conclude that the capacity of rumor to generate collective action in this period was limited. It could discredit, disorient, and dismay authority, but the conditions in which it could precipitate revolt were lacking.

In the light of the resilience of superstitious rumors as an idiom of popular politics during the Maoist era, what Kenneth Dean has called the "extraordinary renaissance of reinvented traditional forms of ritual activity" in the post-Mao era looks less surprising.[117] This is not to suggest that the era of reform has simply witnessed a "return of the repressed"; for as Helen Siu demonstrates, the resurgent rituals represent "new reconstructions" adapted to the changing social and political environment of post-Communist China. At the same time, the prevalence of "superstitious activity" during the Mao era, which greater access to the archives of the PRC has revealed, suggests that the claim that the Maoist regime destroyed the social bases and political functions of popular beliefs and practices is overstated.[118] Without doubt, the regime conducted a frontal assault on many aspects of popular culture, sometimes with lasting consequences. Yet in spite of its commitment to recast popular culture along lines of science and rationality, it was constantly forced to engage with the cosmologies through which millions of citizens, especially in the countryside, understood and appropriated the message of revolution. Superstitious rumors suggest that traditional beliefs and practices evolved to meet new needs and challenges, just as they have done in the era of reform, sometimes appropriating elements of official ideology, sometimes sitting uneasily alongside them, sometimes resisting them outright. The religious mode of thinking revealed in the rumors proffered a sharp challenge to the official construction of reality; but more generally it served to render the latter "more complex by calling attention to its hidden and contradictory logics, proposing alternative ways of understanding and engaging it." In so doing, it allowed ordinary people the opportunity to debate the meanings of the disruptive and sometimes traumatic economic, political, and social changes that were sweeping over their lives.[119]

[115] Shao Yong, *Zhongguo huidaomen*, 452.

[116] Lucien Bianco is surely correct to state that in the period 1953 to 1978, "peasant resistance was at its lowest" in relation to the entire twentieth century. Lucien Bianco, *Peasants without the Party: Grass-Roots Movements in Twentieth-Century China* (Armonk, N.Y., 2001), 244; see also Perry, *Challenging the Mandate*, chap. 9.

[117] Kenneth Dean, "Ritual and Space: Civil Society or Popular Religion?" in Timothy Brook and B. Michael Frolic, eds., *Civil Society in China* (Armonk, N.Y., 1998), 172.

[118] Siu, "Recycling Rituals," 121, 124.

[119] Sanders and West, "Power Revealed," 16.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

STEPHEN KERN. *A Cultural History of Causality: Science, Murder Novels, and Systems of Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. 437. $29.95.

"It is the mark of an educated man to look for precision in each class of things," Aristotle said, and in Stephen Kern's new book, that class of things is breathtakingly broad. Causality, Kern concedes, is hard to define and harder to prove. As an interpretive model Kern posits the "increasing specificity, multiplicity, complexity, probability, and uncertainty of causal knowledge across 170 years," from 1830, when his study begins, to the present (p. 13). Kern's history of causality explores not only the major scientific and philosophical ideas of modernity, but a sampling of its literary texts as well: his goal is to integrate a history of science with a history of literature. To help organize all this causal chaos, Kern focuses on the act of murder because it so vividly reflects its cultural ethos; because it registers intentionality, motivation, and significance like few other behaviors; and because "after 1830 it attracted increasing attention to its causal circumstances and motives among . . . criminologists, sociologists, detectives, statisticians, and forensic psychiatrists, as well as writers of detective fiction . . . and crime novels" (pp. 2–3).

As a history of science and ideas, Kern's study succeeds brilliantly. Gathering the disparate knowledge systems of nearly two centuries into discrete categories, Kern produces a taxonomy of causality that is cogent and convincing. Chapters devoted to ancestry, childhood, language, sexuality, emotion, mind, society, and ideas do more than organize the history of causal thought; they offer elegant synopses of the major theories, thinkers, and epistemological shifts underwriting that history. From Enlightenment positivism to quantum discontinuity; from religion to existentialism, and phrenology to cybernetics; from Freud to Nietzsche to Foucault, and from Darwin to Durkheim to Derrida: Kern ranges comfortably (and profitably) among them all. Specialist and novice alike will find much here to learn and admire.

Kern's attempts to incorporate literary and cultural representations of murder into his study are ambitious but problematic. As object of knowledge and representation of culture, killing is inherently fascinating; consequently, wrapping scientific and philosophical discourses around the occasional corpse is guaranteed to whet the reader's appetite. Kern's justification is that causality alone is simply too broad a topic; he must "focus on a single act in order to document historically distinctive thinking about its causes" (p. 2). Perhaps, but while the result is intriguing, the logic is occasionally reductive. That epistemological thought over 170 years has trended toward increasing specificity, multiplicity, complexity, probability, and uncertainty is a provable claim; that novelists have followed this same trajectory in their representations of murder, however, is sweepingly speculative and invites selective reading. Often, Kern's conclusions are obvious. Tracing the drawing room primitives of late Victorian fiction to Charles Darwin, for example—or the repressed, fragmented killers of twentieth-century novels to Sigmund Freud—is not new, and illuminates the study of neither social science nor literature.

The chapter on "Mind" is typical of the book's many strengths as well as its one major weakness. Deftly, Kern charts the history of neuroscience, psychology, and psychiatry and demonstrates how advances in these fields have influenced cultural conceptions of murder. From the simplistic hypotheses of craniology and phrenology in the early 1800s, to the more complex anatomical-ancestry theories of Cesare Lombroso at mid-century, to the multifaceted etiological-overdetermination theories pioneered by Freud, to the infinite uncertainty of contemporary genomics and neurobiology—somehow, Kern channels this riotous flow of ideas into a framework of meaning at once logical and fluid.

But the logic falters as Kern trolls for these ideas in the literary fictions of their day. To be fair, certain incompatibilities between the literary and the social system make problems inevitable. For one, literature is in dialogue not only with culture but with itself: Franz Kafka responds not just to Freud, but to Gustave Flaubert. Whether Joseph Conrad recapitulates the criminal anthropology of Lombroso (as Kern claims), he certainly announces himself to practitioners of the modern European novel. And Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* (1925) is as much a critique of literary naturalism as a staging of "the specificity-uncertainty dialectic" (p. 253). Furthermore, literary texts speak not univocally but heteroglossically: like Walt Whitman,

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they contain multitudes. This is famously true of Fyodor Dostoevsky; yet Kern supports his contention that "Victorian writers routinely used monomania to explain murders" by noting how "Dostoevsky tags Raskolnikov as a monomaniac, as does a physician in the story" (p. 249). But correlation is not causality; Kern ignores both Dostoevsky's irony (Dr. Zosimov is a fool and his argument a distraction) and Raskolnikov's more salient engagement with utilitarianism and the political radicalism of the 1840s and 1860s. Further, some terms ("Victorian") and authors (Emile Zola) are overused, inviting generalization. And other causal agents are under utilized (Karl Marx) or omitted entirely (imperialism, for example, which in 1830 was just entering its golden age).

Notwithstanding such lapses, this book is highly recommended to everyone interested in smart and engaging interdisciplinary scholarship.

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JEREMY D. POPKIN. *History, Historians, and Autobiography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. x, 339. $35.00.

In recent years autobiographies have become ever more highly esteemed as sources for historical research. At the same time, more and more historians have themselves published their life stories. Jeremy D. Popkin analyzes both tendencies in this study on history, historians, and autobiography. He has read more than 300 autobiographies, mainly by English and American historians but also including French, German, Dutch, and Italian works. Popkin makes clear that this is a very interesting body of texts, because historians who have turned into autobiographers unconsciously demolish the existing wall between historiography and autobiography. When in the nineteenth century truth and objectivity became the professional standard among historians, the genre of autobiography fell into disgrace and was left to literary critics. Historians writing their life stories are, on the one hand, bound to the rules of this narrative and literary form, but, on the other hand, they are dedicated to the professional standards of their discipline. In fact, they are aware that their autobiographies are likely to be read more critically than those written by members of other professions. Their own life story should reinforce their historical work by showing truth and credibility.

Popkin starts by positioning himself within the current debate on narrative theory. In an interesting and informative chapter he criticizes in particular Hayden White and Paul Ricoeur for largely ignoring autobiographical writing while discussing the problem of history and fiction. He concludes that the hybrid genre of autobiography does not fit into their approach. Autobiography is, as he writes, both historical and fictional, both private and public, both truthful and imagined. The genre must therefore be distinguished from both history and fiction. Popkin, citing David Carr, stresses that autobiography is primarily making sense of experience by giving it narrative form.

The value of Popkin's approach becomes clear in his chapter on two historians whose autobiographies have been included in the literary canon for many years: Edward Gibbon and Henry Adams. By reading them as historians, Popkin offers new insights to an already great body of literature on these authors, for instance by showing that both Gibbon and Adams believed that their personal experiences helped them in understanding the past. Not all 327 autobiographers listed in the bibliography are discussed in depth, and in chapters on vocation and career their works serve to sketch an impression of the historical profession in the twentieth century. Bookish children from middle-class backgrounds, as most historians have been, often picked up their vocation from parents or teachers. They were also often inspired by children's books like those by Jules Verne and Karl May, which is interesting, because despite these literary models they chose to write nonfiction. For Popkin this is a telling detail, as he concludes that historians are obviously motivated by a wish to tell stories. With few exceptions historians are reluctant to write about their careers. Most are silent about their academic successes, failures, and frustrations, and few pages are spent on the daily life of teaching courses and doing administrative work. On the contrary, most authors want to show that they had another life besides their profession. Therefore they often describe their own lives against the background of great events. Since Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions*, autobiography has been seen as a genre that should focus on the innermost experience and not world events, but many historians simply could not cast off their professional background. Often only those historians who were involved in politics became aware of how little an individual could accomplish, or lost faith in the ideas they once had believed. Holocaust memoirs are discussed in a separate chapter, in which Popkin concludes that these authors more than others came to realize how much personal narrative contributes to understanding the past. The testimony of first-person accounts also have great importance in view of the campaign to deny the reality of the Holocaust.

At some places it could have been useful to set this body of texts in an even wider perspective. The silence about careers, for instance, is surprising when contrasted with academic novels in which university life is described as a theater of politics and passions. And the positive tone of most of these autobiographies may also have been enhanced by the current pressure to produce positive resumés.

This book is a very original and important contribution to both the study of autobiography and that of historiography. In addition to his analysis of autobiographies of historians, Popkin gives new insights about the relationship between narrative and history. Maybe every historian should write an autobiography at some

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stage as an essential step in his or her professional development.

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KEITH C. SEWELL. *Herbert Butterfield and the Interpretation of History*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. xii, 280. $74.95.

Written by a young Cambridge historian, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (1931) remains a well-known book. Its author, however, is less well known and often poorly understood. The problem is not the lack of biographical material; Herbert Butterfield is the problem. Or is he?

The Whig Interpretation argues that historians must resist the temptation to see the present as the ratification of the past; they must write against the narrative of onward and upward progress; they must eschew value-laden general propositions; and they must study the past for its own sake and on its own terms. Past-mindedness, not present-mindedness, is the historian's ideal: "The chief aim of the historian," Butterfield wrote, "is the elucidation of the unlikeness between past and present" (p. 32). Later he would refer to his insistence on value-free or non-interpretive historical writing as technical history.

Of course, technical history is elusive. We can never abstract ourselves from ourselves. We can never shelve our sustaining assumptions or our present preoccupations and anxieties. As it had to be, technical history was elusive to Butterfield as well. Although J. G. A. Pocock was referring specifically to the contradiction between the anti-progressivism of *The Whig Interpretation* and the Whig form of progressivism in *The Englishman and His History* (1944) when he referred to *das Herbert Butterfieldproblem*, he could have been referring to Butterfield himself. The centrality of Butterfield's Christian faith to his life and to his work points to an obvious inconsistency, or problem: historical writing cannot be both technical and Christian. Not a systematic thinker, Butterfield failed to resolve the tension inherent in a body of work that spanned some five decades.

For his part, Keith C. Sewell insists that approaching Butterfield as a problem obscures more than it clarifies. It draws our attention to an inconsistency but fails to account for it. Sewell therefore recasts the Butterfield problem as the Butterfield question: as a Christian, why did one of the twentieth century's most brilliant historical thinkers "make such a strong stand for a value-free non-interpretive form of historiographical statement?" (p. 214).

Subtle, complex, and original, Sewell's answer starts from the premise that faith was central to Butterfield's life and work. "After all, both biographically and as a matter of ultimate commitment, Butterfield was a Christian *before* he was a historian" (p. 11). From this standpoint, Sewell isolates a recurring theme in Butterfield's scholarship: providence. Butterfield's references to providence were not rhetorical. Providence was real. It was alive. It was a force in history. And humanity "lived in an active relationship" with it (p. 94). In Butterfield's phrase—one that is found across his historical writing—providence "was history-making going on over men's heads" (p. 94). Butterfield also believed in the fall of man and original sin. But sin is restrained by divinely instituted social safeguards. In Butterfield's words, civil government was "the creation of providence . . . Though government does not cure . . . sinfulness any more than . . . property eliminates human selfishness, the evil is mitigated by institutions that are the gift of God" (p. 97).

To be sure, Butterfield's faith—his belief in a divine providential order and the fall of man—was a presupposition. It was not something he, or anyone, could unsuppose in the handling of historical evidence, and it existed "in inevitable conflict" with the ideal of technical history (p. 213). Butterfield sensed the contradiction. As he told the journalist Ved Mehta in 1963, "technical historians, whatever they might say, whatever they might like to do, don't really get rid of presuppositions" (p. 203).

Returning to Sewell's question, why, then, did Butterfield call for historical writing free from interpretative standpoints? Because not all standpoints are created equal. Presupposing the hand of God in history was not the equivalent of, say, presupposing the inevitability of class struggle in history. If God is eternal and central, everything else is fleeting and relative. Technical history, therefore, "was designed to avoid attributing an excessive or improper significance to that which was only relative and within the providential order" (p. 212). In short, it was designed to avoid idolatry. Like Butterfield, Sewell recognizes that a commitment to Christ does not uncommit the historian. But recognition of "an all-transcending Creator . . . was at least in principle free from all ideologically driven overemphasis or reductionism" (p. 216).

This book is well researched, written, and argued. But it is not an easy read. Part of the problem is the subject matter itself. The philosophy of history is difficult and unfamiliar terrain to most historians. But the real problem is our biblical and Christian illiteracy and our concomitant professional inability to take faith seriously. Faith makes us uneasy. At best, we acknowledge it. At worst, we ignore it. In this book, Sewell reminds us that faith matters. It mattered to Butterfield. And if we are to understand Butterfield's enormous contribution to our discipline, it should matter to us. In other words, Butterfield is not the problem. We are.

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FREDERICK C. CORNEY. *Telling October: Memory and the Making of the Bolshevik Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 301. Cloth $49.95, paper $22.50.

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The Bolshevik Revolution has fallen on hard times of late, some fifteen years after the collapse of the USSR, amid its reappraisal by publicists and historians as the foundational event of the Soviet experiment. Archival findings have taught us the truths about V. I. Lenin's violent methods and Joseph Stalin's many crimes; historians have recounted anew the "black" deeds and "tragic" consequences of Russian Communism. Frederick C. Corney sets as his task to reevaluate and revive the Bolshevik Revolution, now that its values have been dramatically called into question. His book offers a historical study of the varied readings and representations of the Bolshevik Revolution in the decade between 1917 and 1927: by participants and observers, by friends and enemies, and even by the author himself. It is a story of a story, a memoir of memoirs of sorts. Corney forthrightly positions his own voice, and the readers' own judgments, squarely within the historical debate. His discursive methods are guided by some leading texts on social memory from literary theory and intellectual history, with all the terminology and logic to match. He translates the conventional categories of ideology and propaganda into the new poetics and hermeneutics of storytelling. He unravels the layers of meaning around the Bolshevik Revolution, from the attacks by partisan opponents to its sacralization by state advocates.

Part one, "The Drama of October," begins with the Bolshevik proclamation of their revolution at the Second Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on October 25, 1917, immediately after the fact. From the very start, Corney notes, the Bolshevik Revolution was less a discrete event and more a mythic moment constantly proclaimed, declaimed, scripted, dramatized, screened, and performed. The Bolsheviks, limited by their relatively small and divided numbers, turned to media monopolies, religious metaphors, Red Funerals, and theatrical stages of many kinds to justify their might and right. Drawing from a source base of leading Soviet newspapers (as well as poems, memoirs, conference proceedings, and diaries), Corney shows how the Bolsheviks, far from the monolithic party of traditional historiography, were often at odds with each other about October's implications. Their stories were plural, imperfect, variable. They even wrote themselves out of, and the masses into, official stories in order to give events more legitimacy. They turned a rather simple and mundane revolt, sometimes known as an uprising or a coup or an overthrow, into a revolutionary event of world-historical proportions.

Part two, "The Memory of October," begins with the failed Kronstadt revolt against Soviet power in the spring of 1920 and addresses a variety of political disputes, including Menshevism and Trotskyism, that mounted against the Bolshevik regime throughout the 1920s. Based on a thorough study of the Moscow archives of the Commission on the History of the Bolshevik Revolution and Russian Communist Party (Istpart), Corney illuminates how official Soviet historians, of many minds and approaches, first assembled pro-Bolshevik categories of evidence and recollection to battle their rivals. Those rivals had minds and approaches of their own, which Corney integrates into the story for counterpoint and ballast. A chapter on the classic films celebrating the anniversaries of the 1905 and 1917 revolutions, dealing with the cinema of Boris Barnet, Vsevolod Pudovkin, Esfir Shub, and Sergei Eisenstein, draws the circle of interpretation even wider. Eisenstein's montage methods may even have been an inspiration for Corney's narrative style, filled with dynamic impressions, images, challenges, and remembrances. The book concludes with a section on "Experiencing October," Corney's existential approach culminating in a study of the authoritative reminiscences of party activists about October, based on a collection of the St. Petersburg archives.

The author's memoirist methods, combining the literary and historical, are unique and creative, readable and learned. Corney's enthusiasm for the Bolshevik Revolution means that he takes much of his source material on faith. He participates, by admission and approach, in the reification of the event, in its canonization as truth. The Bolshevik "apotheosis" of October, a widely disseminated term from the early 1920s referring to its historical inevitability and political exaltation, becomes a centerpiece of Corney's own argument. "Telling October," we read, "cannot be separated from remembering October, and vice versa" (p. 11). These kinds of statements, interspersed throughout the text, hint at tautology, often bind the author to the weight of Soviet ideology, and interrupt his critical analysis. More extensive research would have given the study needful measures of balance: for example, into how non-Russian audiences, especially the vast anti-Bolshevik movements and governments during the Civil War, received October; or into how the event and its implications were taught in the hierarchy of school curricula and textbooks; or into how the story was reshaped and rewritten by Stalin's regime.

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FREDERICK COOPER. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 327. $19.95.

Frederick Cooper's historiographical review of colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provides a critical assessment of the principal concepts applied in recent analysis. The author notes that academic analysis of modern colonization took place primarily as colonization ended. His review therefore caps a generation of studies, focusing on the application of concepts of identity, globalization, and modernity. This is important work on the theorization of empires, setting imperial analysis in tension with the very different structure of nation. (The nation is now characterized by ritualistic references to Benedict Anderson, even by Cooper.)

Cooper himself has analyzed numerous aspects of co-

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lonialism, especially for Africa, in what has already been a long career. He reads prodigiously and summarizes precisely. He addresses global issues but generally stops short of addressing the globe. To dramatize terminological trends, Cooper begins his introduction with data worked up from the ArticleFirst database of OCLC. He argues that use of the terms "modernity," "globalization," and especially "identity" has skyrocketed in academic publications since 1997 (displacing "modernization" and "industrialization"), with "identity" used in 2,000 articles for 2003—though it is not clear that his census is restricted to studies of colonialism. Cooper goes on to criticize perspectives "that give explanatory worth to agentless abstractions—like coloniality and modernity." His list of ahistorical pitfalls in recent writing about colonialism includes "story plucking, leapfrogging legacies, doing history backward, and the epochal fallacy" (p. 17). All of them, he says, "dissociate action and consequences." The book's second chapter, "The Rise, Fall, and Rise of Colonial Studies," traces complex and contingent change in the literature that still did not bring great advances in knowledge; recent scholars, Cooper argues, have gained a better sense of the observer but have lost the political engagement of earlier writers.

The next three chapters, in turn, explore notions of identity, globalization, and modernity. My impression is that the citations are mostly about how to set up the problem of analyzing colonialism rather than critiques of attempts to solve the problem. Cooper makes no systematic attempt to survey the empirical studies on colonialism: this is mainly debate on the principal conceptual studies. The works of Gyan Prakash, Mahmud Mamdani, Partha Chatterjee, Dipesh Chakrabarty, and Edward W. Said loom large within these chapters, but so also do those of earlier writers. Cooper's objective appears to be to draw out the best frameworks and observations of the past half-century of writers. His critiques of individual works are to be found in the footnotes.

In two more chapters, Cooper offers examples of his preferred style of analysis. One provides an overview of continuities in empire from the time of the Mongols through the end of the Romanovs and Habsburgs. The other addresses links between labor conflict on French West African railways in 1946 and the end of formal empire in 1960. The studious reader can decide for herself whether Cooper avoids the conceptual pitfalls to which he has alerted us. In the long-term analysis, he points to the weakness in Anderson's treatment of "creole nationalism" by explicitly introducing the imperial dimension into explaining the decolonization of Latin America. In the short-term analysis, Cooper allows the workers in Dakar to stand in for those throughout French West Africa.

In conclusion, Cooper reaffirms that the world is interconnected and unequal. In a more intriguing insight, he argues that the long history of antislavery, anticolonial, and anti-apartheid movements provides important precedents for thinking about political issues today. Finally, he urges scholars to reexamine the language of debate on empire and colonialism in current international politics, and thereby to become aware of limits on imperial power.

All too frequently, Cooper adopts from the works he has been reading an abstract and generalized language—for instance, when he expresses concern that well-meaning scholars "might put in place a generic conception of colonialism set against European claims to be the driving force of progress, rather than bring out a contested and contingent history." Yet the reader will also discover shining gems of concise historical analysis: "Not just colonies, not just empires, but the very category of empire came undone in the two decades after World War II" (p. 241). This thorough and well-considered review is central for scholars of colonialism and empire.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ROBERT C. ALLEN, TOMMY BENGTSSON, and MARTIN DRIBE, editors. *Living Standards in the Past: New Perspectives on Well-Being in Asia and Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 472. £75.00.

The seventeen essays collected in this volume are the product of a 2000 conference and display the usual diversity inherent in conference volumes. All of the essays can, however, be understood as contributions to the debate over standards of living in Europe and Asia in the several centuries before the first industrial revolution. Contributors measure "living standards" using life expectancy at birth, trends in physical stature, real wages, demographic responses to short-term economic variation, even maternal mortality.

As is now well known to economic historians, the current debate centers on the question of whether living standards in Europe, and particularly Western Europe, were significantly higher than those in Asia on the eve of the industrial revolution. It is fitting, therefore, that Kenneth Pomeranz, whose work *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World* (2000) stimulated much of the recent debate, is the author of the first essay. Here, he restates major findings of his book, answers a number of the challenges to it, and adduces new evidence for his belief in the comparability of Chinese and European living standards around the middle of the eighteenth century.

Simply stating the goal of comparing Asian and European living standards in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries exposes the enormity of the task. The difficulties of addressing the larger questions of "Europe" versus "Asia" are discussed by a number of contributors, some of whom lament the relative lack of comparative data (e.g. on urban wages) on the Asian side. Rather than addressing the Asia versus Europe question, therefore, most contributors participate in the debate through regional studies within Europe or

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Asia. This is particularly true of the historical demographic essays, most of which come from scholars participating in the "Eurasia Project," whose participants are examining individual and family demography in a selection of regions from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. These regionally focused essays use similar units of analysis and methods, and focus on how households and individuals reacted to short-term economic variations.

One of the more interesting findings among researchers working on Europe is contained in the essay by Philip Hoffman *et al.*, which examines wage, price, and consumption series for different parts of early modern Europe with special attention to the divergence of fortunes by social class. The analysis suggests that the upper classes benefited most from the slow economic growth in early modern Europe, leading to higher levels of economic inequality in Europe across the period. This was especially the case in the richest nations, including Britain, where industrialization began, and the Netherlands, where it did not.

Interesting comparisons between case studies of Asia and Europe emerge as well. Osamu Saito's discussion of real wages and standards of living in Tokugawa Japan concludes that the stability of wages for agricultural work relative to urban wages helped Japan avoid high levels of inequality that Europe experienced while reducing the economy's overall dynamism. His findings support Robert C. Allen's essay, which emphasizes the fundamental role of towns and cities in northwest Europe in providing a kind of dynamism that was, however, also associated with proletarianization and growing inequality.

While discussions of standards of living in this volume are based mainly on classic measures of material wealth, at least one essay tries to introduce other factors beyond the narrowly material. It will be remembered that this sort of effort also lay at the heart of an earlier debate on standards of living in Britain during the industrial revolution. That earlier debate, which animated the economic history world in the 1960s and 1970s and divided it between "optimists" and "pessimists," also involved differences of opinion on what sorts of factors should be involved if we were to understand how people experienced their living standards. Jaime Reis's discussion of how "human capital" might be fitted into the discussion is refreshing. His synthetic essay links the history of the growth of literacy in early modern Europe to a larger social and economic history including the eighteenth-century "consumer revolution." He suggests that the growth of literacy in Europe—among the lower as well as upper classes—should be understood as contributing to people's standard of living even though its weight as a "consumer durable" is difficult to measure. His conclusion, which suggests enlarging the definition and assessment of living standards, also warms the heart of the social historian eager to expand the discussion of living standards beyond boundaries of the "dismal science." Reis puts it this way: "In economic history, human capital is usually treated as an enhancement of the capacity to produce. In this chapter, we explore ways of perceiving it also as a capacity to enjoy" (p. 217).

While the tasks of collecting, measuring, and analyzing economic and demographic data clearly lie at the center of this fascinating discussion, the maturation of the debate on the significance of living standards for those who actually experienced them as well as for ourselves will necessarily involve the intrusion of considerations such as those that Reis identifies.

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DAVID J. WEBER. *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 466. $35.00.

David J. Weber's book joins a growing body of scholarship that places the history of Spain's northern frontier into perspective with other peripheral regions in its New World empire. While this volume concentrates on a relatively short time period, the late Bourbon era of Carlos III (one of Voltaire's "Enlightened Despots") to the beginning of the independence period, the scope is still staggering. Drawing on a copious array of secondary sources and a significant amount of primary research, Weber traces Bourbon policies toward Amerindians who had resisted Spanish dominion into the 1700s. Working topically, he focuses on missionary efforts, military strategy and tactics, trade and commerce, and the Bourbons' last resort, diplomacy. Weber ranges across Spain's colonial landscape from Alta California, through the northeast coast of Venezuela, down to the isolated Chaco region, and into Patagonia. Along the way, he examines Spain's policies toward the more familiar native peoples, such as the Choctaw, Comanche, and Araucanians, as well as including lesser-known groups like the Chiriguanos of the Chaco region or the Guajiras in Venezuela. All of these native people had escaped Spanish dominion for two centuries and were, to the Spanish, the *bárbaros* or *gentiles*—"Amerindians who lived beyond the pale of Christendom" (p. 15). Consequently, to Bourbon officials striving to restore Spain's might, these were people who should be brought under imperial control and contribute to the well-being of the empire.

Despite the energy government officials and clerics displayed to achieve these goals and the bureaucratic innovations they implemented, the results were usually meager. Essentially, the rationality and reason associated with the Enlightenment and embraced by the Bourbons usually came up short. Indeed, the supposedly innovative, efficient Bourbon measures were often reminiscent of the haphazard Habsburg policies toward recalcitrant Indians. For example, while the Spaniards pursued peace policies with some natives and war with others, they further confused matters by deciding to trade guns and ammunition to Amerindians, certainly a factor in complicating the outcome of either assertive or pacific initiatives toward the *bárbaros*. In another in-

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stance, Bourbons allowed soldiers to force Indians of Alta California into Franciscan missions but denied the same assistance to Franciscans attempting to convert the Mapuche in Chile—the difference being, Weber notes, that the former were more easily subdued, while the latter were much stronger. The Bourbon system could be as inconsistent as the Habsburg. As Weber concluded "It was power, then, more than the power of ideas that had determined how enlightened Spaniards would treat savages" (p. 278).

A notable strength of the book is how well it reminds readers of the complexities and nuances specifically in Spanish colonial policies and more broadly in the discipline of history itself. At one point, Weber relates the importance of a Guajiro *cacique* who had married on two occasions in the Catholic Church and who even traveled to Spain. The Spanish relied on him to keep them abreast of other European activities along the Venezuelan coastline and to assist missionaries. However, he also trafficked in the illegal slave trade with those same European countries—which the Spanish authorities ignored—and defended his people's religious beliefs. In another instance, dripping with irony, Weber describes Comanches trading weapons they had received from the French to gun-starved Spaniards in New Mexico. Aspects of quantum physics are pertinent to the study of history.

Other accolades are due this book. Yale University Press has reproduced the same level of superior quality illustrations and maps seen in Weber's *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992). The writing is lucid, concise, and, at times, even humorous. When Teodore de Croix described each individual Apache as being "a free republic," Weber goes on to state that the Spaniard "did not mean that as a compliment" (p. 209). Perhaps as valuable to this volume are the citations. While the trend among many historians seems to be to say less and less in their notes, Weber's citations include evaluations on relevant publications, comment on the likely veracity of primary sources, and add an enormous amount of additional information. Indeed, while the text is less than three hundred pages, the notes represent almost another one hundred. Researchers of the Spanish frontier regions would be advised to mine Weber's notes.

In a work of such depth, there are bound to be a few problems, but these are minor. In one instance Weber confuses Ambrosio O'Higgins, a viceroy, and Bernardo O'Higgins, his son (p. 134). Knowledgeable readers may note an errant fact. In a book replete with tremendous details, however, a few mistakes are inevitable. In addition, the ending is somewhat abrupt. Considering what Weber has done, it seems that the conclusion would merit more than a paragraph. These complaints, though, are trifling. Overall, this is an impressive, important, and pleasurable book to read.

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BERNARD BAILYN. *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 149. $18.95.

This volume contains two essays, each articulating a separate but linked vision of Atlantic history. The first, "The Idea of Atlantic History," provides a reworking of an essay Bernard Bailyn published ten years ago in *Itinerario* (1996). Bailyn locates Atlantic history's origins in the political and diplomatic world of the mid-twentieth century. He draws extensively on continental European scholarship (especially French and German). Although Bailyn argues that Atlantic history emerged from a transformed transatlantic world of the twentieth century, he adamantly rejects any possible contemporary political impulse toward Atlantic history, insisting that the framework grew naturally, organically, prodded by what James Lockhart referred to as "the inner logic of the subject" (p. 44). Bailyn's Atlantic surfaced out of a "broadening vision" (p. 46) among historians who specialized in all aspects of European expansion and settlement.

Bailyn's second essay, "On the Contours of Atlantic History," sketches a typology for the Atlantic. Bailyn confronts directly "the impossibility of defining any specific set of characteristics" for the Atlantic world in the early modern period, rejecting the region as a "static historical unit" and emphasizing instead the mobility of the region, not only its shifting cast of characters but also its networks and relations of power (p. 61). Bailyn's Atlantic has a history defined as process and to that end he proposes a large pattern, "another order . . . Atlantic in its essence" (p. 62) encompassing the Atlantic's different constituent parts. What, then, was this Atlantic order? It was characterized by violence and savagery, necessary attributes in the creation of a new, enlarged European marchland. It includes the emergence of networks, creolization, the colonial elite's independence, and the circulation of Enlightenment ideas that shaped revolutionary activities. Bailyn is at his best in his vivid description of the brutality of conquest and colonial societies, and he integrates English, French, Dutch, and Spanish examples. He is similarly persuasive in delineating how the Atlantic transformed Europe.

These essays raise an important question about geography. Bailyn's Atlantic is comprised primarily of Europe and the American mainland: he regularly refers to the "Western Hemisphere" as the main locus of his interests. But for a field of history predicated around geography, around the logic of ocean-based history, the implications of his choice are significant. One consequence is that the Atlantic history depicted here looks like colonial histories writ large. In fact, Bailyn's second essay provides a model of what a new comparative history of the Americas might look like. The book is less satisfying, however, in its integration of Africa. Take Bailyn's elegant evocation of the Atlantic's "barbarousness," that quality which defined the "general condition of life" from one end of the Americas to the other (p. 68). How did a world of trade in West and Central Af-

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rica fit into this model of barbarism? Bailyn addresses the parasitic nature of European trade patterns in Asia and points to indigenous control over this trade (p. 92) but oddly neglects the similar pattern in Africa. Or take slavery, characterized by Bailyn as problematic everywhere after the age of revolution and "understood to be doomed" (p. 110). But this assessment of slavery is fully anchored in Europe and the Americas, not a model that reflects the economic, cultural, and legal importance of slavery within Africa. The absence of Africans is most apparent in Bailyn's discussion of European migration, a beautifully crafted synthesis of the odd array of individuals (especially radical Protestants) and population flows that moved west from Europe. He singles out the smallest European cohorts (353 Anglican missionaries or 57 transatlantic Quaker women ministers) to illustrate his arguments but the large migration of some 12 million Africans receives short shrift compared to the European migration it utterly eclipsed. His reluctance to assimilate Africa and Africans as full participants in all aspects of the Atlantic culminates in his discussion of the sweep of revolution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. If he has expanded the age of revolution to accommodate South American creole intellectuals such as Simon Bolívar, his neglect of revolutionaries such as Toussaint Louverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines points to the omission of that most Atlantic of revolutions in Saint Domingue.

These geographic choices and their conceptual implications signal a challenge facing historians of the Atlantic: the themes that characterize the histories of European empires in the Americas—conquest, colonization, migration, creolization, revolution, and independence—do not necessarily reflect historical transformations within Atlantic Africa in the same period. Bailyn's essays provide a beautifully integrated history of Europe and the Americas, but their comparative neglect of Africa and Africans suggests that historians who believe that Africa is an essential part of Atlantic history must continue to work to find frameworks for their field.

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Eliga H. Gould and Peter S. Onuf, editors. *Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic World*. (Anglo-America in the Transatlantic World.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 381. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

The American Revolution sparked a series of transformations not only in the internal life of the new republic but in the wider Atlantic world as well. The latter context of the American Revolution has too often been neglected, and the editors of this volume have encouraged their contributors to address it. The result is a collection of scholarly essays that show how the American Revolution created challenges and tensions, at home and abroad, that required to be addressed. The essays remain, however, rather disparate contributions, despite the valiant effort of the editors in their introduction to make them appear more coherent and cohesive.

The first part of this volume explores the impact of the revolution on internal developments within the American colonies or states. Eliga H. Gould accepts that the British government desired peace after 1763 and did not seek to "enslave" the American colonies, but it nevertheless pursued policies to strengthen the military defense of North America that provoked unexpected American resistance against what was perceived as an oppressive standing army. David Hendrickson argues that the framers of the Articles of Confederation sought to create a federation of equal, sovereign states that would resist the domination of any one of the constituent parts. The states agreed to cooperate, but they found it difficult to agree whether they were creating a single national state or a more international union of distinct states. In his excellent essay, Don Higginbotham argues that it was the experience of war that led to the creation of an American national state. War created centralizing tendencies that at first strengthened the authority of the colonial assemblies in their relations with Britain, but then slowly encouraged a movement toward a stronger national state than the patriots had envisaged in 1776. In his essay on the political ideas of John Adams, Richard Alan Ryerson argues that this most conservative of revolutionaries deserves to be classed as a republican monarchist, the last major writer in the classical republican tradition. While Adams might have appeared a monarchist in his attitude to executive power, he did not fear democracy and was a republican when thinking about the whole structure and purpose of government. Ellen Holmes Pearson explores how the American patriots sought to preserve legal as distinct from political continuity in the midst of revolutionary change. She shows how the early legal scholars of the new republic followed English precedents (relying heavily on William Blackstone's *Commentaries*) while adapting this legacy to new circumstances. Each state took from the English legacy what it thought most appropriate and modified the English common law inheritance in ways that gave a greater role to popular consent and popular choice.

Part two of this collection looks at some of the developments in the new American nation. Mary Schweitzer examines how the new Federal Constitution was viewed and ratified in the Great Valley in the Appalachians (from Albany to Salem). She shows that, while the inhabitants were very similar in cultural, economic, and social terms, they differed significantly over the constitution. People in the southern part voted strongly to ratify the constitution, whereas in the northern part there was stronger opposition. This difference she traces to the very different political experiences and cultures of the two regions. In his examination of Prince George's County in Maryland, Steven Sarson questions the transforming effects of the American Revolution. Based on detailed statistics, his examination shows that there was little fundamental change in the structure of the economy or society of this county. Indeed, if any-

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thing, this local society grew more unequal, with a growing percentage of landless men and a heavier reliance on slave labor. Maurice Bric explores the very different society of Philadelphia that was increasingly influenced by radical Catholic migrants from Ireland in the 1790s. Shaped by the radical views of exiled United Irishmen, these immigrants joined Jefferson's Republicans and kept high the anti-British feelings in the city. The response of their opponents led to sharp debates about the Alien and Naturalization Acts, but, in destabilizing local politics, these immigrants helped to create a more pluralistic concept of politics. Melvin Yazawa's essay also explores party tensions in the new republic and the threat of disunion within the new union. In a fascinating essay, he argues that while regional animosities made union difficult, disunion was unacceptable to the vast majority of Americans. Leading politicians might employ violent language in their political disputes, but they did not seek violent solutions and ultimately preferred compromise to the dissolution of the union. Marc Harris also shows how political tensions in the new republic could be contained by channeling them into a vigorous, yet stable, associational culture. Many citizens looked to a wide variety of social institutions, not just to their local legislature, to reflect the popular will and to represent their interests. While the Federalists might argue that the constitution was the sole representation of the people's will, many others looked to voluntary associations as the best expression of the community's will. In his complex argument, Robert Calhoun explores religious unity and disunity after the revolution. He shows how independence led to the disestablishment of the Anglican church in America and to the energizing of both this church and its dissenting rivals. Freed from state control, churches responded to market forces and promoted a dynamic religious culture. The vigorous competition for new members exaggerated sectarian differences but made religious controversy more predictable and less dangerous.

The essays in part three look at the impact of the American Revolution on other parts of the Atlantic world. Unfortunately, this is the least cohesive section. Keith Mason argues that the forced migration of between 60,000 and 100,000 American Loyalists played a key role in reconstituting Britain's far-flung empire. He argues that these Loyalists still supported the rule of law and representative government and thus helped to ensure that the British Empire remained an empire of liberty. Mason's case, however, rests primarily on a study of four white, male Loyalists. Their experiences may not have been representative—they were certainly very different to those of the black Loyalists who ended up in Sierra Leone. James Sidbury's essay is as much literary as historical in its approach. He looks at the autobiographies of two former black slaves from the colonies (Ottabah Cugoano and Olaudah Equiano) who ended up in London. To sell their stories they had to "market" themselves (controlling the publication of their accounts and traveling around the country to promote them). They also had to create a racial identity as "Africans" in order to improve sales and to advance their liberationist ends. In an essay that tells us more about the impact of the French Revolution on the Atlantic world than the American Revolution, Edward Cox shows how the threat of French revolutionary ideas and the huge slave revolt in Haiti forced the alarmed planters in the British West Indian islands to recruit freed and enslaved blacks into their defense forces and to free them thereafter. In probably the most controversial essay in this collection, Trevor Burnard argues that, although the American Revolution helped to entrench slavery in the American South, it left British planters in the West Indies with less support than before in their efforts to retain slave labor. He maintains that the British Empire, although a centralizing imperial state, attacked slavery more effectively than the United States with its more radical rhetoric about human rights. British slave owners in the West Indies were more vulnerable to the pressure applied by the growing abolitionist sentiment and organizations in Britain than were slave owners in the American South, who were able to retain their slaves longer because they could not so easily be pressured in the loose confederation of sovereign states that was the new American republic.

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Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin. *Hating America: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 307. $29.95.

The purpose of this book by Barry Rubin and Judith Colp Rubin is to provide a historical background to today's anti-Americanism. It stretches over three centuries and focuses mostly on European views of the United States, with one chapter each on Latin America and the Middle East. The authors define anti-Americanism in a manner broad enough without being amorphous, as criticisms that are systemic, exaggerated, deliberate, and/or "a misperception of American society, policies, or goals" (p. ix). They also exclude American citizens from their observations.

The authors' main argument is that anti-Americanism, in any given period, has been a relatively cogent rejection of a general idea of America as a model of civilization and power, not merely a reaction to slights or aggressions by the United States. Despite the title, anti-Americanism was about more than "hating." It reflected specific constructs about the uniqueness of the United States. The book presents major shifts in what critics have perceived America to be about.

To chart these shifts, the organization of the book is chronological and posits five phases. The first runs through the eighteenth century, when Europeans who criticized America largely used environmental arguments. Many predicted that European Americans would never be able to establish a civilization at all in such a cold and humid climate, while others claimed that settlers' life expectancy was shortened in America or that women stopped bearing children earlier there.

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France's Comte de Buffon, among others, claimed that Old World animals actually shrank in the New World. The second phase, up to 1880, reflected a judgment of America's sociopolitical shortcomings, particularly its democracy and equality. This idea of America as a botched civilization spread with the success of the American Revolution and the coming of Jacksonian populism. European conservatives thought Americans were irresponsibly forgoing the fine, class-conscious traditions (and table manners) of the past, while early representatives of the left's anti-Americanism—the Romantics—saw Americans as "too bland, bourgeois, and boring, insufficiently utopian or theoretical" (p. 27).

The third phase, from the 1880s to 1930, reacted to America's obvious success as a global power not only by warning against the nation's internal corruption but by fearing its increasingly global reach. The fourth phase, an undercurrent of the Cold War, now sounded the alarm over what was no longer simply imminent but actually happening: the U.S. takeover of the world and the consequent spread of underdevelopment. The final, present-day phase produced perhaps the most comprehensive anti-Americanism ever, combining a condemnation of U.S. power abroad and of the U.S. model for civilization and warning that the former would inevitably spread the latter through globalization.

The authors have unearthed a remarkably rich cast of anti-American commentators. Almost everyone, it seems, criticized America, from the usual suspects such as Arthur de Gobineau, V. I. Lenin, and Sayyid Qutb to the more surprising likes of Immanuel Kant, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Charles Dickens. Almost all sources from before the mid-twentieth century, however, are well-heeled published authors, and so readers get little sense of what ordinary people thought of America. The authors might have found such views—and probably more positive ones—by mining immigrants' letters home and earlier polls than those they use from the 1990s.

Some might quibble with the authors' tone, which at times approaches defensive nationalism (especially on the Middle East, a surprise considering that it is Barry Rubin's area of specialty). Yet the Rubins, to their credit, do not go the way of several so-called experts on anti-Americanism who pathologize all criticism of America. The authors prefer to explain the key themes of anti-Americanism rather than try to refute them all.

Specialized scholars may not find this broad-brush approach to the history of anti-Americanism particularly insightful or helpful for their region or time period. But it is exactly the achievement of the book that it makes a clear, synthetic argument out of such disparate voices and presents them to a general audience in a readable narrative. Too few historians have taken seriously anti-Americanism as a topic of historical inquiry. As a corrective, the Rubins have given the profession the gift of a book that should prove to be a step toward the integration of the history of anti-Americanism into textbooks and course lectures.

ALAN MCPHERSON
Howard University

DAVID HEMPTON. *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 278. $30.00.

Methodism has attracted attention from many accomplished scholars, among them David Hempton. His two fine studies of the relationship of Methodism to politics and popular religion reward close reading by all students of evangelical Protestantism. No surprise, then, that his latest book offers an ambitious, wide-ranging analysis of this international religious movement, one that melds the findings of Hempton's life-long archival research with his flair for synthesizing recent scholarship. The book raises and answers many important questions, and it opens up many avenues for future inquiry. About the significance of the Methodists, there can be no doubt: as Hempton suggests, their rise may well be the most important development in Protestantism since the Reformation, especially since the case can be made that they are the forerunners of Pentecostal churches that now spread like wildfire throughout the world.

Hempton's preface is a gem of wit, delightfully unexpected from an historian who has spent so much of his career summoning the shades of early Methodists. But then he settles down to the serious business of addressing big questions. How did Methodism rise from its unpromising origins in England during the 1730s to outstrip competing forms of popular religiosity and to reckon with the challenge of the Enlightenment? What was the heart of the Methodist message as it was heard and experienced by its early adherents? Why did it encounter fierce opposition in some settings and heartfelt acceptance in others? And, finally, where can we look to explain its diminishing number of adherents over the course of the twentieth century?

Hempton is at his best probing Methodism's unexpected debt to the Enlightenment. While the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century is typically viewed as a religious insurgency against the Age of Reason, he draws on a host of recent studies to argue that the extreme inwardness of Methodist piety was rooted in Lockean sensationalism and that its organizing principles owed no small debt to the principle of voluntary association. Equally choice are Hempton's reflections on the distinctive forms of opposition that Methodists encountered from both ordinary people and elites on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. He shrewdly observes that the movement thrived as often as it withered from the resistance mounted by enemies outside its fold. What posed a greater and more enduring threat to Methodism's growth was the frequency of schism, fueled by "the inner contradictions of an egalitarian religious message propagated by an inegalitarian institution" (p. 101). In England, it was class antagonism that

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ruptured Methodist ranks, but in America, divisions over slavery and race rent the church.

Yet despite challenges from within and without, Methodism prospered throughout the nineteenth century in the British Isles and Canada. And in the United States, it boomed, emerging as the largest Protestant denomination by the eve of the Civil War. Beyond that, energetic missionary endeavors launched from both North America and the British Isles gathered more than thirty million people on six continents into the Methodist fold by the end of the nineteenth century. Hempton's cogent and exhaustive overview of Methodist missionary work invites future research on an important subject that has long suffered from neglect.

Other chapters are less satisfying. When it comes to accounting for Methodism's spectacular surge from obscurity to prominence in England and America during the long eighteenth century, as well as for its precipitous decline in the twentieth century, Hempton does a better job of pointing up the limits of competing interpretations than of offering compelling alternatives. His treatment of Methodism's appeal to women, African Americans, and other marginalized groups also seems more dutiful than inspired—a disappointment, given Hempton's earlier contributions to the study of popular religion. Finally, Hempton keeps his focus fixed exclusively on Methodism, never locating the character and fortunes of this popular movement within the wider context of Anglo-American evangelical Protestantism. Drawing comparisons to the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Disciples of Christ would have been especially helpful in the chapter on the ways in which the Methodist message was conveyed and understood.

That said, Hempton's most recent work succeeds admirably in its main goals. It challenges scholars of evangelicalism to cast their studies within the perspective of the Atlantic rim, even to think globally, and it raises the kinds of questions that will make everyone think hard. Did we expect anything less from a scholar whose first book took on E. P. Thompson?

Christine Leigh Heyrman
University of Delaware

Kevin Grant. *A Civilised Savagery: Britain and the New Slaveries in Africa, 1884–1926.* New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xii, 223. $22.95.

In this book Kevin Grant's aim is twofold. He wishes to bridge the historiographical gap in British antislavery studies between the high tide of the movement during the early nineteenth century and the encoding of antislavery into international law under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1926. Grant contextualizes reform movements within strands of humanitarian ideologies during the scramble for Africa and the consolidation of the "New Imperialism" in the half century after 1880. He begins by outlining the development of three variants of British humanitarian discourse. The first, the principle of trusteeship, is traced back to the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century. Grant argues that this principle was the repository of colonial humanitarian politics until the end of the eighteenth century. The relationship of "trusteeship" to the "new slaveries" before the outbreak of the Great War is not entirely clear. Trusteeship appears to have been unconnected with any major variant of overseas antislavery or unfree labor before the 1780s. Moreover, two of this study's examples of British humanitarian targets—the Congo Free State and Portuguese West Africa—were located outside the empire. Nor is trusteeship clearly linked to the third case: post-Boer War Transvaal. In Grant's telling, trusteeship emerges in humanitarian garb only in the wake of the Great War. The second strand of humanitarianism, evangelical discourse, was linked with British abolitionism from the 1780s. The third, what Grant calls the "politics of human rights," arose at the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast to evangelicalism, this last discourse emphasized cultural relativism and racial essentialism. It viewed commercial capitalism and property rights for Africans as the solution to the "new slaveries" in imperialized Africa.

The core of Grant's book is devoted to three British reform campaigns that peaked in the decade before the outbreak of the Great War. Their common thread was an attack on coerced labor systems that lay outside definitions of bondage derived from the struggle against New World chattel slavery. The three campaigns were the Congo Reform Movement (1884–1913); the mobilization of British labor against "Chinese slavery" in South Africa (1902–1910); and the exposure of indentured servitude in Portuguese West Africa (1901–1913). The Congo Reform Movement, initiated by missionaries in the Congo, was most closely linked to the evangelical tradition. The movement's organizers found their popular base in evangelical networks. Through a combination of new lantern-slide technology and these older networks, the reformers invoked religious language rather than the "human rights discourse" of British secular humanitarians. This reform movement was fortunate in coinciding with Britain's last great wave of mass political mobilization over metropolitan religious issues. Although the campaign appeared to herald a revival of the old popular antislavery, it rather represented a brief movement of activity in a long secular decline.

Grant's third example is the agitation against the slave trade and coerced indentured labor in Portuguese West Africa. Here he offers us a remarkable counter example to the Congo Reform Movement. His careful archival research compellingly reveals the ease with which a prominent member of the reform movement could retard public exposure and popular pressures for reform. Indentured laborers on the cocoa plantations of São Tome and Principé were recruited from Angola and the Congo through the modes of coercion used by slave traders: the plantations were the main source of cocoa for Cadbury Brothers. William Cadbury, a Quaker chocolate manufacturer, successfully used his

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network of connections in business, government, the Anti-Slavery Society, and the Congo Reform Movement itself to dampen pressure for amelioration until Cadbury Brothers could develop a convenient alternative to the Portuguese plantations. Consequently, Portuguese African reform never remotely approached the scale or intensity of Congo reform.

The book's other case is the movement to exclude Chinese indentured laborers from the Transvaal. The agitation reflected the growing power of the British labor movement and its strategic position as ally of the Liberal Party's effort to bring down the Conservative government in 1906. The assault on "Chinese slavery" was grounded in working-class rather than religious ideology. As Grant effectively shows, the campaign demonstrated the protean potential of "anti-slavery" rhetoric in early twentieth-century Britain. But its affiliation with what Grant characterizes as humanitarian discourse remains unclear. The "Chinese slavery" campaign was openly undertaken in defense of the particular interests and rights of white laborers in imperial South Africa. It was directed against the very presence of Chinese laborers. When the new Liberal Government offered voluntary repatriation to the indentured laborers in 1906, more than ninety percent of the Chinese chose to remain. Grant's account implicitly raises the question of just how "invidious" were what he initially calls "invidious distinctions between slavery and free labor" in debates over indentured labor. The overseas migration of a million indentured Indian laborers had been a well-established policy for well over half a century by 1906. Indian labor had not been the object of a mass antislavery attack in Britain for nearly half a century. Nor did it become one during the agitation over the Chinese. The real counterpart to the "Chinese Slavery" campaign was neither the humanitarian premises of antislavery ideology nor the "political human rights" ideology but rather contemporary movements to bar nonwhite migrants from Australia and North America. Grant concludes that the agitation actually enhanced the formalization of racial barriers in South Africa. Whatever the status of the indentured Chinese, the campaign itself was an anti"slave" rather than an antislavery movement.

This book is important for reasons beyond its case studies. Grant calls attention to the pluralistic and often contradictory nature of British humanitarianism in the age of high imperialism. He cogently highlights the cross-cutting pressures of religious, racial, class, and imperial politics. These pressures produced a variety of contradictory outcomes. Reformers could sometimes use Britain's national identification with antislavery to sustain reform or to raise global standards as in the League of Nations Convention of 1926. Grant underscores the complexity of humanitarian and human rights reform during the period of high imperialism and aptly identifies his study as part of a global project requiring multiregional and multifaceted analyses.

SEYMOUR DRESCHER
University of Pittsburgh

PATRICK F. MCDEVITT. *May the Best Man Win: Sport, Masculinity, and Nationalism in Great Britain and the Empire, 1880–1935*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. ix, 179. $55.00.

Sport was arguably one of the most important cultural exports of the British Empire. Moreover, it was and remains one of the most potent indicators of masculinity. Patrick F. McDevitt's short but thought-provoking and insightful book seeks to explore the intersection of sport, empire, and masculinity over the course of five distinct case studies covering the Irish Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), polo in India, boxing at the turn of the twentieth century, the "Bodyline" cricket affair in Australia, and Anglo-West Indian cricket.

Historians of the British Empire and of masculinity have tended to shy away from the study of sport—for example, it barely rates a mention in the multivolume *Oxford History of the British Empire* (2001)—so McDevitt is to be congratulated on tackling themes that have, with few exceptions, not been investigated with the vigor one might have expected. What is more, he weaves the threads of empire and masculinity through the text with a sure-handed authority.

Perhaps the most innovative part of the book is the chapter dealing with the relationship between the British colonial elite and Indian princes as expressed through polo. Exploring many of the themes dealt with in David Cannadine's *Ornamentalism* (2001), which also inexplicably does not mention sport, McDevitt traces the convergent uses to which polo was put both by the princes and the British and details the ways in which it allowed the British to define, and to differentiate between, the "effeminate" and the "manly" sections of Indian society.

The chapter on the GAA is also highly suggestive. Unlike the majority of work on Irish sport, which tends to ignore questions of masculinity, it investigates the interlacing of Irish nationalism and masculinity that underpinned the ideology of the GAA. In doing so, the author highlights how the nationalist construction of Irish male identity tended to project a mirror image of British imperial masculinity. The chapter on race and boxing in the empire deals with more familiar material yet brings fresh perspectives about the interplay between race and masculinity at the turn of the twentieth century.

If there is a weakness in the book, however, it is not to be found in the individual chapters but in the book's central organizing thesis. This is the idea that by the 1930s the British upper and middle-class male athlete had abandoned the traditional amateur values of "fair play" and had embraced the idea of victory at all costs. This, it is argued, is a "traditionally proletarian attitude towards games" (p. 6), an attitude that also includes "traits like violence and ruthlessness." British sport therefore came to be about "maintaining the status quo of British power" rather than inculcating the ideals of amateurism.

This is problematic at two levels. Firstly, it seems to

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accept the claim that amateurism in the nineteenth century was a neutral, value-free philosophy that really did seek to promote equality of competition. In fact, amateurism was a response by middle-class sportsmen (women being excluded from all such discourse) to the perceived threat to their dominance of sport by working-class competitors in mid to late-Victorian Britain. Thus, for example, the first rules of the Amateur Rowing Association explicitly excluded artisans, laborers, and tradesmen, and the Rugby Football Union only declared itself an amateur organization fifteen years after its foundation in response to the huge influx of proletarian players and spectators into the sport. Amateurism as an ideology developed as a means of "maintaining the status quo" and securing the sporting hegemony of the British upper and middle-classes.

Second, the idea that middle-class sportsmen did not play to win in the nineteenth century is seriously mistaken. Indeed, much of the concern about working-class involvement in cricket, rugby, and soccer was based on a belief that middle-class failure to win against their perceived social inferiors on the sports field could undermine social hierarchy. Middle-class practitioners of football were also no less violent than their lower-class counterparts, as can be seen in the prevalence of "hacking" in rugby and shoulder charging in soccer. The claim that "shin pads allowed working-class footballers to play much more aggressively than their middle-class opponents" (p. 140) ignores the fact that shin pads were viewed as a symbol of effeminacy by the latter, many of whom would proudly display their bloodied shins as proof of their manhood. And of course, ruthlessness, as many rebellious colonial subjects of the empire discovered, was a trait with which the British upper classes were well imbued.

Nevertheless, these criticisms are testimony to the intellectual value of McDevitt's study. His book is full of ideas and insights into the role of sport in imperial relations and in the construction of masculinity. It is an important contribution to the field and deserves to be widely read.

Tony Collins
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Ionna Laliotou. *Transatlantic Subjects: Acts of Migration and Cultures of Transnationalism Between Greece and America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 257. $21.00.

The central theme of this work is both old and new in immigration historiography: that is, the psychological conditioning of the migrant to America. Ionna Laliotou refers to it as "immigrant subjectivity." Essentially it is the mental conditioning of the traveler as he/she traverses the Atlantic, especially one's consciousness of the relationship between the old country and the new. Immigration historians since Oscar Handlin (*The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* [1952]) have often speculated on the personal transition between the places of departure and arrival, but never with the full and extended attention and the heavily theoretical analysis that Laliotou devotes to the subject. A few scholars, like David Gerber, have specifically explored that mental conditioning of the individual migrant. Laliotou's book is innovative and largely successful but not without flaws.

The author approaches her topic by drawing on a rich array of Greek sources and as well as the more familiar ones in English. She begins with a lengthy discussion of Greece's ambivalent policy toward emigration, which largely condemned the hemorrhaging of the population but also encouraged the mass exodus as a way to bring Hellenism to new lands. Utilizing psychological theory, including the ideas of Sigmund Freud, she concludes that the migrant's experience was rather complex, not homogeneous but contradictory.

Laliotou documents that migration was not just a feature of Greek history but an integral part of Greek national culture. More challenging and controversial is her idea that most emigrants had an inferiority complex about going to America, which they regarded as prosperous, civilized, and far more technologically advanced than their homeland. Arriving as part of the poorer and inferior "New Immigration" with their contemporaries, Italians and East European Jews, Greek immigrants suffered discrimination from the Anglo-American majority. Here one wonders why the author omits the more popular notion that Greeks took pride in being a people whose culture gave birth to Western democratic values. She does discuss the American-based mutual aid organizations that showed the compatibility of the two cultures—although she insists that assimilation was not the outcome of the engagement of Greek arrivals with the adopted country. There was little intermarriage even down to the 1920s.

Laliotou's methodology makes use of a large array of life stories, letters, notable fiction, autobiographies, and first-person materials that illuminate the migrant mentality. But occasionally the justification for selecting certain primary works as authoritative is missing, as when she discusses at length one Greek intellectual's publication of psychobiographies. The author pays special attention to the psychological situation of Greek women. Such an emphasis is badly needed, as scholars have neglected the subject in the migrant literature. Here Laliotou does justify her sustained treatment of an outstanding, popular, highly praised, and prolific female author who, although Greek, wrote only in English. That writer's further advantage was experiencing life in three cultures, having lived also in Turkey. Hence she was able to offer a particularly sophisticated understanding of immigrant subjectivity.

Laliotou's book does have some notable weaknesses. Her prose needed a much firmer editorial hand. The wording of the text is excessively theoretical and complex, and the meaning suffers. Note, for example, this typical passage offering a remedy for the future "history of Greek migration [that] may enact difference in the culture of the nation"; "The study of the process of cultural engineering of migrant subjectivity foregrounds

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the ways in which linear representation of the nation as a homogeneous sociocultural entity were grounded in the exclusion of certain experiences from the representational order of culture" (p. 201).

In addition, the author refers on occasion to quite dated studies in immigration historiography. Her concluding assessment of "recent" historiography is faulty. Her reference to Saloutos's valuable study on the subject is understandable, but it was published forty years ago. Similarly, Laliotou cites the best overall review of immigrant literature as that by Edward Saneth (Saveth), published in 1948 (p. 204, n.10). More contemporary literature should have been included.

Nevertheless, while faulty in places and a difficult read, this book is a pioneering study on the important topic of immigrant mentality, so I recommend it to immigration specialists.

VICTOR GREENE
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PAUL ERKER. *Vom nationalen zum globalen Wettbewerb: Die deutsche und die amerikanische Reifenindustrie im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 2005. Pp. 710 €98.00.

Paul Erker's new book is a comparative study of the German and American tire industries from the late nineteenth century to the present. He focuses on the two companies he considers "prime movers," B F Goodrich (founded in 1870) and Continental (founded in 1871). These are also, as Erker notes, the only two major tire companies for which extensive archival sources are available; little exists of records for Dunlop, Goodyear, or U.S. Rubber, whereas neither Firestone nor Michelin files are at this time fully open to historians.

This book is, in many respects, comparative history at its best. Although Continental and Goodrich are focal points, Erker situates both companies in their national and global contexts. Continental's primary rivals before World War II were Dunlop and Michelin, whereas Goodrich slowly lost ground to Goodyear and Firestone, not to mention U.S. Rubber and General Tire. Erker brings together extant sources, both primary and secondary, about those other companies as well, making particularly good use of both American and European trade journals. In the end, the book is really a comprehensive study of the world tire industry.

Many similarly hefty monographs miss the forest for the trees. That is not the case here. Despite the breadth of material, Erker manages to maintain a clear argument throughout. Responding to interpretations of the relative uncompetitiveness, even backwardness, of German industry that Erker considers fundamental to Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.'s characterization of the German economic system in the early twentieth century, Erker argues that the German tire industry was, in the end, less of an oligopoly than was the American tire industry. Moreover, even in the case of the United States, Erker rightly points to the very competitive nature of the tire business, in which price wars were legion. If the American firms constituted an oligopoly, they were not a profitable one. Above all, Erker maintains that the fundamental issue is less one of national norms, an approach embedded even in Chandler's comparative *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (1990), with German industry characterized by cartels and American industry by competition, than one of individual industrial sectors, each with its own dynamic. Of course, Erker is close enough to his sources not to claim that there were no real differences between the American and European tire markets. In fact, he offers much evidence of very fundamental differences, most notably the fact that the American tire market expanded rapidly in the early twentieth century in an effort to keep pace not only with the mass production of automobiles, especially the Model T, but also with the demand for replacement tires—obvious when one remembers that early tires lasted no more than a few thousand miles. Yet, whatever the differences between Europe and North America, it is also clear that tires were an important export even before World War I, and Erker successfully argues that we need to look at the industry (and presumably other industries) in a global context.

Given Erker's interest in well-established questions of traditional economic and business history, it would be unfair to criticize him for not taking a more cultural approach to his sources. In that, this book resembles tire company histories by Erker himself (Continental), Mansel Blackford and Austin Kerr (B F Goodrich), and Glenn Babcock (U.S. Rubber). Nevertheless, the length of this book and its traditional approach may well limit readership to a handful of historians. That is unfortunate, because as Erker makes clear, while the automobile industry may have been the driving force behind the growth of the tire industry in the U.S., such was not the case in Europe. As Erker notes, in Europe it was the tire companies that took the leading role in trying to build a culture of the automobile in the early twentieth century. Through extensive and wide-ranging marketing campaigns, Michelin (the standard bearer in marketing), Dunlop, and Continental tapped into European and national cultural norms, solidifying and sometimes altering through advertising what it was supposed to mean to be British, French, or German; male or female; and aristocratic, middle class, or working class. Thus while Erker cannot be blamed for not taking a different approach to his sources, it is also true that this more traditional approach, which does not make many connections to broader cultural developments, may limit readership.

This is an excellent and solid book. Although the press allowed a number of typographical errors to slip through the editorial process, particularly in the case of non-German words, it nevertheless deserves much praise for publishing this kind of detailed, exacting scholarship. It is hard to imagine a U.S. press, even a

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university press, that would be willing to publish a book of this length about the world tire industry.

STEPHEN L. HARP
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ANJA SCHÜLER. *Frauenbewegung und soziale Reform: Jane Addams und Alice Salomon im transatlantischen Dialog, 1889–1933.* (Transatlantische Historische Studien, number 16.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2004. Pp. 391. €44.00.

This comparative study of feminist social activism in the United States and Germany focuses on Jane Addams and Alice Salomon, two key figures in the development of social work in the period before World War I, and assesses their influence up until their deaths. Anja Schüler thereby uses social-biographical comparison to indicate "the differing life worlds of American and German women" (p. 12) and to evaluate the roles of Addams and Salomon as leading feminists and as arbiters of social welfare policies. In addition, Schüler explicitly sets out to participate in key debates among historians and sociologists, both those who study women and gender and those concerned with the expansion of social welfare in twentieth-century industrial states. Here she presents valuable information about international feminist networks after 1890, changes wrought by World War I, and new directions undertaken by feminist social activists, particularly their work in aid of pacifism. Her study is thus important to scholars of the United States as well as those researching Germany, and it deserves to reach a wide audience.

Presenting each woman's life and activities chronologically, beginning with Addams, the author compares her and Salomon and the two countries in which they lived. Schüler emphasizes that each woman felt that she could learn from the other's country, and that each worked actively in the field of social work and social policy development, with both seeking "social justice" across class lines. Each fought against the limits imposed on women's independence and activism, and each drew strength from local, national, and international networks of feminist and activist women. From the 1890s, Addams was a member of the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA), while Salomon became an important figure in the German Alliance of German Women's Associations (BDF). Finally, the author argues that each woman was significantly affected by World War I and its aftermath, as were their countries and the women's movements in them. Addams turned largely to work on pacifism, becoming a leader in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and winning the Nobel Peace Prize. Salomon played an important role in the war work undertaken by German feminist groups but then had to deal with international suspicion owing to that work. She, too, participated in the WILPF, but she left the BDF and in Germany devoted herself to the expansion of schooling to train social workers. Schüler also offers a sensitive portrayal of the changing circumstances of the late 1920s and the 1930s, when Salomon became increasingly isolated as a "racial" Jew, despite her sincere conversion to Protestantism during the war. Finally forced to leave Germany in 1937, she fled to the United States, becoming a citizen before her death.

In evaluating her two subjects' effectiveness in social activism, in particular in social welfare work, Schüler affirms the work of scholars who have argued that the United States was more receptive to feminist involvement because, unlike Germany, with its long-established and effective bureaucracies, the United States was a "weak state" more open to grass-roots initiatives, which gave women entrée despite their lack of suffrage. She is also sympathetic to the view that feminists might emphasize "social housekeeping" or "motherliness" as a means to assert their credentials in welfare, especially with regard to women's and children's issues.

Schüler draws on a wealth of primary and secondary sources to prove her case, but its chief drawback remains the author's failure really to address "the differing life worlds of American and German women." Throughout her study, Schüler sets her sights narrowly on the protagonists' individual efforts in social work and social welfare; there is no discussion of the broader frameworks of the issues and goals of the American and German women's movements or Progressivism. The very different political situations in the United States and Germany are mentioned only in passing, with weight given largely to the differences between the Progressive era's American democracy and "weak state" versus the strong, authoritarian state of imperial Germany. Addressing the nature of American and German society at the turn of the twentieth century and during the 1920s seems to this reader to be central to the author's arguments, for social justice in America had to confront issues of race as well as class in a two-party system, and in Germany had to confront the reality of a powerful Social Democratic Party (SPD) with a rhetoric of class warfare, a revolution, and a republic in which that party played a dominant role.

With regard to Addams, for example, Schüler lays no weight on her close association with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and ignores Addams's writings on prostitution and the "moral" well-being of the poor, which were at the time central issues for feminists internationally. Her involvement with the National Women's Trade Union League, an alliance of middle and working-class women, is also discussed only in passing. Similarly, Salomon wrote and worked beyond the confines of her interest in social work as a profession. In my own work on German feminism and white-collar women before World War I, I noted the intense emphasis placed by middle-class feminists on organizing this new group of workers, and their success in these efforts. Salomon participated in such efforts, but this aspect of her life is missing from Schüler's account. Some of the courses sponsored by Salomon, for instance, were not simply to train future social workers, but were meant to draw young white-collar women into citizenship and into the feminist

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movement. And in the 1920s, the new opportunities available to young middle-class women rested in large part upon the strength of the SPD, always the German party most receptive to women's civic and workplace equality, yet Salomon's decision not to join the SPD is only briefly discussed.

Schüler is quite right to take her study beyond World War I, but the onset of the Great Depression raises questions as well. American Social Security legislation endorsed payments to the large majority of men for unemployment or old age as an entitlement, while payments to women, in categories other than wife, were on a basis of need, often coupled with criteria of worthiness. Is that the accomplishment of an earlier generation of American feminists? And how do we evaluate the welfare programs of the Nazis, which brought maternal and infant health programs to many, including rural women? Although my own work supports Schüler's finding that motherliness and social feminism were not automatic code words for German conservatism, it is nevertheless the case that women in nursing and social work were often on the front lines in carrying out Nazi racial and eugenic policies.

One book cannot, of course, encompass every aspect of an issue, particularly a work that undertakes cross-national comparisons. Schüler's study is a worthwhile contribution to the literature on women and political activism. There is nevertheless much work still to be done before all in the scholarly community agree that American feminism succeeded in directing the U.S. welfare state or that the work undertaken in Germany to professionalize social work and open it to women was one of feminism's signal achievements.

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GERARD J. DEGROOT. *The Bomb: A Life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 397. $27.95.

Gerard J. DeGroot's *The Bomb* is a curious book. As it is based almost entirely on published sources and on items skimmed off the Internet, it is not a thoroughly researched monograph. Nor, despite its ostensibly broad subject—humanity's interaction with nuclear weapons—is it a synthesis. Claiming that "the really big decisions about the Bomb were all made by around the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis" (p. ix), the author gives little attention to the events of the more than four decades that followed. Furthermore, DeGroot does not show much interest in nuclear arms control and disarmament. "Some diplomatic historians will howl in protest," he writes, "but I don't consider the arms reduction talks all that important" (p. ix).

The book's greatest strength lies in its colorful anecdotes, which make good reading. Stringing them together, DeGroot provides interesting and powerful material on the effects of the atomic bombing of Japan, on civil defense, on pro-nuclear propaganda, on the horrible effects of radioactive contamination, on popular culture, and on the fantasies of government officials. He also writes with wit, though sometimes facetiously.

But the strengths of this book do not compensate for its weaknesses. There are numerous errors. DeGroot misidentifies Robert Jungk as a physicist. In one place, he says that Joseph Stalin died in 1952; in another, in 1953. The Non-Proliferation Treaty, DeGroot insists incorrectly, "simply prohibited proliferation to previously non-nuclear countries" (p. 296). In addition, he declares inaccurately that the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was "ratified" (p. 327) in 1996.

DeGroot's thesis seems quite tendentious. The Bomb, he contends, though "horrible" (p. x), has "been big enough to force statesmen to act sensibly" (p. 350) and thus remains a necessity. Yet this assertion does not flow from evidence he presents but, rather, from his Augustinian belief in human sinfulness. "Opponents of the bomb often base their argument on an idealized version of what human beings might become," he says, while "proponents . . . accept man's flaws and believe that the Bomb is the first effective impediment to our inclination to destroy each other. It is difficult to reject that argument, based as it is on an undeniable notion of human nature" (p. 350).

As human wickedness is "undeniable"—or, as DeGroot argues elsewhere in the book, because "men craved destruction" (p. 12)—other things fall into place. "I'm struck by how solid was the faith in the Bomb . . . among ordinary people" (p. ix), he notes at one point. After 1962, he insists, most of the world "stopped worrying and . . . learned to love the Bomb" (p. ix). Yet polls show that, beginning soon after 1945, the majority of people in countries around the world supported nuclear arms control and disarmament measures and rejected nuclear war. They still do.

DeGroot also lambastes peace and disarmament groups, none of whose records he has examined. These "feeble and self-indulgent" (p. ix) organizations, he writes, showed a "stubborn denial of futility" (p. x). Deriding the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, he claims (without citing any source) that most of its local groups "consisted of no more than a few dedicated diehards in a dingy office, equipped with a dilapidated mimeograph machine" (p. 212). The author also lampoons Britain's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), and maintains that behind its protests "lurked a gargantuan national ego" (p. 231). DeGroot particularly despises the women who protested the deployment of cruise missiles at Greenham Common, and twice refers to their placing tampons on the perimeter fence. They "seemed weird even to lifelong supporters of CND" (p. 322), he adds—and that, of course means *very* weird! Barraged by these and other caricatures, a reader gains no sense that the nuclear disarmament campaign has been the largest social movement in modern history, with millions of participants and the support of mainstream political parties, church bodies, environmental groups, unions, and professional societies.

Naturally, disarmament groups receive no credit for efficacy. When the cruise missiles were removed from

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Greenham Common, DeGroot observes, the women activists "congratulated themselves on their achievement, rather like the lunatic who thinks the sun rises because he wakes up in the morning" (p. 326). In fact, however, DeGroot speaks with much greater certainty about the motives of government policy makers than is warranted, for—with the exception of looking at some scattered documents at the Truman Library—he has not done any research in government records. Nor has he examined the scholarship (for example, by Matthew Evangelista, David Cortright, and this reviewer) that illustrates the substantial impact of disarmament groups on nuclear arms control and disarmament policies and on the retreat from nuclear war since 1945.

Alas, anecdotes and humor cannot substitute for thorough research and an open mind.

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ASIA

BENJAMIN A. ELMAN. *On Their Own Terms: Science in China, 1550–1900*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xxxviii, 567. $55.00.

In an effort to make Benjamin A. Elman's book accessible to a broader audience, the editors at Harvard University Press chose to leave out Chinese characters. Scholars and readers fluent in Chinese will find no characters in the bibliography, notes, or index. They will not even discover a glossary. The lack of Chinese obviously compromises the utility of this book as an indispensable reference for researchers. For a book about science in China "on their own terms" that not only discusses translation issues but also has Chinese names, titles, and phrases on every page, this is an egregious omission. Elman's robust book is otherwise replete with telling facts, compelling arguments, and persuasive conclusions.

Over the past two decades, Elman has made major contributions to Chinese social-intellectual history by writing books about the evidential scholarship movement, Jiangnan regional academic lineages, and the civil service examination system in late imperial China. Building on the strengths and research of all his previous books, Elman synthesizes for the first time the history of Chinese and Western sciences in China from 1550 to 1900. By focusing on how native Chinese sciences changed through interactions with first the Jesuits (1601–1773) and then Protestant missionaries (1840s–1900), Elman maintains a clear central narrative that traces how the Chinese adapted Western science for their own ends and developed modern science on their own terms. By systematically comparing the different strategies and situations of the seventeenth to eighteenth-century Jesuits with the nineteenth-century Protestants in China, Elman also demonstrates how Western missionaries adapted their knowledge of science, technology, and medicine to attract the interest of the Chinese and secure imperial patronage. Although they failed to convert the rulers, or many Chinese for that matter, to Christianity, both Jesuits and Protestants succeeded in transmitting sciences from the West through comparable strategies of accommodation with their Chinese hosts.

Divided into five sections, the book's structure moves from collecting and ordering practices among Chinese intellectuals on the eve of Jesuit contact during the late Ming dynasty (1368–1644) to natural studies and the Jesuits in the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, evidential research and natural studies within Qing intellectual history, modern science and the Protestants during the nineteenth century, and Qing reformism and modern science of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Each section opens with an overview of its contents and ends with a transition to the next chapter, providing necessary guideposts for readers through a nearly encyclopedic display of peoples and places, books and ideas, arguments and conclusions. Chinese were not passive recipients but rather active players in the process of transmission of natural studies from the West. Western missionaries found an audience not only more interested in their sciences than in their religion but also educated in a native tradition of natural studies just as complex as their own. Elman narrates their interactions over nearly four centuries using the foreground of Chinese intellectual history and native sciences with great erudition, acumen, and aplomb. His study promises to become a classic in several fields.

Although this book already has many maps, figures, and tables to help readers see the larger picture, my students wished that each section had a timeline of major events within China and the world related to science. In addition to the list of Chinese dynasties, for instance, a timeline of the Ming and Qing emperors as well as significant events would have helped novices navigate the torrent of detail. The emphasis in the second half of the book is on science in modern China. Except for the annotated bibliography of the Ten Mathematical Classics used to teach mathematics in the Imperial Academy during the Sui (581–618) and Tang dynasties (618–907), for example, the remaining eight appendixes summarize aspects of the modern influence of Western science in China after the Opium Wars, from the first Chinese translations of chemistry (1855–1873) to scientific societies in China (1915–1927). Comparable to the content of the rest of the book, these appendixes give a sense of the chronology and the issues of science in post-Opium War China that promise to inspire other scholars toward further research in this understudied realm. Elman's text perhaps requires more effort to read because of the myriad facts marshaled to support a few key arguments; but for those for whom truth resides in the details and for whom future research looms large behind the endnotes, bibliography, and appendixes, an unforgettable voyage over four centuries back and forth across the China sea awaits.

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PING-CHEN HSIUNG. *A Tender Voyage: Children and Childhood in Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 351. $70.00.

For the past twenty years, Ping-chen Hsiung has been studying and publishing pioneering Chinese-language studies on childhood in China. She has now assembled eight English-language essays on children and childhood in late imperial China (roughly 1600–1900), taken from conference papers and lectures she has given in the recent past. The resulting book sheds much new light on this important subject.

In her introduction, "Children and Childhood in Traditional China," Hsiung places her work within the framework of Western studies of childhood, starting with the classic work of Philippe Ariès. She notes that the Chinese case calls into question Ariès's assertion that the very notion of childhood is a modern invention. From at least the Southern Song period (1161–1279), pediatric medicine became a specialized field in China, and Neo-Confucian philosophers paid systematic attention to the education and character formation of the young.

By the sixteenth century, both these trends, in medicine and philosophy, were widely popularized by a rapidly growing publishing industry. Hsiung concludes her introduction by listing the variety of sources available for the study of children and childhood in late imperial China, including didactic works such as ritual texts, family instruction books and children's primers, chronological biographies and autobiographical memoirs, personal diaries, letters, poems, genealogies, pediatric texts, paintings, children's books, woodcuts, and woodblock prints. Her book draws on all these sources and is graced with forty-seven well-chosen black-and-white illustrations, mostly of Chinese paintings of children in many different circumstances, but also of didactic texts, woodcuts, and woodblock prints. Hsiung also points to other sources, as yet mostly untapped, which could provide a still more complete picture of children and childhood in China, including legal documents, government policy documents, and material objects of all kinds relating to children.

In part one, "Physical Conditions," Hsiung deals with medical writings on children's health and the care of newborns. She shows that the imperial Chinese government was more active than most premodern governments in publishing specialized works to promote improvements in the healthcare and medical treatment of infants and children. Beginning in the twelfth century and accelerating by the sixteenth, many publications helped to popularize medical knowledge, especially regarding umbilical cord cutting and hygiene, maintaining bodily warmth of newborns, promoting bodily cleanliness, and providing emergency care. There were also extensive writings on nursing of young children and on the selection of wet nurses when a mother's milk failed. Hsiung surmises that the practice of breastfeeding for up to two years was a commonly understood means of contraception.

In part two, "Social Life," she discusses early childhood education and moral training, the close emotional ties that were common between mothers and sons, and the emotional lives of children in a world where death was a fact of life. Of necessity, Hsiung focuses on the educated elite whose reminiscences provide much of her documentation. She notes the increasing examination competition in the Ming-Qing period, which placed a premium on rigorous early childhood education, especially for young men, but increasingly for elite young women as well. Gleaning information from over 800 chronological biographies of leading scholar-officials from the late imperial period, she demonstrates the importance of close emotional ties between mothers and sons, and the life-long debt of gratitude most sons felt toward their hard-working mothers. She also highlights the communal nature of childhood, as most children were raised by adults including neighbors and relatives in extended families.

In part three, "Multiplicity," Hsiung deals with girlhood and with the contrast between prescriptive formulaic outlines of childhood as contrasted with concrete examples of individuals whose stories contradict those very outlines, revealing a complex and ambiguous world with blurred boundaries between what is and what ought to be. Contrary to normal stereotypes of gender relations in China, she notes that girls were not infrequently indulged more than boys, in part because they were not so pressured to cram their heads full of examination essays. Some fathers self-consciously indulged their daughters as if to compensate for the difficulties women were likely to face later in life, a strategy that easily backfired when the daughter was taken out of her warm natal family to assume the position of daughter-in-law and virtual servant in a strange household of new in-laws.

The greatest strengths of Hsiung's study are the great breadth of material she is able to draw on, and the sophistication with which she applies Western theoretical approaches in interpreting those sources. She concludes with a plea for further studies of children and childhood in the long history of China. This book amply demonstrates the feasibility and potential rewards of such studies, and leaves the reader hoping that Hsiung herself will continue to till this rich field still in its early development.

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PETER C. PERDUE. *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 725. $35.00.

In this massive and beautifully illustrated volume, Peter C. Perdue has produced the first broad survey in a Western language in virtually a century of the Qing dynasty's protracted wars against the Zunghars, a branch of the Oirats or western Mongols ensconced in what is now far northwest China. It was these wars that produced the China we see on the map today, including

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Xinjiang and Tibet. Numerous maps and lavish illustrations, many in color, from new and historic photographs, paintings, and woodcuts contribute to the immediate appeal of this weighty tome. As an account of how China defeated the Zunghars and how the Qing dynasty secured its conquest of the eastern part of Central Eurasia, this ground-breaking book will be read by both specialists evaluating the arguments and by students needing an introduction to this important topic. Perdue, however, evidently hoped to produce something more: a rewriting of Inner Asian (what he calls Central Eurasian) history in the context of both Chinese nationalist historiography and recent world historical debates. In this enterprise, his success is less evident.

The core of this volume lies in part two ("Contending for Power"), a narrative history of the Qing-Zunghar conflict from 1670 to 1771, part three ("The Economic Basis of Empire"), which explores the strategies the Qing emperors and officials used to defeat the Zunghars and sustain their rule in Xinjiang, and part four ("Fixing Frontiers"), which explores how the understanding of the conquest changed and was changed by imperial and private writings. Perdue's chief sources are the invaluable Qing-era campaign histories (*fanglue*), which he uses with due caution, given their documented distortions. He also makes good use of the veritable records (*shilu*) of the Qing emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, Qianlong; the Kangxi emperor's Manchu letters; and several Russian, Chinese, and Western travelogues, all supplemented by archival research in Beijing and Moscow. One of the most useful features of this account is the extensive description of the perspectives, strengths, and weaknesses of the major sources. It is thus not just an introduction to the Qing-Zunghar wars themselves but also an engaging introduction to the relevant sources and their study.

Parts one ("The Formation of the Central Eurasian States") and five ("Legacies and Implications") introduce and conclude the study. In them, Perdue argues convincingly that the early modern empire-building in Central Eurasia, as exemplified by the successful Russia and the Qing and the unsuccessful Zunghars, marked a major departure from previous history, and a powerful influence on subsequent nationalism. "Qing expansion . . . represented a sharp break with the strategic aims and military capabilities of the Ming dynasty" (p. 507) and this sharp break "set the framework within which the late-nineteenth-century definitions of the Chinese nation had to operate" (p. 517). In other words, just as colonialism was neither an inevitable destiny nor a brief aberration in the history of European nations, but a seminal yet contingent event that still shapes British, French, Spanish, and other identities, so, too, the often brutal Qing conquest of the Zunghars and their lands was an unpredictable and contingent event that continues to shape the Chinese nation fundamentally.

Much less successful is the author's attempt to expand this China-centered account into a broader history of early modern Central Eurasia as a whole. Any war of conquest has two sides, and Perdue recognizes that a complete history of the Qing conquest will have to take account of the Zunghar side as well. Yet the narrative omits or distorts so many crucial episodes and themes in Zunghar history that its many sallies into Mongolian history remain disjointed and often misleading. The confederal governmental structures established at the 1640 Oirat-Khalkha assembly, the personality and policies of the First Jibzundamba Khutugtu, the intensely sectarian and legalist character of Oirat Buddhism, the 1753 defection of the "Three Tserens" (noblemen commanding the second largest of the four divisions of the Zunghar principality), the distinctive tradition of Oirat history started by Ghabang Sharab in 1737 and continued in Kalmykia and Xinjiang: a history that has virtually nothing significant to say about any of these topics can hardly be considered a comprehensive treatment of the Mongol-Oirat side of the conflict. Moreover, while Perdue acknowledges that "The Qing was not an established state facing a disorganized group of 'bandits' " (p. 518), his repeated (and factually quite incorrect) description of units like *otog*, *anggi*, or *jisai* as "tribal" or "clan" based (e.g. pp. 276, 283, 478) effectively places the Zunghars within the increasingly discredited scheme of "tribal society" as an evolutionary stage before "states." Qianlong would have approved! Unjustified and idiosyncratic spellings (such as "Jebzongdanba" for Jibzundamba or rJe-btsun dam-pa or "Ulan Gumu" on pages 232, 328 for Ulaangom) and inconsistencies within the text (Güüshi Khan is spelled as both Gush and Gusri on page 227, while the important Xinjiang city of Karashahr on page 298 appears as "Halashar" on pages 253 and 331) add further to the dismaying appearance of confusion.

It is a shame that such a beautifully published and otherwise valuable study should be marred by such inaccuracies. One might hope that in a second edition at least the editorial infelicities will be corrected. A deeper understanding of the Zunghar side of the Qing-Zunghar wars must await a new study. Until then however, we have this admirable, if somewhat one-sided, account of one of the most important events in Asia's eighteenth century history.

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CHUN-SHIK KIM. *Deutscher Kulturimperialismus in China: Deutsches Kolonialschulwesen in Kiaotschou (China) 1898–1914*. (Missiongeschichtliches Archiv, volume 8.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2004. Pp. 272. €45.00.

As Mechthild Leutner and Klaus Mühlhahn reiterate in many of their works, Germany strove from 1898 to 1914 to build up Jiaozhou Bay (Kiaotschou), the 552-square-kilometers German colony situated on the southern coast of the Shandong Peninsula in China, as a *Musterkolonie* (model colony). The massive transplantation

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of German technology, social institutions, and a modern administrative system into the home province of Confucius led first to confrontation with Chinese values and traditions but later to a partial integration of German and Chinese cultures. The question of how far Germany succeeded in "modernizing" Chinese society in Jiaozhou Bay and its surrounding area still interests historians, sinologists, and colonial and postcolonial theorists. Social and micro-studies of urbanization, medical facilities, transport, and communication in Jiaozhou Bay in the early twentieth century are gradually bringing to light untold stories of this former German colony. Chun-Shik Kim's book is one of the very few works that investigates the development of education in Jiaozhou Bay under German rule.

The first part of this book provides much, if not too much, information about historical sources for the topic, early Sino-German relations, and the background of Germany's occupation of its only colony in China. Kim's extended survey of related materials in the Bundesarchive (Federal Archives) at Berlin-Lichterfelde, Freiburg, and Koblenz, the German Foreign Ministry; and various church archives makes a useful contribution to current understanding of German imperialism in modern China. However, his thorough discussion of these materials, which occupies over half of the book, to a certain extent supersedes his analysis of German government-sponsored and church-owned educational facilities in Jiaozhou Bay and their impacts, which should form the core of this study. For this reason, a number of interesting issues that Kim raises are not sufficiently dealt with. These include the German government's aim to develop elementary education and high schools in Jiaozhou Bay (pp. 133–137); the role played by the first generation of German sinologists, such as Alfred Forke, Richard Wilhelm, and Otto Franke (p. 143, 145, 162); obstacles to the development of German-styled education in Shandong, such as the lack of appropriate textbooks and teaching materials (p. 145), financial difficulties (p. 197) and the opposition of Chinese officials (p. 161); and the conflicts among administrators, teaching staff, and students inside these German schools (pp. 165–166).

Nevertheless, Kim, drawing heavily on a great variety of church archives, presents a decent study of the education activities organized by the Catholic Church and various Protestant missionary societies, including the Berlin Missionary Society and the Weimar Mission (AEPM or Allgemeine Evangelisch-Protestantischen Missionsverein). Although aimed at "enlightening" the Chinese people, the education provided by the German missionaries, Kim insightfully points out, was rather conservative and ethnocentric in many ways. For instance, the curriculum of the girls' school founded in 1905 by the SVD (Society of the Divine Word or Steyler Missionaries) prepared its students to be good housewives rather than independent personalities (p. 183). Even the Berlin Missionary Society saw education as a means to transmit the wisdom of God to China, so as to contain the "yellow peril" (p. 206).

The book's major flaw is that the central question that Kim poses—namely how German schools in Jiaozhou Bay facilitated cultural transfer from Germany to China (p. 12)—is not fully addressed. A process of cultural transfer involves at least the following elements: providers, settings, causes, cultural products, agents, and receivers. Kim, while focusing his attention on the providers (German colonial officials, German churchmen, and missionary societies in Jiaozhou Bay) and the agents (German schools, school administrators, and teachers), neglects the setting (the social and cultural conditions in Jiaozhou Bay), cultural products (German values and training transmitted to China), and the receivers (the Chinese people). As mentioned above, Kim makes great effort to explain why German colonial officials and the German Catholic and Protestant churches were so keen to introduce German education in Jiaozhou Bay, but he does not elucidate why the Chinese people were willing to attend German schools. In some cases Kim tries to analyze the curriculum of these schools, but the unavailability of syllabi, teaching materials, instruction manuals, and other documents prevents him from pursuing in-depth research into the values, perceptions, and ideologies embedded in curriculums. The chapter on the "Chinese reactions to colonial education" is not only short but also, surprisingly, relies on German rather than Chinese sources, which would better reflect the attitude of the Chinese people to German education. Since questions about what the Chinese pupils actually learned from the German schools, whether they further differentiated the skills and knowledge they acquired to different sectors of Chinese society, and how the local people perceived German education and the German-educated Chinese are left unanswered, this book fails to tell us clearly if the German schools in Jiaozhou Bay did indeed serve as effective means of German cultural imperialism.

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John M. Carroll. *Edge of Empires: Chinese Elites and British Colonials in Hong Kong*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 260. $39.95.

Even more than most new history monographs, John M. Carroll's carefully argued, informative study of the Hong Kong bourgeoisie circa 1841–1941 is one that it is easy to imagine readers picking up with very different goals in mind, only to come away with contrasting senses of the novelty and importance of its arguments. The author has interesting things to say about a variety of specific individuals (including colorful figures who moved skillfully between different cultural milieus), institutions (such as the fascinating "District Watch" system of maintaining order in the overwhelmingly Chinese sections of Hong Kong), and events (including the jubilee celebrated on the Crown Colony's fiftieth birthday). But how successfully the book accomplishes larger goals—goals that include shedding light on these

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individuals, institutions, and events, but also contributing to several scholarly literatures—is sure to be affected by the reader's motivations. For example, it will make a difference if this imagined reader is particularly interested in one or the other of the two empires at whose edges Carroll situates Hong Kong, which he characterizes as a "declining" Chinese and an "ascendant" British one, respectively (p. 2).

Personally I was not especially eager to gain insight into the history of either the British or Chinese empires, per se, nor did the specific locale that is the site of this case study hold a special allure. Rather, my main hope in picking up the book was that I would increase my understanding of another city, Shanghai, which I am convinced in its 1840s–1940s treaty port incarnation is well worth treating in the manner that Carroll insists Hong Kong should be treated: namely, as a metropolis that was certainly shaped by contending imperial projects but should be viewed "as its own cultural-historical place," not simply a by-product or part of any nation or empire and hence a city whose past can be fit neatly into a standard national or imperial narrative.

Coming to a Hong Kong book with this agenda is a bit unfair, I realize, but not completely so in this case. Carroll clearly sees parallels between this southern colonial port and "semicolonial" treaty ports located further up the coast. And he acknowledges a methodological debt to a major work on Shanghai, noting that his broadly inclusive definition of "bourgeoisie" (used to mean essentially urbanites with some wealth and relatively high status) is taken from the treaty-port-based scholarship of Marie-Claire Bergère. Unfair or not, I came to Carroll's book with a Shanghai-inflected agenda, and I came away satisfied: I did not just learn new things about Hong Kong but also was encouraged to rethink things I thought I already understood about treaty ports. Most notably, Carroll makes a compelling case for certain exclusionary policies (such as those that made it hard and sometimes impossible for even well-to-do Hong Kong Chinese to belong to some prestigious clubs and live in the Crown Colony's most desirable district, that closest to Victoria Peak) having complex results. Without minimizing the disturbing quality of policies rooted in racism, Carroll draws attention to one "response to colonial discrimination" by members of the local Chinese elite, which was "not to push for an end to it, but to create an equally exclusive social world of their own" (p. 101).

Carroll insists that, although many scholars before him have looked at Hong Kong, his approach breaks from most previous work in two ways. First, by paying close attention to actors who have typically been ignored in two main literatures: pro-British Empire works that celebrate the achievements of colonial officials (and ignore the Chinese bourgeoisie because its members were Chinese); and Marxist works that castigate the injustice of British colonialism (and ignore, except for passingly disparaging remarks, the Chinese bourgeoisie because its members were bourgeois). Second, by keeping his focus on Hong Kong "as its own cultural-historical place," as opposed to using it (as many historians and social scientists have in the past) primarily "as a lens for understanding something else—most commonly 'traditional', rural Chinese society as it existed before the communist revolution of 1949" (p. 4). Carroll does not claim to be the first, but merely one of the first to concentrate on the central role in Hong Kong's development played by merchants, bankers, and the like, and he readily acknowledges the influence of path-breaking studies of certain aspects of the history of the local Chinese elite, such as Elizabeth Sinn's work on an important Hong Kong hospital, which was created to fill a need left by exclusionary policies and run by the kind of people who most interest Carroll. What is novel about his book, he asserts, is that it looks at such a broad spectrum of time and variety of issues as they unfolded and both affected and were affected by this particular social group—a group he convincingly argues identified closely, from as early as the mid-1800s, with the city they lived in.

Some readers will be disappointed: for example, those hoping to find "grand claims" about colonialism, or even clearcut support for or criticism of such claims. Carroll feels that a moratorium on theoretical sparring is in order, and that what we need is "more local histories that both engage and challenge" the three main approaches—"Orientalism, subaltern studies, and postcolonialism"—that have been debated (p. 9). I was not disappointed with that but with two other things: in Carroll's occasional comparative moves toward engaging with the burgeoning scholarship on treaty ports, he did not try very hard to tease out just what separated or failed to separate "semicolonial" and "colonial" settings in East Asia of the time; and the book's prose, while clear and nicely free of jargon, is sometimes repetitive, with favored phrases (such as "the 'Great Emporium of the East' envisioned by its founders" and slight variants on that wording) wearing out their welcome. Still, Carroll has unquestionably done specialists in several fields a service by providing us with such a richly textured picture of the "multifaceted process of 'embourgeoisment'" (p. 14) in an intriguing colonial setting, that of a one-time part of the British Empire that since 1997 has "not been de-colonized" but rather "re-colonized, with the metropole simply shifting from London to Beijing" (p. 192).

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Donald S. Sutton. *Steps of Perfection: Exorcistic Performers and Chinese Religion in Twentieth-Century Taiwan*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 218.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2003. Pp. xiii, 418. $45.00.

Donald S. Sutton investigates the Infernal Generals (*Jiajiang*), costumed trance performers who accompany processions in southern Taiwan and enliven them by performing coordinated martial arts-like displays. Sut-

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ton skillfully blends ethnographic and historical research to demonstrate that despite claims of conservatism and antiquity, the practices associated with the *Jiajiang* tradition are both creative and dynamic. He richly documents the recent history of *Jiajiang* performance in Taiwan, concluding that the tradition is "emblematic of a tendency toward a distinct Taiwan culture emerging from Taiwan's peculiar twentieth-century history" (p. 289).

In this study, Sutton adopts an innovative interdisciplinary approach to the study of the history of performance. As a historian, Sutton found written sources on the *Jiajiang* tradition to be sketchy and misleading. He further concluded that textual sources can only offer limited insight into popular religious practice since "bodily performance, not texts, is the site where religious statements are made and the power of the gods rendered visible" (p. 10). As a consequence, between 1988 and 2001 he closely studied *Jiajiang* troupes, seeking to find out "what the troupe can mean for people, what it can do for them, and how their participation as organizers, performers, customers, or watchers has affected its evolution" (p. 13).

Sutton begins with a consideration of the sacred landscape in which the *Jiajiang* performances are staged, an evocative landscape that includes altars, graves, and ancestral halls, but which also is entangled with myth and history, linking the present to "distant time and space" (p. 18). Within that sacred landscape, the festivals at which the *Jiajiang* troupes perform "not only offer a break from the everyday, a link with a Minnan past and a specifically Taiwanese identity, and opportunities for leadership, but continue to create a special space with its own rules, a space where certain rituals and performances can be effective" (p. 160).

Sutton next documents the contemporary practices of *Jiajiang* performers. He offers vignettes of nine troupes in their local setting, including a detailed consideration of leadership, organization, practice, and the significance of "muscular bonding" (p. 91). Next, he investigates the iconography and mythology that informs the tradition, including the symbolism of civil and military gods and of five-element cosmology as expressed in props, face painting, and mythology. He finds the cosmology to be not a tidy order but rather a jumble of boundary crossings, and indeed it is precisely this diversity and ambiguity that delight both audience and performers. Chapter four details the ritual process, including public exorcisms and luck changing rituals but also internal rituals unseen by spectators like the inauguration, which is the term Sutton uses to describe the elaborate ritual means by which the young men transform themselves into demi-gods (p. 140). Chapter five considers the choreography of *Jiajiang* performances, which are the basis of its aesthetic appeal, but which like Daoist ritual performances also are transcendent methods designed to produce order and restore harmony (p. 165).

Sutton continues his analysis with discussion of the history of the *Jiajiang* tradition, tracing the origins of this exorcistic performance tradition to the White Dragon Shrine in the city of Fuzhou in Fujian Province, where it emerged within the Five Emperors cult in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries as a competitive ritual performance designed for exorcistic battle against ghosts. Oral history suggests that soldiers posted to Tainan were its first practitioners in Taiwan, and that it became institutionalized there only in the early twentieth century.

Sutton observes that during the Japanese occupation, festival processions "carried a hidden (if always deniable) message of tacit local autonomy and even defiance" (p. 241). Indeed, tacit defiance became open when the Come from the West Shrine (an old Tainan shrine associated with the *Jiajiang*) participated in raising funds to support an unsuccessful revolt in 1915, leading the authorities to raze the shrine. After World War II, the Guomindang tolerated the *Jiajiang* troupes as a form of native Chinese folk art, sparking a lively revival that reached its heights in the 1970s. This revival led to the establishment of many new performing troupes, and later to innovations like the development of less rigorously disciplined self-mortifying troupes whose members appeared to participate in "a sort of countercultural society disapproved of by the state" (p. 282).

In this monograph, Sutton richly documents the dynamism of the *Jiajiang* tradition, concluding that "[i]mperfect transmission, local cultural forms, and Daoist traditions were repeated sources of creativity, and competition in cyclical events spurred experimentation" (p. 264). He convincingly demonstrates that culture does not straitjacket creative freedom "but permits agents to bend and stretch it in unexpected directions" (p. 299). Although he stresses the creative and diverse aspects of the tradition, he also documents the relationship between ritual and power (both temporal and spiritual) and gives detailed consideration to the economic dimension of the troupes, noting that performance brings together the market and art.

This fascinating book is an important contribution to the study of Chinese popular religious culture, and it also offers an exemplary model for interdisciplinary research. Scholars who investigate Chinese popular religion, Taiwanese history, and the history and practice of popular performance arts are certain to find it worthwhile.

JEAN DEBERNARDI
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SARAH THAL. *Rearranging the Landscape of the Gods: The Politics of a Pilgrimage Site in Japan, 1573–1912.* (Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute, Columbia University.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 409. $22.50.

All students of Japanese history are familiar with the interplay of politics and religion during the introduction of Buddhism in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. and the forced separation of Buddhism and Shinto in

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the late-nineteenth century. What this fascinating, elegantly written and generously illustrated study by Sarah Thal illumines, however, is the manner in which the gods—both Shinto and Buddhist—at a single site, Mt. Zōzu (now known as Mt. Kotohira) on Shikoku island, were continually subject through the centuries to political manipulation. While adding to the small body of studies of individual religious institutions in Japan, this book is most distinguished by its broad chronological sweep (many such studies are contained within a single historical period) and its focus on both the state and religion as well as the political and institutional contexts of religion. It is also the first monographic study of Mt. Zōzu in the English language. Mt. Zōzu first gained attention across Japan from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries as the site of Konpira Daigongen, a miracle-working deity that at the height of its popularity in the nineteenth century attracted hundreds of thousands of faithful. It became one of the most popular pilgrimage destinations in Japan at the time, often being compared by writers to Ise shrine.

Thal's study elucidates a common pattern seen elsewhere in Japan, and in fact across the globe, whereby the priests (on Mt. Zōzu) sought the approval of political rulers for the survival of their god, then went after financial sponsorship from varied sources for the construction of the physical infrastructure of the religious institution, the performance of rituals, and routine maintenance costs. However, this study goes beyond simply documenting the close connections between state and religion. It reveals that the interpretation of the sacred power of Mt. Zōzu was altered with great frequency: "When worshippers of one deity died out, suffered defeat, or moved away, new residents or occupying victors arrived to claim the powers of its sacred site for themselves, often renaming it in the process" (p. 3).

What stands out most in this story is the startling acuity of the local priests, who renamed the sacred power of the site to accommodate each new political ruler in the area, and then altered their interpretations of that deity in reaction to various waves of political, socioeconomic, and intellectual change. For example, with the decrease in financial support of local daimyo, who had to redirect greater resources to the administration of their domains, the priests of Mt. Zōzu in the eighteenth century turned to other influential groups in society, namely the imperial court and wealthy commoners. In one of the more interesting portions of the book, Thal shows how the priests reshaped their god by retelling its origins in order to identify it as a native, imperial deity (*kami*) and by adopting new symbols to appeal to potential supporters among the rising merchant elite.

This book is far more than an institutional history. In it Thal reveals that as skillful as the priests were in manipulating the identity of the deity on Mt. Zōzu, they were not able to control it completely. Ironically, in fact, their loss of control was a direct result of the success of their efforts to popularize Konpira across the country. In other words, Konpira's faithful were not simply passive recipients of a formulated religion; they themselves helped to determine what Konpira and its deities would represent and how they would be worshipped. As a result, during the late Tokugawa period, both the number of interpretations of Konpira and the practices associated with it (e.g. the erection of lanterns, the receipt of amulets or talismans) multiplied. The later redefinition of the gods on Mt. Zōzu as miraculous protectors of the Japanese nation during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 is a particularly engaging example of this phenomenon.

Of great interest to the general reader will be the detailed treatment of the "separation of kami and buddhas" (*shinbutsu bunri*) at Konpira, where the priests jockeyed for political position amid the sea change of the Meiji Restoration, an epochal change made more comprehensible by the author's elucidation of the complex relationship between the gods (i.e. spirits such as *kami* and buddhas) and large numbers of other types of powerful beings (e.g. long-nosed goblins [*tengu*], dragons, etc.) that had theretofore coexisted in an overlapping intellectual and ritual framework. While the new Meiji state tried to limit —in an exclusivist, nativist fashion—the manner in which people interpreted the god, Thal shows that the people in fact continued to interpret it in multiple ways.

Having earlier praised the book for its broad chronological sweep it may seem untoward to be critical of the end-date selected (1912). To be sure, to have pushed the study to 1945 might have made an already substantial volume unwieldy, but this would have given it an even more comprehensive character. As when reading a good novel, however, wanting the story to continue is only confirmation of its outstanding nature. This is a model study that should be widely read.

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DANIEL V. BOTSMAN. *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 319. $35.00.

Daniel V. Botsman's vivid account of the development of the Japanese penal system makes a lasting contribution to understanding a subject that many historians of Japan have talked about but few have explored. With notable economy, his work traverses three centuries in the development of official punishments in less than 230 pages. According to Botsman, the direction of change over that long duration should not be confused with progress. To be sure, bloody public executions, which varied little from 1650 to 1850, did suddenly give way to regimented incarceration and forced labor thereafter. But Botsman argues that these modern Meiji forms of punishment were even less humane than the old unenlightened Tokugawa system. In a concluding chapter, he argues that Japan's entrance into the comity of modern nations and its emergence as an im-

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perial power allowed for punishments that were categorically even crueler than the occasional public crucifixion. The new system reached an apex (or nadir?) in special refinements reserved for external use in the Japanese empire. Eradication campaigns waged against indigenous groups resisting colonization and flogging imposed on the subjugated, purportedly less civilized populations in Asian and Pacific possessions are but two outstanding examples.

Botsman's description of the development of official punishments and the penal system is not taxonomic or static but depicts the interplay of larger political and social forces that shaped both gradual and sudden changes. The domestic transformation was incremental before the onset of relations with major European and American national powers. Tokugawa officials now and again reformed punishments and experimented with incarceration, but these changes were merely responses to a specific crisis, such as famines and the floating refugee populations they engendered, and not wide-ranging or systemic.

Botsman explains that the old order managed to persist as long it did by earning respect across social levels and by refining received practices instead of creating sweepingly new systems. "Localized status hierarchies" that operated according to similar principles throughout Japan, and did so in a remarkably flexible way, were essential to this stability. Commoners could serve as samurai retainers "on contract," samurai could be demoted to commoners, and commoners reduced to *hinnin* outcasts. This flexibility made virtually everyone subject to higher laws that could punish directly through tattooing, banishment, and physical punishments, or less directly but just as effectively by social demotion. The system was also strengthened by allowing exceptions to the rules. In Botsman's words, "by exercising discretion about whom to punish and whom to let go, officials could keep people in fear of possible punishment without undermining the lord's image as a benevolent ruler."

The motivation for reform changed dramatically with the need to demonstrate Japan's place as a nation abiding by occidental laws in order to survive in a predatory international order. In exploring how this sudden shift came about, Botsman avoids a simplistic West-as-catalyst formula. While acknowledging that imported ideas and extraterritoriality spurred change, he also describes how Japanese architects creatively designed a homegrown system of "discipline and punishment."

Graphic descriptions of decapitations, disembowelments, crucifixions, and mutilations in opening chapters make clear that the Tokugawa system was anything but gentle. Yet Botsman's portrayal of what came with modernity depicts something far more barbarous, even as it was praised as a manifestation of Western "civilization and enlightenment." He demonstrates the misery delivered by the new Meiji system of incarceration and reform through prison labor by noting that the number of imprisoned ballooned from 13,000 in 1876 to 79,000 circa 1895 and by pointing out that of those incarcerated between 1884 and 1895, 44,000 died in custody. These numbers generated remarkably little criticism at the time because the new penal system enjoyed the cachet of modernity and prison labor proved a cheap way to build railroads, mine coal, and even construct more prisons. According to Meiji statesman Kaneko Kentarō, the arrangement worked in a wonderfully efficient way to build new infrastructure as it purged society of misfits. Such short-term benefits, however, were secondary to what Botsman considers the primary goal of transforming Japan into a "disciplinary society." He finds that prisons worked lasting social changes. Along with schools, the army, factory, and other social organizations, they served to discipline and punish universally in the name of creating a modern citizenry as productive as it was passive.

Readers of Michel Foucault's sweeping indictment of modernity will find much that is familiar in Botsman's study. Adopting a Foucauldian model, however, carries a cost. Critics of Foucault's work contend that his categorical analysis is not a particularly good fit even for the historical features of French society presented in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977). Applying Foucault's ideas to Japanese society and its transformation over centuries leads to similar questions about whether the theory fits the case. Although social control is undoubtedly an important motive shaping institutions, laws, and human relations in Japan before and after the mid-nineteenth century, other values and external factors besides the dark dynamics of discipline and punish undoubtedly mediated historical change.

Reservations about the overly snug fit of Foucauldian theory do not diminish Botsman's genuine contribution to understanding the workings of pre- and post-Meiji systems of punishment and prisons. This is an outstanding social history, richly detailed and insightful, that deserves a wide readership.

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DAVID L. HOWELL. *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. x, 261. $55.00.

In this important book David L. Howell reexamines the whole notion of the early modern state in Japan and presents us with a number of profound insights into the way in which the feudal Tokugawa polity was transformed into the modern state in Meiji Japan. Howell starts by analyzing what he has called the "geographies of identity" in early modern Japan and then follows these identities into the period of Japan's transformation in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Using his extensive readings in Japanese and Western sources, Howell delineates three features of these "geographies." The first, which he terms the "geography of polity," examines the Shogunal and Daimyo domains, as well as the subordinated peripheral areas, within the structure of the Tokugawa system as we largely understand it today. This is perhaps closest to our previous

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readings of the Tokugawa order. The second he terms the "geography of status." This is where the book makes its greatest contribution. It is precisely by bringing status configurations and their meanings back into consideration (and for some this will be entirely new) that Howell adds a great deal to our understanding of both traditional and modern Japan. Howell argues effectively that status represents the central institution of the early modern political order in Japan. As the author notes, no work to date has attempted to link the connections between status and nation-building in Japan. The third geography is that of "civilization," which initially functioned under Chinese influence to distinguish civilized subjects of the Shoguns from barbarians, and was later further transformed by the arrival of the West and Western notions of civilization.

Howell's careful analysis of status in Tokugawa Japan takes us into fascinating areas about which little has been written in the past. Those of us brought up on clear notions of the four-class system in Tokugawa Japan and the idea of established domain and shogunal authority will be surprised by the power of status groupings (almost always marked by occupation rather than birth) to cross such political boundaries. Even "outcastes" with their lowly status positions could move in and out of a wide range of political spheres. The clear delineation of status relationships and the way in which status worked to define individual and group identity has extensive implications for understanding many areas of Japanese development. One clearly involved economic change. Howell argues that initially in Tokugawa Japan, livelihood had no meaning as an economic activity distinct from status, but that this relationship changed with time. One reason the Tokugawa system could tolerate considerable economic growth and even structural change, he writes, is that the institutions of status were crafted in such a way that economic change did not undermine the political institutions. The key, he wrote, was "the separation of occupation and livelihood, for political institutions could remain stable so long as people continued to fulfill the obligations attendant on their occupations, while in the meantime society and economy could express considerable dynamism in the realm of livelihood" (p. 77). Thus he argues, economic change did not bring down the Shogunate. But at the same time, modernity required a new approach. "Under the new, modern politics of the quotidian," he writes, "the locus of political meaning in everyday life shifted from the corporate status group to production and the individual's (or household's) relationship to it" (p. 46). The modern state, as Howell shows us, was less interested in organizing corporate status groups than in organizing the subject to serve the state's ends. In Meiji Japan, status distinctions had to be scrapped in the quest to create the modern citizen.

This book is rich in detail and touches on multiple issues that a review of this length cannot explore. I briefly mention only one or two. Howell is highly familiar with the Ainu, one of the peripheral groups living at the edge of the boundaries of all three of his geographies. He is also taken with the natives of the Ryukyu Islands, the periphery at the south. In both instances his third geography, that of "civilization," comes into play. For Tokugawa administrators the issue was how to incorporate the Ainu and Ryukyu islanders, who occupied crucial political space, into the status world familiar to all Japanese. Civilizing the Ainu and natives of the Ryukyu Islands initially meant convincing them to adhere to appropriate civilized customs, including such matters as hairstyle and dress (clear status markers). But as Howell shows "modernity" provided different markers, including ethnicity and the need to turn hunter-gatherers into agriculturalists to distinguish civilization from barbarism. For the Ainu and Ryukyu islanders, "civilization" in its Westernized form was no more a step forward than it was for Native Americans.

This is a provocative, erudite, and informative reinterpretation of Japan's emergence as a modern state. It is must reading for anyone who is seriously interested in exploring the path that Japan took from its early modern polity through the Meiji Restoration to its position as a world power.

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Christopher Bayly and Tim Harper. *Forgotten Armies: The Fall of British Asia, 1941–1945*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xxxiii, 555. $29.95.

The aim of this important and fluent book is to recover the history of "the connected crescent of land between Calcutta and Singapore" (p. xxi)—including eastern India, Burma, and Malaya—during the years of war and (for much of it) of Japanese occupation. The book's emphasis is on the experiences of indigenous peoples, civilian as well as military, as much as on their colonial rulers, and as much on political, social, economic, medical, and cultural developments as on the military campaigns themselves. In all this, it is strikingly successful.

The prologue includes an evocative survey of the region during the "jazz age imperialism" (p. 34) of the later 1930s—wealthy Malaya, economically the model colony with its resources of rubber and tin, and prosperous, clean and multiethnic Singapore, which Christopher Bayly and Tim Harper plausibly claim as the first truly global city of the twentieth century—seen partly through the eyes of the French writer Jean Cocteau, who traveled there in some style in 1937. This was the world the Japanese would sweep away, but it was already threatened by subversion from within, and by popular metropolitan hostility to people later memorably described (by *The Times*'s correspondent Ian Morrison) as "whisky-swilling planters" (p. 60).

The authors are especially good on what immediately followed: the Japanese "bicycle blitzkrieg" through Malaya, the almost incredible scenes after the fall of Singapore, and the chaos and misery of the retreat from Burma. They have unearthed much new material. Par-

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ticularly striking is a letter from Mrs. G. Portal (sister-in-law of the air marshal) to her friend Mrs. R. A. Butler (wife of the Conservative politician) describing the awful conditions in the overcrowded and under-equipped hospital at Ranchi, in Bihar, in June 1942: "the medical wards are like 'Gone with the Wind.' " Although the main developments of the period—the collapse of British imperial power and prestige, the devastation of Burma, and the emergence of political and military challenges to Japanese, then British, authority—are judiciously examined, much of the book's power lies in the sheer accumulation of vivid detail, often illustrated by aptly chosen quotations. Several images linger in the mind: the hard-drinking American pilots of the Rangoon-based "Flying Tigers" "using one of their smaller servants as a volley ball" (p. 89); the ever-present gorgeous butterflies settling on dying people during the retreat from Burma (p. 185).

The authors have achieved this immediacy through truly prodigious research in archives in Britain, Malaysia, and Singapore. Besides official documents, they have consulted around fifty sets of private papers, as well as a large body of interview material in the National Archives of Singapore. That said, there are a few surprising omissions from the bibliography, Arthur J. Marder's two-volume *Old Friends, New Enemies: The Royal Navy and the Imperial Japanese Navy* (1981, 1990) and Daniel P. Marston's prize-winning *Phoenix from the Ashes: The Indian Army in the Burma Campaign* (2003) being the most conspicuous.

In their commendable efforts to be original—they stress in the preface that they have not written "a conventional military history" (p. xxx)—Bayly and Harper do sometimes swing the pendulum a little too far. For example, the diary of "Mr. Nakane," a Japanese civilian in Malaya, receives more extensive treatment than the sinking of the *Repulse* and *Prince of Wales*. The wider strategic context is perhaps a little underplayed.

Although the book is consistently a gripping read, it is at times not a very comfortable one, for the authors have included many accounts of the atrocities that were so striking a feature of Japanese military rule in the region: in Kuala Lumpur, heads were displayed on spikes in Batu Road (p. 208); rape was widely tolerated as part of a "scorched earth" policy (p. 209); Tamil and Javanese laborers were treated as "entirely dispensable," with, for example, a building containing nearly 250 men, women, and children being deliberately set on fire after the laborers contracted cholera and became too ill to work (p. 406). Atrocity produced counteratrocity, hatred of the Japanese became one of the great motivating forces of the Allied armies (p. 379), and "no prisoners" became the unwritten rule during the reconquest of Burma.

This is an outstanding book, and a very significant addition to our understanding of this period. The authors are to be congratulated on the scope and depth of their erudition, the skill of their writing, and the subtlety and sophistication of their analysis. This book is likely to remain the standard work on the subject for many years to come.

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KYUNG MOON HWANG. *Beyond Birth: Social Status in the Emergence of Modern Korea*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 243.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2004. Pp. xiv, 481. $50.00.

Kyung Moon Hwang's book focuses on "social status as determined by birth and manifested in the bureaucracy" (p. 1) as a lens through which to examine how a unique social stratification system motivated and structured Korea's emergence as a modern society. He is particularly concerned to show that universalistic, value-laden definitions of modernity, or universalistic notions of the historical stages through which modernity must be achieved, hinder scholarly understanding of the uniqueness of the historical development of societies like Korea. While Korea, like all societies, has been incorporated "into the global process of transmitted modernity" (p. 330), Hwang sees Korea's road to modernity as "paved more by internal than by external demands" (p. 330).

Through the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910), Korea had a Chinese style bureaucracy selected through examination, but whose highest ranks were generally reserved for *yangban*, the descendents of earlier office holders whose families cultivated classical Chinese learning, lived a Confucian lifestyle, and enjoyed special tax and other privileges. These families, whom Hwang terms "aristocrats," were, toward the end of the dynasty, perhaps some ten to fifteen percent of the total population. The rest of the population consisted of other status groups: specialized elites, commoners, slaves, and outcastes such as butchers and pottery workers. Hwang focuses on five groups of people who had access to certain kinds of education, and to a degree of wealth, but who were generally blocked from rising to the highest levels of the bureaucracy. He sees these five "secondary status groups" as making an inordinately important contribution to Korean modernity, because they were more open to outside influence and mastery of practical skills than the "aristocracy," and were thus able, once freed from discrimination beginning in the late nineteenth century, to help create and fill modern bureaucratic and professional positions. These modern bureaucrats were, he says, "nonnationalist" or even "anti-nationalist," so they were able to rise both in the late Chosŏn Dynasty, and the Japanese colonial period in the early twentieth century, to form the foundations of the modern (South) Korean elite.

Hwang's work performs a major service by making available in English information taken from a huge amount of contemporary Korean research on the secondary elites, to which he adds his own documentation of many careers rising in the late nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth century. An impor-

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tant virtue of Hwang's interpretation is that he is thus able to demonstrate cultural and personal links between the last dynasty and contemporary Korea, avoiding the tendency to see the Japanese colonial period as a total break with the past.

Hwang's approach also has problems, however. His argument about the extraordinary success of secondary elites ideally should be confirmed statistically. His use of the term "aristocracy" for highest elites is also problematic. While the term may be useful to emphasize heredity as a necessary precondition for appointment to high office, without achieved success through examinations, proper behavior, marital alliances, and successful exercise of bureaucratic office, *yangban* frequently experienced downward mobility, a nuance the term "aristocracy" tends to mask. In fact, there is a general problem of an inconsistent relationship between native Korean terminology for status and the English terminology used in the text. While in most cases Hwang seems to use the term "aristocracy" as equivalent for civil *yangban*, in the case of the northern elites who were unequivocally *yangban* in the sense of being so classified by the government, he uses the moniker "local gentry" rather than "aristocracy."

Such classificatory practices give an exaggerated sense of the distinctness and exclusiveness of each group. While the ability of the powerful lineages based in the capital and nearby areas to monopolize high office is well documented, mobility within and between the lower levels of the *yangban* and Hwang's "secondary status groups" also has been documented, so Hwang's notion of Chosŏn society being constituted of a series of caste-like hereditary status groups exaggerates the coherence and exclusivity of all but the top members of these groups.

Finally, his picture of "antinationalist" secondary status groups rising uneventfully through the Japanese colonial bureaucracy (1910–1945) and creating modern Korea, although plausible in some respects, tends to write colonialism out of modern Korean history. Colonialism is a type of racial or ethnic domination, and the Japanese in Korea were no exception. Only about a third of the students at Keijō Imperial University in Seoul were ethnic Korean during the colonial period, and while the lowest ranked third of the colonial bureaucracy was dominated by Koreans, three quarters of the highest offices were held by Japanese, with the proportion of Koreans at the highest levels falling continuously throughout the colonial period. This is hardly a clear picture of secondary status groups rising to the "highest offices in the land" during colonialism. After all, the actual highest office, of governor general, was always held by a ranking Japanese military officer.

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FARHAT HASAN. *State and Locality in Mughal India: Power Relations in Western India, c. 1572–1730.* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, number 61.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 144. $70.00.

Farhat Hasan makes two significant contributions to the history of Mughal India. On the one hand, he brings an interest in recent European scholarship on the nature of power in the early modern world and the relationship of state and society. On the other, he has mined three important but overlooked sources—two collections of documents and a diary—for the history of Cambay and Surat, two west-coast commercial centers in the Mughal province of Gujarat.

With this new scholarship in mind, Hasan suggests a new approach to the Mughal state. The two current interpretations, he argues, are static and synchronic, profoundly unsatisfactory. In the older view, the Mughal Empire was a centralized, bureaucratic leviathan penetrating into every corner of state and society. The newer paradigm, on the other hand, posits a patrimonial-bureaucratic empire, a Weberian model straddling the divide between the ancient patrimonial polity and the modern bureaucratic nation state. Drawing on both the theoretical work and the local evidence, Hasan introduces a new model that depicts Mughal power as an interaction between the imperial and the local, the outcome of daily struggles between Mughal officials and the local elite.

Hasan demonstrates, with documents from seventeenth-century Surat, that local merchants served as port officials, tax collectors, revenue farmers, and bankers. They were included in provincial and imperial assemblies, receiving the same gifts, promotions, and honors that were awarded to Mughal office holders. Thus, Mughal rule in Surat was not the unilateral imposition of a central bureaucracy but rather depended on the participation of urban power holders in a dense network of imperial-local alliances. In addition, by the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries merchant associations (*mahajans*) also became involved in Mughal rule, mediating the demands of the state on their members.

The local elite in Cambay and Surat were not, the documents show, powerless in the face of Mughal demands. On the contrary, these men often successfully employed popular forms of resistance against oppressive Mughal officials. For example, a corrupt officer was hissed and booed by an angry crowd, shaming him in public for his misdeeds. In 1685 in Ahmadabad the supervisor of the grain market was pelted with stones and dust because the townspeople believed he had not properly controlled prices in a time of scarcity. In late seventeenth-century Surat an injured party would post a placard bearing a "distress note," asking for witnesses and appealing to a shared sense of the "moral economy." Using this technique, one man successfully defended himself against a Mughal official who had built a mansion that encroached on his land.

Hasan also shows how middle-class women in seventeenth-century Surat were able to resist unequal treatment under the patriarchal Islamic legal system,

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routinely evading the lopsided rules on divorce. According to the *sharia* (Islamic law code), a husband could divorce his wife at any time as long as he turned over the full value of the agreed-upon dowry or bride price. A wife could only divorce her husband if he was impotent or had falsely accused her of adultery. While the balance of power in the formal prescriptions of the law code was completely on the side of the male, in the actual marriage contracts middle-class women found ways to assert their rights and to protect themselves. In many contracts four additional conditions were included: a man could not take a second wife, he could not beat his wife severely with a stick, he could not leave his wife for more than six to twelve months without providing maintenance, and he could not keep a slave girl as a concubine. Violation of any of these conditions was grounds for divorce.

In his discussion of life in seventeenth and eighteenth-century western India, Hasan demonstrates the interaction of the imperial and the provincial, the prescriptive and the informal in the texture of local society. In both administration and law the local populace was able to resist unilateral rule and to redraw the networks of power and control. Mughal power was continually shaped and reshaped by the daily contests in the markets, courts, and administrative offices. By highlighting the incessant struggle and the array of redefinitions and resolutions that resulted, Hasan is able to introduce an element of change into his political model, thereby differentiating it from the two reigning paradigms of the Mughal state.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

STEVEN ROGER FISCHER. *Island at the End of the World: The Turbulent History of Easter Island*. London: Reaktion Books. 2005. Pp. 304. $24.95.

This is the first general history of Easter Island, written by a linguist whose aim is to tell the Easter Islanders' story rather than recount the mysteries of their island's "lost" civilization. Steven Roger Fischer portrays the island as the "ultimate Polynesian frontier" (p. 15), settled by descendants of the Lapita people who migrated from Southeast Asia across the Pacific Ocean 4,000 years ago. The first Easter Islanders probably "island-hopped" from Mangareva, which was two to three weeks' voyage away by outrigger canoe equipped with a lateen sail. As in New Zealand, that other apex of the Polynesian triangle, radiocarbon dating has brought forward the estimated date of human settlement, in this case to 690 A.D., plus or minus 130 years. Easter Island was the last frontier of Polynesian voyaging not in terms of late settlement—New Zealand was settled later—but in terms of remoteness. It is one of the most remote habitable places in the world, deep in the Pacific 2,300 miles westward of its colonial power, Chile. Fischer's fluent narrative reveals how smallness, isolation, and a fragile environment have shaped the history of this tiny community since the first Polynesians unfurled their genealogy on its windswept shores.

Easter Island is famous for its majestic stone statues (*mo'ai*), the construction of which peaked in the fifteenth century. The sculptures probably represent deified ancestors, who elsewhere in Polynesia are carved in wood. As this narrative suggests, the *mo'ai* have fascinated adventurers since the first encounters with Europe in the eighteenth century. Archaeologists have inventoried approximately 887 statues, nearly half of which still lie in the quarry where they were chiseled. Thor Heyerdahl brought Easter Island to world attention with his book *Aku-Aku: The Secret of Easter Island* (1958), but its mysteries have only been unraveled since the 1970s.

One result is this detailed narrative history, which it is instructive to compare with Jared Diamond's case study of the island in *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (2005). Diamond highlights human environmental impacts and cultural practices, specifically the erection of the *mo'ai*, as key factors in the fall of the island's prehistoric civilization. First came complete deforestation between 1400 and 1600, and second the toppling of the statues. Fischer agrees about the environmental collapse but refutes a cultural collapse; from his disciplinary perspective the toppling of the *mo'ai* denoted one dramatic phase in a continually "turbulent history" of a small, isolated population who maintained their distinct ethnic identity amid global change. Placing his subjects in their cultural as well as geographical context, he presents a more sympathetic view of the Islanders' behavior. For instance, the Polynesian rat is blamed for denuding the island of trees by gnawing at palm nuts and preventing regrowth of the indigenous giant palm.

Fischer highlights the intrusion by pirates and priests in the 1860s as another transformative episode when ninety-four percent of the population died or departed, of whom perhaps 1,500 were kidnapped to supply Peru with indentured labor. From this enforced contact emerged the island's Polynesian name of Rapa Nui (greater extremity or land's end) as islanders—who began to call themselves Rapanui—discovered a wider world. Fischer portrays vividly the megalomaniac posturing of a self-styled French "governor" who planned to deport the remaining Rapanui as indentured labor to Tahiti and convert the island to a sheep ranch. A multinational company did run the island as a ranch once it transferred from the status of a French pseudo-colony to a possession of the Republic of Chile in 1888. Vividly Fischer describes how the stubborn survivors effectively lived in a penal colony, their township walled off from the sheep. Empires secure naming rights, and since 1888 Rapa Nui has acquired the Chilean identity of Isla de Pascua, along with a legacy of disputed title.

Ever since, the people have reinvented their traditional history. Fischer employs the apt phrase "museum island" to describe what the island has become since the 1960s, when regular passenger flights and an American

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presence reconnected Easter Island to the world. Cultural tourism is the basis of the economy. A UNESCO World Heritage site since 1996, the island's monuments have been restored and re-erected so that the most imposing *mo'ai* look much as they probably did in the fifteenth century. Land development, however, continues to destroy archaeological sites. A cattle ranch occupies forty percent of the island but is not viable. Sustainable management is urgently needed. If this book's vulnerability is the numerical insignificance of Easter Islanders, its strength lies equally in the author's sensitive micro-study approach and its subject matter. Above all, it deserves a wide readership because Easter Island still presents a global warning about the imperative of environmental sustainability.

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INGA CLENDINNEN. *Dancing with Strangers: Europeans and Australians at First Contact*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. 324. Cloth $60.00, paper $21.99.

In this book Inga Clendinnen breathes new life into early contact between indigenous and incoming peoples in Sydney, Australia, during the late eighteenth century. Although an Australian, Clendinnen is not an historian of Australia. Her previous work on Aztec cultures of early sixteenth-century Mexico earned her well-deserved acclaim from an international readership impressed by the quality of her writing and her capacity to read ethnographic and ethnohistorical records with compelling freshness. Above all, her admirers have applauded the contribution of her work in promoting nuanced cross-cultural research that takes nothing for granted. In this book, we see this compassionate treatment of the past in a new light: here Clendinnen expresses her hopes for the role of history in renewing mutual comprehension between indigenous and non-indigenous Australians concerning the significance of their first exchanges in the late 1780s.

While the violence of colonization is the indisputable fact underwriting this history, Clendinnen asks us to resist its capacity to drain every scene of its potentialities. She argues for a temporary postponement of inevitability in order to allow for a more open-ended and nuanced interim. In so doing, Clendinnen enters afresh the complex socio-spatial domain of this extraordinary quasi-community. In January 1788, the First Fleet brought a thousand British men and women to a location previously occupied for thousands of years by not one indigenous culture but several. What would become the colony of New South Wales was, in fact, home to a number of tribes within and across whose cultural, linguistic, political, sexual, and social networks individuals sought to enhance their own standing and power. Clendinnen's perspective on these individuals is necessarily partial: her aim is neither to reinscribe British accounts of the "Australians" they sought to capture in their writing (and sometimes in person) nor to propose a nativist cosmology in their name. Rather, her intention is to sharpen our perception of indigenous Australians' shaping of the exchanges that took place. Thus she calls upon us to acknowledge the complex and often mystifying interplay of intention and coincidence that shapes being in the world, past as well as present.

Armed with these intentions, Clendinnen writes about some of the more compelling episodes recorded in the early days of first contact in Australia, setting out to recoup the richness of gesture, the presence of irony, the play of humor. She aims to bring to the fore the excess of meaning, of possibility, contained within human interactions. Taking as her starting point the fact of British and Australian interest in each other (evident at its most poignant in the shared dance of first arrival), Clendinnen finds a multiplicity of social and cultural exchange in the most mundane as well as the most dramatic of action, and in the common if unstable desire for cross-cultural comprehension they articulate. As the book unfolds, she focuses on a series of illustrative interactions taking place within the first few months of settlement (including a ritual spearing of Governor Philip, a flogging, waves of domestic unrest, sexual jealousy, violence, friendship, and revenge), excavating in the process a remarkable complexity of exchange between the small communities of British and Australians living in proximity in and around the governor's house. In one chapter, for example, she contrasts the seemingly random violence of Australian men toward their wives with the ritualized brutality of a flogging.

In approaching anew the primary records of early contact in Australia, Clendinnen fulfills a double aim. First, to learn something about Australians: here her determination is to wring from the British documents something of their potential, to distill the readiness for wonder still evident before "cynicism set in" on both sides (p. 5). Her second aim is "deeper and more tentative" (p. 5): to learn from the difficulties faced when people from an incoming culture try to understand those of another whose land they claim. She is remarkably successful in both. Clendinnen hopes for us that in reading her book we contemplate our own readiness to see strangeness in the behavior of others while remaining for the most part blind to our own oddities. This book is a wonderful rollercoaster ride through the highs and lows of cross-cultural contact, and is highly recommended.

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JOY DAMOUSI. *Freud in the Antipodes: A Cultural History of Psychoanalysis in Australia*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. 2005. Pp. x, 374. $49.95.

Joy Damousi's book gives a comprehensive account of the development of psychoanalysis in Australia throughout the twentieth century. The narrative focuses on two processes: the gradual but limited emergence of psychoanalysis as an independent profession,

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and the uneven but wider diffusion of Freudian intellectual influence within various cultural and professional worlds. Psychoanalysis in Australia survived chiefly along the latter path, demonstrating both the virtues and pitfalls of intellectual eclecticism. Damousi emphasizes that throughout Australian society efforts to reconceptualize the self allowed psychoanalysis to gain footholds in several spheres of life. Preserving those footholds, however, remained a difficult task, with fluctuating success.

Damousi describes well the contrast between the narrow growth of the psychoanalytic profession in Australia and the more widespread incorporation of Freudian ideas within the culture at large. Formal analytic training in Australia did not begin until after 1940, under the nearly exclusive guidance of the émigré Hungarian analyst, Clara Lazar-Geroe. In the 1960s Australian psychoanalysts themselves began to train future practitioners, but by 1964 Australia still had only eight licensed analysts. That number did not increase significantly until the 1970s with the immigration of British and Argentinean therapists. Damousi persuasively explains that despite the small numbers, significant encounters occurred among Freudian, Kleinian, and Lacanian views. In fact, in Melbourne, Argentinean psychoanalysts created the first school in the English-speaking world dedicated to Lacanian analysis.

As Damousi makes clear, the psychoanalytic movement did not develop in Australia, as it did elsewhere, around a single founding, charismatic, or controversial figure. The reader does, however, encounter many intriguing participants in the story: for example, the late-Victorian physician, John Springthorpe, who at the turn of the century appealed to his medical peers to accept, or at least consider, key Freudian ideas, including the theory of sexuality; the psychiatrist, Reginald Ellery, gadfly of the mental health profession, reformer in the treatment of psychoses, and theorist of Surrealism, who helped to bring Hungarian analysts to Australia during World War II; and Irene Sebire, one of the first female psychiatrists in Australia, whose clinical interests included family counseling and treating the effects of war on child development. Damousi also includes an insightful commentary on the psychoanalytic anthropology of the better-known Hungarian analyst, Géza Róheim and his contribution to an unprejudiced approach to the study of Australia's Aboriginal communities.

Individuals such as those above reinforce Damousi's argument that the psychoanalytic movement in Australia evolved not from a core of organized support but from individuals or groups who responded eclectically to issues within their own professional, intellectual, and social worlds. On this point, Damousi's book is highly instructive. The author traces the ways in which a widening interest in psychological understanding and in the subjectivity of the self remained common to otherwise eclectic responses. Evidence of that interest Damousi finds not only in professional or theoretical tracts but equally significantly in such popular sources as letters written by listeners to radio psychiatrists.

During World War I, the need to comprehend and heal wartime trauma—or shell shock—gave urgency to efforts at exploring the subjective experiences of individuals, and in particular, psychoanalytic efforts at examining the traumatic effects of unconsciously held memories. In the interwar period, Freudian ideas gained further credence among diverse individuals: pastoral caregivers who saw in psychoanalysis a means to reach the soul's depths; social workers who stressed the influence of family dynamics on the health and education of children; and psychiatrists who turned to analysis as a new method of listening to their patients' sufferings. Yet, as Damousi explains, Freudianism gained little ground until Australian society experienced mass changes in the 1940s and 1950s: first, the disruption of family, work, and community caused by World War II, followed by the Cold War effort at reinforcing political and social conformity, with an emphasis on the family as a crucial locus of that campaign. As Damousi describes, in postwar decades psychologists, counselors, and intellectuals continued to apply psychoanalysis in various ways. Some enlisted psychoanalytic ideas to give medical and social justification to the trends toward conformism and adaptation—the subject of necessary and intensive critique by the Australian women's movement in the 1960s. Others, however, challenged conformist trends in the name of self-autonomy and radical respect for inward experience and awareness.

The author presents a balanced history, although perhaps inevitably in an account that covers so much ground, the story that Damousi tells becomes fragmentary in several places. Still, the book raises intriguing social and theoretical questions, such as how the interaction in Australia of British Kleinian psychoanalysis, Hungarian analysis inspired by Sándor Ferenczi, and the Lacanian movement might produce new applications of Freudian paradigms. Damousi's book is the product of valuable historical reflection.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

Jean-Claude Dubé. *The Chevalier de Montmagny (1601–1657): First Governor of New France*. Translated by Elizabeth Rapley. (French America Collection, number 10.) Ottawa, Ontario: University of Ottawa Press. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 381. Cloth $65.00, paper $35.00.

Jean-Claude Dubé is well known for his biographies of eighteenth-century French colonial intendants. Writing an account of Canada's first titular governor in the 1600s posed two challenges. Charles Huault de Montmagny followed the famous Samuel de Champlain, and he will always be compared with the admired explorer-administrator. Moreover, Champlain left a series of books and letters that make it easy to delineate his character. Dubé worked with more limited sources. The administrative papers of Montmagny's regime were

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mostly destroyed, and there is no series of private letters to disclose the inner man—although his actions testify to an intense religious devotion. The author has had to piece together Montmagny's story from church records, notarial documents, a few official dispatches, and the published letters of missionaries and a nun. His account of the governor's activities in Canada is often a paraphrase of the Jesuits' annual reports.

Nonetheless, this governor deserves our attention. A free Huron translation of Montmagny, "Onontio" [Big Mountain], became the Natives' name for all subsequent governors of the French North American colony. During his governorship (1636–1648) the colony went from a precarious missionary and fur-trading outpost, with some 350 European residents, to an infant agricultural settlement with nearly 700 colonists. In this period the first schools and convents were established in Canada, Montreal Island was colonized, and the fur trade was taken over by a colonial company. The governor tried to protect the colonists by keeping the Iroquois in check while conciliating his Native allies and strengthening the colony's defenses. He preferred negotiation to war when dealing with the Iroquois because his military resources were so small. Maintaining the flow of furs to the French was a perpetual concern. Ever the optimist, he planned for the development of Quebec as a city. Montmagny's later appointment by the Order of Malta to the governorship of its Caribbean island of Saint-Christophe indicates that he had performed well in Canada. The book describes his career in three geographic regions, but New France is emphasized for Canadian readers.

Despite Dubé's diligent research in France, Malta, and Canada, his subject remains a shadowy figure. Governor de Montmagny is presented as the heroic embodiment of admirable qualities: courage, devotion to duty, wisdom, prudence, perseverance, and piety. According to the writer, Montmagny's education by the Jesuits and his 1622 induction into the Knights of Malta left a decisive imprint. In chapter five the author asserts that other members of that order also had an influential role in New France. This claim depends on conjecture and unverifiable possibilities. When dealing with Montmagny alone, he is on surer ground.

This viceroy served France's king, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Maltese order. For Montmagny, the institutions were entirely compatible. Context for the governor's career comes from a history of the Huault family but, above all, from his membership in the Knights of Malta. As recent entrants into the nobility of the robe, the Huaults had to invent an ancient aristocratic lineage for themselves to overcome barriers to commoners. The writer neatly dissects their imaginary heritage. To become a knight in the Maltese order, one had to be a member of the old nobility. Dubé argues that Montmagny's membership in this martial and religious order determined his conduct. The order gave him a military apprenticeship in warfare against the Turks. Resisting Muslims in the Mediterranean and spreading Christianity abroad were complementary activities. In Canada Montmagny eagerly helped Jesuit missionaries among the aboriginal peoples and was prominent in religious observances. Priests praised Montmagny in their published letters.

The writer accepts the perspective and language of his pious sources: zealous Christians were drawn to Canada because "Providence was at work" (p. 135), and Montmagny's aunt dies "in the odor of sanctity" (p. 292). In 1626 Montmagny "felt himself touched by grace, and converted to a more austere life and a greater perfection in the practice of Christian virtues" (p. 125). If this apostolic warrior had imperfections, we do not hear about them. Montmagny's abandonment of his determination to deny European firearms to Indians is not mentioned. In 1643 he rewarded converts to Christianity with firelocks. His dealings with Native people, when their transformation into Christians was the object, are not questioned. This well-researched biography presents a reverent and very sympathetic portrait that may not satisfy a secular-minded reader.

Elizabeth Rapley's translation of the French text seems to be well done. Vague phrases, such as "a certain quality of life" or "the Iroquois phenomenon," are probably traceable to the author. The Spanish-derived "reduction" is used to describe Christian mission villages, a suburb "gave towards the West," and social advancement is termed "ascension" but, generally, English-speaking readers will find the vocabulary familiar and understandable. Dubé can be thanked for filling the void in our knowledge of Montmagny by reconstructing his true origins, by telling the story of his service as a Knight of Malta, and by completing the account of his colonial service in the Caribbean islands, where he died in 1657.

Peter Moogk
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N. E. S. Griffiths. *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604–1755*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press for the Canadian Institute for Research on Public Policy and Public Administration, University of Moncton. 2005. Pp. xix, 633. $49.95.

The product of nearly fifty years of research and interpretation, this volume is the culmination of N. E. S. Griffiths's pioneering work on the history of the French Acadians of the North American maritime region. As the title suggests, Griffiths organizes her history around the question of identity during the 150 years between the founding of Acadie and the expulsion of the Acadians from the colony of Nova Scotia by New England and British forces in 1755. This is a difficult assignment because the Acadians were largely illiterate and left few records of their own. But utilizing original materials in French and British colonial archives, Griffiths is able to argue forcefully that Acadian historical experience was the foundation of Acadian identity.

The creation of "a people where none had been before" (p. xvii) began very early with the intermarriage

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of colonial migrants and native Míkmaq. Regarding each other as kin, the two communities would continue to live in peace. That accommodation was facilitated by the Acadian practice of diking the shores of the Bay of Fundy (where the tidal variation is the greatest in the world), creating new farm land rather than encroaching on the Míkmaq estate. The cooperative effort required to build and maintain the dikes, moreover, fostered the development of a strong sense of community.

But it was politics, Griffiths argues, that turned migrants into Acadians. Living at the margins of the French and British empires, their settlements were passed back and forth in the violent conflicts of the two powers. As the colonists learned to navigate the treacherous imperial waters, they developed a strong sense of their own independence. By the end of the seventeenth century this had begun to take political form. In 1692, for example, following the temporary seizure of Acadie by a Boston armada, Acadian leaders declared to both French and English representatives that while they would accept their place within either empire, "they themselves would remain neutral [*que pour eux ils seroient Neutres*]" (p. 160). Neutrality, Griffiths argues, was a foundational feature of Acadian identity that developed into a political policy they would assert for the next sixty years.

Thus Griffiths's history necessarily becomes an account of the relationship between a creole people and the early modern imperial state system. After the British conquest of the colony and its formal cession by France in 1713, the new authorities insisted the Acadians swear an unconditional oath of allegiance. There was nothing unusual about this demand, but something highly unusual about the Acadian response. The Acadians "presented the British with the challenge of subjects who would be citizens" (p. 369). Demanding recognition of their status as neutrals, they successfully resisted the unconditional oath until the British governor finally agreed to an oral concession of their neutrality in 1730. British officials continued to worry over the question of their allegiance, but as Griffiths writes "the Acadians themselves obviously considered the oath something of consequence, or they would never have put so much energy into their quest for a particular wording." In light of this strong statement, it is curious that Griffiths omits to provide that wording. The Acadians had the governor's concession transcribed, notarized, and preserved in their own archive as a treasured guarantee of their political status.

The compromise lasted only as long as France and Great Britain remained at peace. Nova Scotia was a theater during the War of the Austrian Succession (1744–1748), and despite the fact that the majority of Acadians held to their promise of neutrality, military demands from both sides put them at great risk. In 1749, in anticipation of another colonial conflict, the British state began the transformation of Nova Scotia into a military bastion, constructing the new naval base of Halifax and subsidizing the migration of thousands of Protestant colonists. Once again authorities demanded an unqualified oath from the Acadians, which they refused. The irresistible drift to war made the Acadian position increasingly untenable, and in 1755 Lieutenant-Governor Charles Lawrence and his council resolved to expel them from the colony. Griffiths does not detail the wrenching history of the removal itself but ends her history there. The unique nature of Acadian identity resulted in an imperial attempt to destroy them as a people, yet provided them with the strength to prevail. Despite years of exile and diaspora, the many Acadians eventually returned to the Maritimes, while others pioneered a new homeland in Louisiana.

The book is a remarkable scholarly achievement, and all who work in Acadian history are in Griffiths's debt. Yet I must conclude by noting a serious problem with her last chapter on the decision to remove the Acadians. The critical question, she writes, is whether it was a planned policy or a spontaneous response to events. Her argument for the latter is accomplished only by adopting a narrow reading of official correspondence while ignoring other corroborating evidence. She seriously underestimates the role of Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, in many ways the architect of the plan. She neglects to mention, except in passing, Shirley's protégé, Nova Scotia provincial surveyor Charles Morris, who from 1749 to 1754 produced a number of important policy papers in favor of removal, including the blueprint for the operation that Governor Lawrence had in hand at least a year before the official decision was made. She also neglects to detail the campaign of intimidation and terror Lawrence carried out over the course of that year, perhaps because she ignores the account of the French parish priest Henri Daudin. In this chapter, Griffiths fails to meet the standard of historical fairness that she sets in the rest of the book.

JOHN MACK FARAGHER
Yale University

JOHN MACK FARAGHER. *A Great and Noble Scheme: The Tragic Story of the Expulsion of the French Acadians from Their American Homeland*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. Pp. xx, 562. $28.95.

In July 1755, the colonial government of Nova Scotia ordered the forcible removal of the colony's entire French-speaking, Catholic, Acadian population. Over several months approximately 7,000 men, women, and children were carried away by ship to nine of the thirteen mainland English-speaking colonies to the south. During the next four years, thousands of others were evicted from what now is eastern Canada, with most of the later deportees transported to France. As John Mack Faragher reminds us in this poignant and detailed history of the event, in addition to those who were relocated perhaps as many as 10,000 died. In the climactic, public confrontation prior to the removal, the colonial authorities had demanded that the Acadians swear unconditional allegiance to the British crown. The Acadians refused, with their leaders insisting that

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as a people they were neutral in the contest between Britain and France. The British labeled the Acadians' stance rebellion.

In order to understand what this confrontation meant, Faragher starts more than 150 years earlier, with the founding of the original French colony of Acadia, and he gains much by looking back so far. Acadia passed between the French and English empires several times in the seventeenth century. Faragher argues that the Acadian colonists learned self-government in moments when their status was unclear and they were all but abandoned by imperial authorities, particularly during a period of nominal (i.e. ineffectual) English rule between 1654 and 1671. In those years, Acadia fended for itself and maintained a commercial network that linked it to a wide array of trading partners, English-speaking, French, and Algonkian. Faragher's analysis of the regional economy is lucid and detailed. He emphasizes the Acadians' economic power as livestock keepers and merchants in cattle and meat.

At least since the publication of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Evangeline* in 1847, it has been common to depict the Acadians as naïve peasants living in an isolated rustic paradise until their expulsion. Faragher, by contrast, presents them as skillful players in a complex commercial and political world. By the mid-eighteenth century, many leaders of the Acadian community believed that they had developed a way to skirt some of the worst consequences of imperial rivalry. They insisted on neutrality, successfully, until the escalation of military conflict in the Seven Years' War.

In telling this story Faragher gracefully interweaves material from newly discovered archival sources with tales told by nineteenth-century antiquarians. On occasion, his acceptance of old stories borders on the credulous; in my view this is particularly so in his discussion of the elusive woman whose experiences allegedly served as the basis for *Evangeline*. Nonetheless, there is some truth in that poem, and Faragher is right to emphasize that the Acadians were peaceful. Almost uniquely in the colonization of North America, they never engaged in combat with the local Native bands.

Concentrating on the Acadians' experience allows Faragher to analyze the expulsion in terms other than those used by the colonial authorities. Few scholars in the twentieth century have gone so far as to applaud the British, but by analyzing the decision as a legal action or as an unfortunate military expedient, historians too often have taken the objectives of the leaders of the British Empire for granted. There was nothing inevitable about the expulsion, and Faragher rightly passes judgment against the decision makers, particularly Massachusetts Governor William Shirley and Nova Scotia's Governor Charles Lawrence.

Provocatively, he evaluates the action using present-day terms. In his concluding section, Faragher labels the Acadian removal "ethnic cleansing" and suggests that the British Army's operations established a pattern that would repeat itself intermittently through the next 250 years. The expulsion was (to borrow language from the United Nations) "a purposeful policy designed by one ethnic or religious group to remove by violent and terror-inspiring means the civilian population of another ethnic or religious group." In the way it was carried out, Faragher argues, the Acadian removal resembles campaigns undertaken by other powers, on other continents, in other centuries. Unfortunately he does not engage in detailed comparative analysis, and in his almost juridical concentration on the UN definition of "ethnic cleansing," he sets the equally significant concept of "genocide" aside. While the Acadian removal may have been the continent's first example of "ethnic cleansing," several earlier colonial campaigns against Native peoples might have qualified as "genocidal" under the pertinent UN definition. Indeed, the British effort to destroy Nova Scotia's Mi'kmaq population in the 1750s might formally qualify as "genocide." Faragher has done us a service by encouraging us to consider the role of ethnic cleansing in the history of North America. But unlike the rest, this part of the book is too short. There is more to do.

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J. I. LITTLE. *Borderland Religion: The Emergence of an English-Canadian Identity, 1792–1852*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 386. Cloth $75.00, paper $32.95.

In 1791, the British government opened lands between the St. Lawrence River and the New England border to settlement. By 1827, almost thirty thousand settlers, primarily from southern New England, had occupied dozens of new communities known as the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada. Twenty-five years later, the population, still predominantly American, had doubled. Yet despite repeated opportunities to join the United States, the Eastern Townships proved firmly loyal to Britain and English Canada. How this English Canadian identity developed is a central question of early nineteenth-century Canadian history. J. I. Little innovatively interprets the process as one of religious change.

Canadian and British imperial historians have usually explained English Canadian identity as the result of "social control and state formation" employed as "instruments for creating a disciplined society" by "hardy entrepreneurs and agnostic statesmen" (p. 280). Religion has rarely been regarded as a pro-English cultural influence in the Townships because interpreters have assumed that New England evangelical sects transplanted there reinforced American emigrant identity. Little tests this assumption by supplying the most comprehensive and detailed examination of Protestants in the Eastern Townships yet published. His approach is denominational and heavily statistical, surveying first the "initiatives" of American evangelical communions in the Townships, then the "British responses" of Wesleyan Methodists and Anglicans during the period.

Little has read the church records, diaries, newspa-

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pers, and census counts of early nineteenth-century Lower Canada exhaustively, and his narrative bristles with evidence from local congregations and their leaders. His surprising conclusion is that while New England evangelical sects did indeed imprint their individualistic and democratizing qualities on the Townships, they eventually lost the cultural struggle not to British entrepreneurs and statesmen but to London-based Wesleyan Methodists and Anglicans who competed successfully for the settlers' religious allegiance and in the process created their English-Canadian identity.

Little argues that American evangelical initiatives fell prey to a combination of institutional neglect and revivalistic enthusiasm. New England's Congregationalists and Regular Baptists largely ignored their coreligionists in the Townships after 1815, while the anti-institutionalism of Freewill Baptists and Universalists left their numerous adherents disorganized. This denominational disintegration also made American evangelical settlers ripe for Adventism, which swept through the region during the late 1830s and 1840s. But in the Townships, William Miller's spectacular prediction of Christ's imminent Second Coming served to preempt evangelical revivals rather than amplify them as it did in northern New England and upstate New York. The ironic consequence, Little demonstrates, was the disruption of promising Freewill Baptist and Methodist Episcopal revivals and the alienation of Congregationalists and Regular Baptists, leaving American evangelical communions in Lower Canada weakened and divided in the aftermath of their greatest opportunity to secure cultural dominance.

Wesleyan Methodists and Anglicans exploited this religious situation, bringing centralized planning, financial resources, effective leadership, and religious nationalism to the townships. While the Wesleyans enjoyed an initial advantage with their evangelical style of piety and practice, the superior resources and leadership of the Anglicans gained them the denominational loyalty of many American settlers. Little illustrates this success through the careers of three Canadian Anglican bishops: Jacob Mountain, his son George J. Mountain, and James Stewart, who advanced the Anglican cause in every conceivable way, from itinerant preaching and parish visitation to raising funds and building Gothic revival churches in the wilderness. By mid-century, the Church of England had emerged as Lower Canada's dominant Protestant force and the chief cultural expression of its English-Canadian identity.

This book makes an important contribution to the historiography of Canadian and American religion. Little's close analysis of changing denominational patterns will be especially valuable for comparative studies of religious development in Upper and Lower Canada and the "burned-over" districts of the Second Great Awakening in America. His religious construction of English Canadian identity, however, contains a significant and unresolved circularity. Little's central claim is that English Canadian identity was religious rather than secular. Yet the Church of England enjoyed decisive financial and bureaucratic support precisely because it was the official religion of the British Empire. It is difficult to discern how such Anglican advantages for shaping English-Canadian identity differed from similar benefits provided by the British regime to secular imperial entrepreneurs and state officials. On Little's own evidence, Anglican success could just as plausibly be ascribed to a comprehensive, well funded, and capably managed culture war, of which Anglicanism was an integral part, as to any particular beliefs or practices of the Church of England that persuaded American evangelical émigrés to understand themselves as English Canadians. To demonstrate a specifically religious character for English Canadian identity requires a more thorough explication and assessment of doctrine, ritual practice, ecclesiology, and political theology among the Protestant communions of the Eastern Townships than Little has provided.

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IAN RADFORTH. *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 469. Cloth $75.00, paper $39.95.

In July 1860, the eighteen-year-old Prince of Wales sailed from Plymouth for a five-month tour of Canada and the United States. The Canadian legislature had made an official request for a visit by Queen Victoria in 1859: unable to make such a trip herself, Victoria was nevertheless keen to satisfy the request. Prince Edward thus found himself following the pattern of royal duties established by his parents, who had made a successful habit of similar civic tours within Britain in the 1840s and 1850s. Ian Radforth's book is an extensively researched examination of the prince's tour, focusing on the different responses by local communities to their distinguished visitor.

The prince's tour created enormous public interest: local committees did their utmost to decorate their cities, and Edward was invariably met by large, cheering crowds. At Toronto, 50,000 people waited for his arrival, while a crowd of 20,000 crammed into a Chicago railway station to get a glimpse of the royal tourist. So extensive was the preparation that at various locations an odd group called the Calathumpians staged its own carnivalesque versions of the formal civic processions, mocking not so much the prince as the local efforts at pomp and circumstance.

This book recounts every aspect of the tour, from the point of view of both the prince's party and his Canadian and American hosts; yet it is most successful as a study in civic culture and the politics of public ceremonial. The significance of this well-written and informative account stems not from what it reveals about the young prince (the tour is an early example of his subsequently well-known enjoyment of dancing and socializing, albeit on this occasion in the cause of colonial loyalty). Rather, it is at its strongest when analyzing the

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way that the debates and struggles provoked by the visit exposed "the political cultures and power relations at work in the cities of mid-Victorian Canada and the United States" (p. 7). As such, the most interesting chapters focus on the way that the visit was used by political, local, and sectarian groups to assert their perceived rights and identities. Other chapters deal with the prince as royal tourist, his visit to New York, and the preparations of the different provinces of Canada.

Radforth revealingly details the way that the royal tour provoked several controversies due to already existing tension between different communities. In Quebec, for example, a squabble erupted over the order of precedence for the Anglican and Catholic bishops. The biggest controversy, however, pitted Upper Canada's Orangemen against Roman Catholics. A fierce dispute erupted concerning "access to public space, official recognition of the Order, and acceptable forms of public ritual" (p. 164). The prince's party refused to pass under ceremonial arches bearing sectarian symbols of the Orange Order; to do so would recognize its political legitimacy. At Belleville, the presence of the Orangemen even led the prince to refuse to land, and he simply continued on to his next engagement.

The other notable group placed in a divided position by the tour was the aboriginal people of Canada. Prince Edward saw several Indian shows demonstrating traditional customs and dress. Such spectacles went against the prevailing official trend of attempting to "civilize" the Indian peoples away from their inherited customs. The Indian community was itself split over whether they should affirm their native customs or demonstrate their loyalty through their appearance as modern citizens. Their high-profile presence was a potential opportunity "for Native people themselves to claim public attention, affirm their own loyalism and cultural integrity, and demand redress for political grievances" (p. 207).

The book's multiple perspectives are achieved through judiciously combining local newspaper reports with those supplied by the British and American press. Occasionally, local communities found their self-perception challenged by the experience of the numerous visitors, as in when *The Times*'s correspondent described widespread drunkenness in Halifax and St. John. One key aspect of the prince's tour, well-covered by the book, was the publicity it received: special correspondents for *The Times* and the *Illustrated London News* were allowed to travel everywhere with the royal party.

The only drawback to this extended micro-analysis of the prince's tour is that, much like the original royal party, the reader is occasionally overwhelmed by the level of detail concerning the tiring itinerary of presentations, balls, triumphal arches, and loyal addresses. For the most part, though, Radforth keeps the narrative moving at an enjoyable pace.

Royal princes undertook many similar tours in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, particularly as the British Empire expanded in size. Studies that focus on the local response to such tours might throw up equally revealing details concerning the functioning of the British Empire and the role of the monarchy as the affective heart of an imperial family.

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DAVID HACKETT FISCHER. *Liberty and Freedom*. (America: A Cultural History, number 3.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. 851. $50.00.

David Hackett Fischer's new book is odd and willfully old fashioned, a giant stew of American exceptionalism, eurocentrism, and Whiggish narrative seasoned with beautiful illustrations and a dash of multicultural inclusion, all stirred together in 736 pages of text. It is also the companion to a traveling exhibition organized by the Virginia Historical Society and one part of Fischer's projected four-volume cultural history of the United States that began with *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways* (1989). Fischer proposes here to trace the different but increasingly entwined meanings of liberty and freedom through the images and artifacts of four centuries of American history. At its best, his book leads readers into the rich material culture of colonial and early American history. At its worst, it sounds like a high school history textbook written to please the current Department of Education.

It is hard to grasp who Fischer imagines is the audience for this book. Dismissive of most academic history (he denounces Edmund Morgan's flawed but brilliant *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* [1975] in a sentence), Fischer fails to cite much of the recent scholarship on the topics he covers and is uninterested in historiography, even in his notes. He criticizes the "new history" as "heavily deterministic" and uninterested in "events, contingencies, and individual choices," which makes it sound like he stopped reading in the 1970s; the difficulty today is finding a book that actually looks at anything other than contingency and individual agency (p. 820). He also attacks the current practice of public history: see his diatribe against the National Park Service and its publications on the Liberty Bell, for example (pp. 753–754, notes 88 and 100). Finally, the sweep of the book means topics are covered quickly. But the best history books of the past often made their mark through their sweeping interpretations, and Fischer's book is problematic here, too. His big idea—"the central theme of American history is about the growth of liberty and freedom" and "every generation without exception has become more free"—is the central narrative of almost every American history textbook, most episodes of PBS's *The American Experience*, Eric Foner's *Story of American Freedom* (1998), and many recent monographs. He seems to think that reasserting this "old Whig model of American history" is subversive. If, instead, this book is meant for a broader public, then its heft and fragmented narrative will be a hard sell.

Despite an introduction criticizing the methods of

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other historians (the dreaded "text-context method"), Fischer is not very clear about his own methodologies, even for those rare readers who discover the "Plan of the Series" section buried behind the footnotes. It is, Fischer insists, "empirical" (p. 4), an exercise in historical ethnography, and "iconographic," using "images, artifacts, and material culture" as evidence (p. 820). Fischer intends here to study liberty and freedom not as "formal texts, philosophical abstractions, learned discourses, and ideological controversies" but rather as "a set of customs, traditions, and folk beliefs," "visions . . . in the mind's eye" revealed in the images people made and used and saved (p. 716). The problem in practice is that many chapters do not focus on images and artifacts of material culture, even when they are heavily illustrated. The section on Margaret Fuller, for example, does not examine the photograph of Fuller that illustrates the short section, nor does it seriously explicate any piece of her work as an artifact that captures some "folkway" of American freedom. It reads like a chapter thrown in to satisfy women's historians. But just to make sure they are not too happy, Fischer jumps to Elizabeth Cady Stanton and praises her for taking a "broader view" and managing to marry and have children while working for women's rights. These same problems occur in the sections on Indians, twentieth-century feminists, and advocates of black power, just to name a few.

The problem becomes more acute as the book progresses, and the images increasingly, with some exceptions, serve as illustrations for the prose rather than as the subject of his short narratives and analysis. The major problem with the second half of the book, however, is that Fischer never explains how images that circulate as part of a commercialized media culture are in some ways different from images and artifacts that circulate in less commercial settings. How, exactly, do these commercial artifacts (the newspaper photographs of feminists and civil rights activists, for example) represent the "folkways of freedom" and how ordinary people think about liberty?

The best part of the book is the first section, "Early America: Visions of the Founders, 1607–1775." Here, Fischer often focuses directly on the visual images and narrates a lively and compelling history of their origins and use. Liberty trees and liberty poles, bells and state and national seals, crescents and alligators, rattlesnakes and even hornet nests, deer and eagles and Indians, busts and bowls and obelisks: all are used by the colonists to symbolize and argue about the meanings of liberty and freedom in revolutionary America. The differences between the use of the old, mature specimens in America as liberty trees and the use of young, newly planted trees in Europe, for example, help Fischer excavate the different ways people think about liberty. "In the Old World, liberty was symbolized as something new, fresh, and fragile. In the New World it was thought to be old, tough, and very tenacious" (pp. 32–33).

While Fischer often closes his short sections by gesturing at the present, he misses a great opportunity here. How, I wonder, did the liberty tree, a place where Loyalists were sometimes ritualistically humiliated and attacked, turn a century later into the lynching tree? Too often, instead, Fischer's attempts to thread his mini-narratives through time and even up to the present contain the book's most textbook-like prose. "Yankee Doodle has lived in the American imagination for many generations. Children still sing of him with laugher and delight" (p. 220).

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MARY E. STUCKEY. *Defining Americans: The Presidency and National Identity*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. x, 413. $35.00.

The central premise of this book is that presidential rhetoric is at once a reflection of contemporary standards about who qualifies as a member of the American polity and an important force for reinforcing those standards. Mary E. Stuckey's intent is to place the presidency at the center of an enduring paradox of American political culture: the conflicting pressures for the nation to be at once essentially inclusive and exclusive. This book is thus an ambitious work of broad scope, dealing with some of the most important questions ever processed through the American political system.

The book includes seven substantive chapters, one each devoted to Andrew Jackson, the three presidents of the 1850s (considered as a group), Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and George H. W. Bush. Stuckey holds that each president's rhetoric defines an archetypical citizen, who then becomes the standard for judging who does and who does not belong. For example, "It was the independence offered by land ownership that imbued citizens with what Jackson considered a truly democratic character" (p. 53). The quintessential Jacksonian American was thus the independent frontiersman. Conversely, the touchstones of Americanism to Bush were decency and prudence, both of which he judged essential for a nation trying to manage epochal change in a rapidly transforming world. Folded into each chapter is a discussion of how these varying sets of definitions worked to exclude certain liminal groups, most prominently African Americans, American Indians, and women.

The portrait Stuckey paints of the American presidency is of an essentially conservative institution, with incumbents constrained by the broad political forces of their time to preserve the basic social structures they inherit. Surprisingly, Stuckey minimizes the importance of her core claim by calling it a commonplace of presidential scholarship. It is not. The literature on the presidency in particular—and more generally the scholarship on political leadership from which it is often derived (see James MacGregor Burns and Barbara Kellerman)—has long been characterized by an association of leadership with change. It is especially remarkable that Stuckey would note Stephen Skowronek

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as an example of her point, inasmuch as Skowronek's presidency is "an office that routinely disrupts established power arrangements and continually opens new avenues of political activity for others" (*The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush* [1993], p. 15). It is not at all clear how this characterization squares with Stuckey's own, wherein presidential "efforts are geared toward conserving existing political orders rather than rearranging those orders to adapt to changing circumstances" (p. 336). When it comes to membership questions, Stuckey is clearly in the right—but she should have more forcefully trumpeted her departures from a flawed strain of conventional wisdom.

This book is a highly interpretive work, and as such it is the kind of political science that historians are likely to find objectionable. Stuckey's interpretive web sometimes arises from relatively small pieces of evidence, which makes the framework seem vulnerable to the slightest probing. This is especially true when she generalizes about the overall course of political development from her limited data points. We read, for example, that " 'the poor' . . . entered American presidential rhetoric and American politics" with Grover Cleveland (p. 131), but a quick check indicates a dozen references to "the poor" before Cleveland, in official presidential addresses alone. To her credit, Stuckey buttresses her interpretations throughout with a vast array of secondary accounts, relying heavily on the work of such scholars as Gary Gerstle. Yet Stuckey seems—regrettably, given the gravity of the subject—to be writing for an audience of specialists, the kind of readers who will know that when she makes an unexplained reference about Wilson in "Burkean terms" (p. 152), she is referring to Kenneth, not Edmund.

Although Stuckey is sensitive throughout the book to the nuanced ways in which presidents have excluded those seeking full membership in the American polity, one of her own standard rhetorical devices is often more misleading than illuminating. She writes frequently about certain groups being "politically invisible." The problem with this construction is that the powerless have often not, in fact, been invisible, but openly exploited—far more so than Stuckey offers here—as demons. Silences in presidential speech have often been extraneous to aggressive demonizing elsewhere in the polity, at moments when political invisibility would in fact have been a blessing for the victims. Jackson's 1831 annual message reflects not at all the reflexive paroxysms of repression reverberating through the nation in the aftermath of Nat Turner's revolt—a time when slaves and free blacks were anything but invisible. Reading political invisibility from silences in a corpus of presidential rhetoric, which is governed by a host of limiting conventions, is thus a risky proposition.

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Daniel Wirls and Stephen Wirls. *The Invention of the United States Senate.* (Interpreting American Politics.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 274. $18.95.

Unicameral legislatures are today the norm among democratic nations. Daniel Wirls and Stephen Wirls additionally note that "most bicameral legislatures have upper houses that are less powerful or less consequential in comparison to the lower house" (p. 3). The U.S. Senate, by contrast, possesses both constitutional autonomy and institutional legitimacy independent of the U.S. House of Representatives. The Senate also exercises its distinct powers in politically consequential ways in the production of annual budgets and legislative acts with the House, the approval of treaties and executive appointments with the president, and the selection and confirmation of members of the federal judiciary. Moreover, until the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913, which provided for popular election of U.S. Senators, the composition of the Senate was defined by the explicit preferences of each state legislature, thereby linking the U.S. Senate to the most powerful set of political actors outside of the federal government. From this perspective, as James Madison claimed in 1787, the U.S. Senate appears as "the great anchor" of the U.S. government. This book aims to provide a detailed history and analysis of this legislative body's theoretical and practical predecessors, the deliberations and original design decisions made at the 1787 Constitutional Convention, and the Senate's early development as a working legislative institution. Although many steps taken along this path cover familiar terrain, no previous work offers an account that ties the theoretical and practical origins of the Senate with its early institutional development. Wirls and Wirls prove to be able guides and their journey worthy of our efforts.

Between an introductory chapter and a thoughtful concluding chapter, Wirls and Wirls successfully engage their intended objectives in six intermediate chapters. In chapter two, they observe that early national debates concerning the purposes of a senatorial body drew from the intersection of three overlapping yet often competing constitutional discourses on mixed constitutionalism, liberalism, and republicanism. Here the authors offer the reader the benefits of reengaging the ideas of Cicero on virtue, Polybius on political balance despite corruption, John Locke on natural, foundational personal rights, Montesquieu on separation of powers and liberty, James Harrington on a bicameral, pre-Rawlsian decision logic, and David Hume on the benefits of legislative-executive coordination. The authors never lose contact with their focus on the idea of a senate, but they wisely resist the temptation to map parts of their review of these theoretical sources onto the original intentions or design of the U.S. Senate.

Chapter three reviews postrevolutionary American debates on bicameralism and early state constitutional designs. In addition to the influential defense of bicam-

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eral legislatures by John Adams, Wirls and Wirls summarize the institutional features adopted in the design of state senates before 1787, recovering portions of the ground previously described in detail by M. J. C. Vile, Jackson Turner Main, Gordon Wood, Marc Kruman, and others. To their credit, Wirls and Wirls offer a critical analysis of Madison's pre-Convention ideas in which they correctly underscore several internal ambiguities in his thinking regarding the design of the senate—especially with regard to the Virginia Plan's weakest and most illogical proposal to create a small senate along with a new proportional rule for apportioning representation within Congress. Either Madison miscalculated or misunderstood the effects of this combination or his nationalism was ineffably open to altering state divisions as New Jersey delegate David Brearly suggested at the Convention. Either way, as I have argued elsewhere, this inconsistency in Madison's original design opened the floor for critics of the Virginia Plan and, ultimately, the Great Compromise and the Convention's subsequent completion of the U.S. Constitution.

Chapters four and five examine the deliberations of the 1787 Constitutional Convention. Rather than viewing the design and purposes of the Senate as secondary or merely an expedient form that made possible the Convention's compromise on a new national rule of apportionment, the authors argue that delegate concerns over the proper construction of a senatorial body shaped and produced the critical compromise, and therefore the U.S. Constitution as well. This is a novel claim, both worthy of acknowledgement and credible in light of the ideas developed in the preceding chapters. However instructive this conclusion may be, it risks viewing the U.S. Constitution restrictively in terms of a single, necessary, but arguably less important part of the new constitutional design debated and adopted by the 1787 Convention. Moreover, the authors note, the Senate ultimately fashioned by the delegates was a "convoluted hybrid" comprised "of potentially incompatible purposes" (pp. 70, 134).

Wirls and Wirls extend their account of the creation of the U.S. Senate in chapter six by reviewing post-Convention ratification debates. Not surprisingly, opponents of the U.S. Constitution, the so-called Antifederalists, faulted the Senate for what they deemed to be its aristocratic design and elitist potential. Supporters of the Constitution, including Publius in the *Federalist*, embraced and defended the Senate's features. Given the prospective nature and inconsistency of Antifederalist criticisms, and the fact that almost every state legislature at the time possessed a bicameral design, Federalist defenses of the Senate seemed more reasonable and, in hindsight, convincing.

Chapter seven examines how the Senate operated as a legislative body from 1789 through the early decades of the nineteenth century. Wirls and Wirls retrace the extant evidence, synthesizing and updating insights on the Senate of this era previously made by George Haynes, Roy Swanstrom, Joseph Hayden, James Rogers Sharp, and Elaine Swift. The authors conclude that many of the modern functions of the U.S. Senate were established in these early Congresses. The early Senate, for example, developed into an active, although sometimes specialized, participant in the legislative process with the House; a more reactive participant in foreign affairs and the treatymaking process with the president; and, like the House, an institution whose internal divisions often would be reflected in partisan, electorally-determined terms. Most important, contrary to other commentators, Wirls and Wirls conclude that "the early Senate's record is hardly that of a revisory House of Lords" (p. 193).

The book's final chapter, where the authors reconsider the history of the U.S. Senate, aptly ends in irony. Rather than succumb to the conclusion that "the Senate was simply a hodgepodge" (p. 203), Wirls and Wirls propose that the observed discontinuities between theoretical precedents, original intentions, and the body's creation and institutional development are, in fact, indicators of the complex, multifaceted nature of the Senate. Moreover, both the irony and the complexity of this institutional history continue to deepen as the story of the Senate unfolds. For example, despite Madison's original support for a republican senate independent of state interests—a classical and backward-looking vision—the creation of the U.S. Senate made possible the most innovative and novel creation of the 1787 Convention: namely, the union of a strong national government with an established federal system. The Senate, furthermore, never proved immune—even before 1913—from the same popular and electoral forces that affected the U.S. House. And yet unlike the highly structured, rule-oriented House, the Senate's internal structure often has permitted individual interests to triumph over the body's original deliberative and collectivist purposes. Most striking, the Constitution's guarantee of equal state representation in the Senate regardless of enormous interstate population disparities leads the authors to acknowledge another, arguably deeper, and contemporary irony of accepting a legislative institution that was never directly intended, that likely will not change, and that would never be supported *ab ova* today. Perhaps, however, these noted ironies account not only for much of the origins and history of the U.S. Senate, but the present fascination we share with the authors as well.

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MARKUS DIRK DUBBER. *The Police Power: Patriarchy and the Foundations of American Government*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 268. $50.00.

This is a fascinating book—provocative and demanding. Markus Dirk Dubber, a leading scholar of American criminal law, examines the intellectual origins and historical life of the police power from the perspective of its "most patriarchal" and "awesome manifestation, the law of crime and punishment" (pp. xv, xi).

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As Dubber acknowledges, America's archipelago of criminal justice institutions are not the full extent of the police power's domain. The special province of state and local authority (according to orthodox readings of the Tenth Amendment), the police power has for two centuries been defined by American courts as the sovereign power to govern persons and property ("men and things") in the interest of the people's welfare. As the Supreme Court noted in the *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873), this power is "incapable of any very exact definition or limitation," for upon it depends "the security of the social order, the life and health of the citizen, the comfort of an existence in a thickly populated community, the enjoyment of private and social life, and the beneficial use of property" (p. xi). That decision upheld a Louisiana law that imposed health regulations on the butcher trade of New Orleans. By the same authority, state and local governments have leveled brothels and gambling dens, policed the behavior of slaves and their masters, and rounded up vagrants and prostitutes.

It is in the field of the criminal law, Dubber suggests, that the police power most fully reveals its patriarchal, indeed un-American self. In the book's three parts, he argues that the police power has never entirely broken loose from its ancient moorings in the patriarch's authority to govern his household; that this hierarchical and coercive mode of governance has always coexisted uneasily with American ideals of self-government, personal autonomy, and due process; and that, ever since the constitutional skirmishes of the Progressive and New Deal eras swept away many of the old arguments against social and economic regulation in the United States, principled scrutiny of the police power has all but vanished. Unlike many critics of the police power since the Gilded Age, Dubber's complaints are not those of an economic libertarian. Instead, he aims to inspire a broad democratic conversation about the legitimate balance of police power and personal autonomy at a time when the world's most powerful liberal democracy maintains the West's most dehumanizing penal regime.

The first part of this study is the most original and persuasive. In the spirit of Michel Foucault's genealogical method, Dubber shows how hierarchical relations of power became embedded in taken-for-granted ideas, institutions, and modes of governance in the early American republic. He traces the historical transmission of the police concept from ancient Greek writings about the patriarchal art of household governance (*oeconomy*) through Roman law (the power of the *paterfamilias*) through German medieval law (the householder's authority over his household or *mund*) to the expansion of the king's *mund* (the "royal peace") to encompass every constituent of the state as members "of a well-governed family" (p. 82). Whether the police concept entered American legal culture through an English source such as Blackstone's *Commentaries* (1765–1769) or through the work of continental thinkers matters little to Dubber. Political thought on both sides of the English Channel preserved the essential distinction between "the self-government of householders by [other] householders, and the other-government of households by their householders" (p. 82). The former was the domain of "law," a mode of governance whose legitimate purpose was to protect human autonomy and secure justice in a political community of formally free, consenting, and equal persons. The latter was the sphere of "police," where the state, like a parent governing a well-ordered household, sought to maximize the collective security and welfare of its members.

Dubber's critical point is that the police power—from its ancient origins down to the present day—has treated "men and things" alike as objects of governance rather than treating people as the autonomous, rights-bearing liberal subjects contemplated in American constitutional and legal discourse. His strongest example is vagrancy. In vagrancy proceedings, a classic police offense that proliferated with the abolition of slavery and the spread of industrial wage labor after the Civil War, states punished a person for his status, rather than any specific offense, without regard to criminal intent. The accused were handled in summary proceedings in local police courts, with no juries, no records, "and in general defiance of the rules of the common law" (p. 131).

By limiting his analysis to the most coercive part of the police power tradition, Dubber begs the question of how the power's origins in the household might have shaped other fields, such as environmental regulations. He also leaves it largely for others to sort out how a greater awareness of the patriarchal origins of the criminal law should shape public debate if and when the United States rethinks its present commitment to penal severity.

MICHAEL WILLRICH
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CAL JILLSON. *Pursuing the American Dream: Opportunity and Exclusion over Four Centuries*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xv, 347. $34.95.

Cal Jillson offers us an informed if very broad history of the American Dream, that "shimmering vision of a fruitful country open to all who come, learn, work, save, invest, and play by the rules." While assuming basic constancy in the dream, Jillson divides its history into seven conventional historical periods, addressing in each four themes (social landscape, articulation of the dream, the dream in law and institution, and "faces of exclusion"). The result is a primer in American history with concepts and trends well defined, but not necessarily resulting in daring insights or dramatic conclusions.

Each section takes us through the familiar history of economic conditions, population (especially immigration) trends, and, to a lesser degree, technological innovations. Jillson offers the conventional view of the contrasting visions of "small man" individualism and government action presented by Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, and Alexander Hamilton, and the

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Whigs, respectively, before Abraham Lincoln and later the two Roosevelts combined them. In addition, he efficiently and lucidly recounts the full range of major legislation affecting economic opportunity (from tariff, bank, transportation; and corporation law to immigration, emancipation, land, and education legislation). He clearly and compactly rehearses also the legal and social restrictions on full equality of access to the American Dream in suffrage restrictions, slave laws, Indian removal acts, and even the culture of separate gender spheres. The author reviews all the important legislation of the New Deal, Great Society, and Reagan and Clinton years. He wraps up his book with a detailed analysis of the current state of the American Dream, suggesting continuing gaps in its fulfillment especially in work time and family leave, education, and immigration legislation.

There is a vast and varied range of history here, showing, in detail, the expansion (and sometimes ebbing) of opportunity in the United States Still, this book does not take us much beyond the standard political history text. Too often, it slips into platitudes about vision and hope (sometimes due to its reliance on documents like inaugural addresses). As sometimes a generalist myself, I am not suggesting that its breadth of four centuries is the problem. The difficulty is that Jillson's understanding of the American Dream is so inclusive as to come close to losing meaning. He rejects the cynical notion that the dream is merely in the eyes of the beholder, that "there are as many American dreams as there are Americans dreaming" (p. 266). Jillson argues that the American Dream is about a "balance between the dollar and the man" and "the fairly run footrace." Of course, the open-endedness of Jillson's book is partially due simply to the fact that almost all American politics has been about the American Dream: it was embraced both by Ronald Reagan with his slashing of marginal tax rates for the rich as well as by FDR with his wage and hours and Social Security legislation. However, in an attempt to be fair to all (especially in today's polarized political climate), Jillson often drifts into the most general review of ideas and legislation.

Jillson does not simply read back all of these differing understandings of the dream. He is critical of the Social Darwinists of the late nineteenth century for narrowing the American Dream along race and class lines, and he negatively reviews Supreme Court decisions that undercut the egalitarian implications of the Civil War amendments to the Constitution. He discusses how Herbert Croly, Walter Weyl, and Walter Lippmann attempted to go beyond laissez faire to embrace regulation and planning to assure a more even playing field in the twentieth century. Jillson also accepts the conventional liberal view that the period between the presidencies of Harry Truman and LBJ was "the Dream at High Tide," followed by its "ebb," especially in the Reagan and Clinton years. Nevertheless, he chooses to describe the widest range of legislation as part of the dream's implementation, often abstracting it from political and legislative struggle and thus downplaying how opportunity for some meant disadvantage to others. Jillson would have been better served by contrasting more sharply and more consistently the differing visions of the dream, especially in the twentieth century.

Finally, because of his focus on access to opportunity, Jillson has relatively little to say about the social or cultural costs of the pursuit of the dream (consumerist materialism, environmental degradation, excessive individualism), although he does have a brief, interesting section exploring the impact of the cult of success in the nineteenth century on the "losers." This book will be useful to the general reader, perhaps even to undergraduate history students, but I do not think it will provide much new for readers of this review.

GARY CROSS
Pennsylvania State University

WINFRED B. MOORE, JR, KYLE S. SINISI, and DAVID H. WHITE, JR., editors. *Warm Ashes: Issues in Southern History at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 413. $49.95.

In April 2000, the Citadel Conference on the South convened in Charleston, South Carolina, with over a hundred scholars present. The result is this collection of essays, edited by Winfred B. Moore, Jr., Kyle S. Sinisi, and David H. White, Jr., with eighteen chapters, divided into seven parts. Part one, "Forward to the Past," begins the volume with an essay by Emory M. Thomas, who discusses the historiography of the Civil War and its scholarly future. Part two, "Enslaved," moves the reader from the slave trade in the late eighteenth century to antebellum widowed planters and women's responses to slave insurrections. Part three, "War and Southern Identity," presents three chapters that diverge between Missouri's southern identity, the rhetoric on the war by Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, and the language of violence during and after Reconstruction. Part four, "In the House of the Lord," seeks to engage both race and gender in the arena of religion as well as denominational reunions among Methodists and Presbyterians. Part five, "Along the Color Line," addresses neighborhood segregation in the Progressive era, desegregation at the University of North Carolina and the Citadel, and black military education in the South. Part six, "Of Memory and Memorials," spotlights the politics of southern memory from a black perspective and discusses the creation of civil rights museums in four southern cities. The final part seven, "Back to the Future," features a single essay by Sheldon Hackney on the ambivalent South.

In a book of this length and variety, one struggles to give due recognition to the plethora of authors (nineteen), editors (three), and assistants (seven). Yet several of the essays stand alone as emblematic of the excellent new scholarship in southern history. James McMillin, for example, calculates that 170,000 new slaves entered the United States before 1810. This up-

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wardly revised figure may change the assessment by scholars on the emergent southern institution of slavery. McMillin argues that Africans became the largest ethnic group to enter the country, comprising forty-five percent of the 380,000 immigrants arriving in those years. This resulted in higher southern representation in Congress, lowered prices for slaves, and thus more incentive for planters to turn to the cotton plantation system. Finally, the influx of slave imports had a significant impact on slave communities.

Revisiting the subject of slave insurrections with a gendered analysis, Patrick H. Breen complements the work of Elizabeth R. Varon and notes that 80 percent of the victims of Nat Turner's Rebellion were women and children. For their own safety, white women became powerful supporters of slave colonization—even poor women contributed to the Liberia campaign—and sought to silence abolitionists while seeking protection from public officials. Thus conservative women turned to politics, pointing out a major flaw in the ideology of southern paternalism.

Christopher Waldrep, taking cues from the work of Joel Williamson and W. Fitzhugh Brundage, finds that the terminology regarding vigilante violence changed toward the end of the century. Republicans, investigating Ku Klux Klan tortures and murders in the 1870s, called these acts of violence "outrages," implying an attack upon the community from outsiders and criminals. White southerners, on the other hand, wanted them labeled as killings "on behalf of an indignant community" (p. 147). Not until the 1880s did Redeemers regain control and adopt the term "lynching." Waldrep argues that "lynching" called forth notions of justice on behalf of the community, hence white southerners thought themselves justified in acting out their violent tendencies. Photographs of lynchers, unmasked and unashamed, standing beside a burned or mutilated body, thus caused no scandal. This explanation puts the reader into the mental framework of the lyncher and helps to explain how white southerners resisted federal antilynching laws well into the twentieth century.

Rod Andrew, Jr.'s work on black military schools and the nation's reluctance to train and arm black cadets complements Alexander S. Macaulay, Jr.'s study of the desegregation of the Citadel in the 1970s. Andrew postulates that the nation, and especially southerners, balked at blacks bearing arms, even as it offered them military academies. Macaulay argues that Citadel administrators were among the worst obstructionists to integration and were unsympathetic to mistreatment of black cadets by racially prejudiced upper classmen. The few African Americans that remained at the Citadel won the admiration of their white classmates, who brought complaints to administrators, boycotted restaurants that refused to serve their cohorts, and confronted blatant racists on campus. That the Citadel hosted the conference leading to this volume is an indication of its eventual transformation.

Although this anthology finds its title in a quote from Henry Miller—"The old South was plowed under. But the ashes are still warm"—it hangs together loosely. Centered on the notion that the peculiarities of the region explain much about the history of the South, it seems a big tent for the latest scholarship in southern history. Readers, therefore, should look closely for the many glowing coals smoldering among this volume's warm ashes.

Elizabeth Hayes Turner
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Fred Nadis. *Wonder Shows: Performing Science, Magic, and Religion in America*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 318. $26.95.

What Fred Nadis calls a wonder show is a combination of science, technology, and magic, designed as popular entertainment. Some performances are shocking, some spectacular, many are sophomoric, requiring not only the audience's suspension of disbelief but their suspicion of the basis of scientific investigation: evidence. Nadis begins his energetic, impressively researched tour of wonder shows in the late eighteenth century and argues that these spectacles persist today, with demonstrations that include paranormal phenomena, alternative medicine, creationist science, and evidence of alien visitors.

He divides the book into three sections. The first focuses on performers who relied on electricity to create dazzling effects, inexplicable to awed onlookers. Electrical wonder shows continued into the twentieth century, as x-rays and radio waves provided new astonishments. The second section focuses on hypnotists and mind readers, who both drew on their audience's desire for belief in telepathic communications and spiritual connections and, at the same time, tried to debunk superstition. The third part moves into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, focusing on evangelical science shows, UFO proponents, and New Age productions, concluding with a discussion of current "science wars."

In a bibliographical essay, Nadis cites Margaret Nicholas's *The World's Greatest Cranks and Crackpots* (1985), which he calls an "unabashed celebration" of some wonder showmen and women (p. 273). The title could well be the subtitle of Nadis's own book, brimming as it is with cameos of flamboyant, outrageous individuals that Nadis has discovered in the pages of newspapers and popular magazines—sources as diverse as the *New York Times* and *Hypnotic Magazine*, *Electrical World*, and *World's Fair Weekly*. We first meet the Prussian Gustave Katterfelto, who toured Europe and England in the 1780s, supplementing his income from staged events by selling patent medicine. Imitating the gravitas of a professor of natural philosophy, as scientists then were called, he astonished his audiences with card tricks, "experiments" featuring electricity, and apparently death-defying demonstrations where he caught fired bullets in his mouth.

Americans also were fascinated by wonder shows. Charles Came, who toured New York State in the mid-nineteenth century, popularized science at the same

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time that he offered a variety of "medicines." Came reflected the contradictions of many wonder show performers: he was, Nadis notes, a serious student of science who could distill and make intelligible the concepts he gleaned from respected researchers; at the same time, like many in his audience, he believed in the tenets of some pseudo-sciences, such as phrenology, and his understanding of the human body led him to advocate a host of quack cures.

Nadis's discussion of nineteenth-century wonder shows underscores the tenuous state of science during that century. Natural philosophy was only gradually being supplanted by scientific method as we know it: investigation, repeated—and repeatable—experimentation, attention to objectivity, and a focus on material evidence. Natural philosophers, as that term suggests, had as a goal not merely investigation into the material realm, but discovery of a unifying theory of nature that could underscore religious faith. With the blurring between science and religion among dedicated scientists (such as Michael Faraday, for example, or Humphry Davy), it is no wonder that "wonder" was so easily generated among audiences.

Nadis asserts that for some nineteenth-century scientists, public demonstrations proved an effective means of raising money for their research. Science, Nadis says, "did not 'just happen' but was subject to market forces and dependent . . . on the judgment of an educated public and lawmakers" (p. 24). Some showmen, therefore, had goals other than entertainment: William Sturgeon, for example, a leading electrical researcher and developer of the electromagnet, mounted demonstrations in popular galleries; Benjamin Stillman, a Yale-educated chemist and geologist, took to the lyceum circuit, where he delighted audiences with "nonstop pyrotechnics" (p. 28).

While pre-twentieth century wonder shows "harmonized with the scientific impulse" (p. 254), contemporary wonder shows, Nadis tells us, often reflect a division between those who accept scientific method as a credible means of verification and those who reject scientific method because it contradicts faith—in the existence of aliens, in invisible energies, in God. Public hostility toward scientific authority feeds cultists and pseudo-scientists, who celebrate irrationality and disdain critical thinking. Nadis understands the current desire for wonder shows as a cultural critique of materialism and technology. The New Age movement, for example, combines "an interest in ecology, spirituality, health, diet, utopian technology, and . . . millennial hopes of redemption through otherworldly agency" (p. 229). Although opportunists always have found ways to prey upon credulous audiences, Nadis believes that wonder shows also have attracted idealists and visionaries, who are open to new, not yet proven ideas. His view of the phenomenon of wonder shows is generous throughout and wonderfully well informed.

LINDA SIMON
Skidmore College

DAVID S. JONES. *Rationalizing Epidemics: Meanings and Uses of American Indian Mortality since 1600*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 294. $ 49.95.

David S. Jones, in this revision of his 2001 dissertation, admits at the outset that he did not intend to write a systematic history of epidemics and their impact on Amerindians. Instead he provides a provocative examination of health disparities between them and the newly arrived European settlers. He is interested in both the reaction of Amerindians and Europeans to the epidemics that buffeted Native American populations, and how their responses changed from the 1600s to the twentieth century. By "rationalization," Jones means how people at the time tried to explain disparities in morbidity and mortality between the two groups. Admittedly influenced by the "new Indian history," he vividly probes the nature of the understanding of both Amerindians and outsiders, through "sophisticated analysis of the 'middle ground' on which both groups interacted" (p. 8). He does so by examination of four case studies: first, what were the responses to epidemics and rapid depopulation in the first decades of New England settlement; second, what was done to propagate or block the spread of smallpox into the frontier in the half century after 1760; third, what explains the appearance of, and then attempts to manage, tuberculosis on Sioux reservations in the late 1800s; and fourth, what is the nature and response to modern medicine and "health research on the Navajo reservation in the 1950s and 1960s?" (p. 15). Jones devotes two chapters to each case study, the first exploring the issue, the second probing the responses and nature of the disparities between Amerindian health and that of the general U.S. population.

The initial finely researched and narrated chapter of each case study is based on thorough review of well-worked sources. Jones's survey of epidemics to hit the New England area, for example, is one of the most complete available. At times, however, he may be too quick to accept the higher die-off ratios, and as we know the issues of contact population size and levels of epidemic mortality are still in flux. In the next chapter, Jones probes the different understanding and explanations for the disparity, as relations shift radically in the decades after contact between the Amerindians and English. At first the foreigners explained the rapid die-off as God's will, a position that quickly changed. As he moves to smallpox on the frontier, Jones notes that "A slow shift toward emphasizing behavioral and natural explanations of differential mortality reflected a general change in understandings of the natural world" (p. 77). At the time the English were reaching an understanding of how to control smallpox and to use that knowledge as a weapon, as Elizabeth Fenn has documented so well. Jones points out that the Spanish made systematic efforts to control smallpox by inoculation campaigns during the period, whereas he found little evidence that English settlers tried to inoculate Indians

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at the time. By 1837 the American Fur Company did attempt to restrict a smallpox epidemic sweeping west of the Mississippi, to keep trade open and to maintain fur production. The Hudson Bay Company in Canada made even better systematic efforts against smallpox the following year. At the time "Inoculation served all interests, humanitarian and opportunistic" (p. 109).

By the late 1800s smallpox had been largely controlled, but there was an explosion of tuberculosis in U.S. government reservations, with devastating consequences. Many Sioux believed it came from spiritual transgressions or an angry spirit, while government explanations for mortality during the period shifted gradually from "bad environment and bad behavior" to scientific ones with the Koch discovery of the bacillus in 1882. Many suggested that with "civilization" Indian health would improve, but until the process was complete, high mortality would continue. The government became the paternalistic state, with Indian Agency progressive physicians thinking they might even succeed in controlling TB where their predecessors failed. In chapters seven and eight, Jones traces the legacy of failures to improve the health of reservation populations using the Navajo example, whose post-World War II mortality for TB was ten times the national rate. Finally, by 1954 the Cornell University Navajo project had improved health, but disparities continued. Why have health differences and mortality levels between the two groups been largely unchanged, asks Jones? His answer is clear: because of the "disparities in wealth and power that have endured since colonization" (p. 19).

This is an important contribution that deserves careful reading. Twenty percent of the text consists of thorough and insightful endnotes, but there is no bibliography, disconcerting to those who seek to follow up leads quickly. This reviewer wishes the publisher had chosen to include a bibliography; after all, short-form endnotes would have saved space and not weakened overall ease of use. Finely written, this well-constructed argument will reward both advanced students and the general public interested in the theme.

Noble David Cook
Florida International University

Stuart Banner. *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier*. Cambridge: Belknap Pres of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 344. $29.95.

Stuart Banner has written an intriguing account examining the dynamic and convoluted territorial, legal, political, and economic relationships among indigenous nations and colonial nations, particularly Great Britain, and its principal successor, the United States, and the individual states that engaged in multifaceted affairs with tribal peoples. He provides, especially in the first two-thirds of the book, a fresh perspective—utilizing a variety of high quality original and secondary materials—on one of the most crucial questions that has animated indigenous/nonindigenous relations since the arrival of Europeans: how and why did Native peoples lose ownership of ninety-eight percent of their lands to non-Natives?

This powerful question has generally occupied the attention of many people inside and outside the academy, but very few have explored it to the depth that Banner has. In fact, this is such a fundamental question that I think many scholars and commentators have simply assumed that it had long ago been answered. Banner's detailed analysis, however, particularly of the English colonial period into the early American period, shows that it needed this kind of substantive historical and legal treatment. Banner's essential thesis is that this staggering land transfer always and on every occasion "included elements of *law* and elements of *power*" (p. 4). Hence, the study has ample discussion of how these two forces were utilized by whites slowly but inexorably to gain the upper hand in terms of both sovereignty "over" tribal nations and proprietary rights "to" Indian lands.

Along with his fundamental question are a number of important subsidiary questions that Banner also addresses: what were the methods used by non-Indians to acquire land from Indians? Were Indians coerced, or did they voluntarily surrender title to their property, or was it some combination of the two? How did Indians understand the concept of property ownership in comparison to whites? When and why did Indians go from being recognized as "landowners" to being mere "occupants" or "tenants" of their lands? What is the relationship between "sovereignty" and "proprietary rights?" What role did the doctrine of "conquest" play in Indian land loss? How and why did white methods of land transfer change over time? How could the Indians in selling or losing so much land find themselves by the 1930s—when the land losses generally terminated—much poorer than they were before their land sales? And how did these land cessions vary in different regions of the country and with different tribes?

These are rich and timely questions, as land issues continue to be a hot topic in Indian Country, and Banner comes at them armed with archival, governmental, and other enlightening data. His study ranges broadly, from the early 1600s to the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, but he keeps his focus almost solely on the English/Euro-American/Indigenous relationship. Unfortunately, he pays little attention to the roles that Holland, France, or Spain played in the administration of their own land policies vis-à-vis tribal nations during the colonial era.

The strength of the book lies in chapters one through six, which generally detail the relationship of English/Americans and Native peoples from the early 1600s to the 1830s. Here, Banner raises and discusses several interesting points that have been made before but not with quite the detailed historical discussion and use of primary sources he utilizes. First, he states that the British recognized that Indians were the actual owners of the lands they had long inhabited. This has always been acknowledged by Natives and Native academics, but few non-native academics and even fewer policy makers have done so. Second, he recognizes Indian agency in

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treaty negotiations and understands that Native political leaders were not the gullible individuals some commentators have made them out to be. Third, he operates from the intellectual position that different historical eras, different regions, different tribes, and different colonial, state, and federal policy makers necessitated different reactions, laws, and policies. Too often, simplistic dichotomies (e.g. Indians vs. settlers) are applied and relied upon by academics and lawmakers. These dichotomies only serve to mask the deep level of differentiation that was evident. Fourth, Banner correctly acknowledges that while some commentators have relied on the doctrine of "conquest" to justify the dispossession of Indians, and others have suggested that "contracts" or the treaty relationship were more apt terms, in reality, the connection between indigenous/non-indigenous peoples needs to be viewed by placing these two forces on a spectrum. As he notes, "the idea of a spectrum bounded by poles of conquest and contract is helpful, I think, in understanding how the Indians lost their land. At most times, and in most places, the Indians were not exactly conquered, but they did not exactly choose to sell their land either. The truth was somewhere in the middle" (p. 4).

All the above make this book a text that is quite striking, informative, and one that will be useful to a variety of audiences: historians, legal scholars, political scientists, and sociologists, among others. Despite its multitude of strengths, it is not flawless. First, while I agree entirely that "law" and "power" are certainly two of the dominant forces that overarched and subsumed the depth and degree of indigenous land loss to whites, there is virtually no discussion of the role that "race" played in these transactions. Although Banner mentions race on a few occasions, he pays it far too little attention. Critical race theory, or at the very least some detailed discussion of how Indians were and still are racialized in the law, would have provided a richer framework that would have strengthened his major thesis. As he is no doubt aware, Supreme Court case law that relies on "race" is particularly abundant during the era he focuses on.

Second, Banner has some important discussion in his introduction about the difference between "sovereignty" and "property." These terms, as he correctly notes, are often conflated, even though they describe very different things: "Property means ownership; sovereignty means the right to govern" (pp. 6–7). However, he speaks far too generally when he says that "from the seventeenth century through the twentieth century, Anglo-Americans consistently asserted sovereignty over American Indians without the Indians' consent. They believed that this sovereignty followed from the British discovery and settlement of the part of North America that is now the United States" (p. 7). This is certainly true to a greater extent than the claim to ownership of Indian lands, but it was not as categorical as the author asserts. There are examples, including Supreme Court jurisprudence, where the United States acknowledged that when whites ventured into Indian Country they were leaving U.S. jurisdiction and would thereafter be subject to the laws of the tribes whose lands they were now on. If the British and United States claimed categorical sovereignty over all North American lands, then why did they sometimes concede that they no longer had jurisdiction over their citizens once they moved into Indian Country?

Third, Banner claims that cases like *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903), which gave Congress virtually unlimited plenary power over Indian treaty-defined property rights, were not as harsh to Indians as many commentators have argued and that criticism of this and similar opinions "is overdrawn" (p. 245). In defense of this insupportable statement, he makes several baffling claims: that "the idea that Congress could abrogate Indian treaties was not devised as a method of harming the Indians" and that "The line of cases exemplified by *Lone Wolf* was driven as much by a lawyerly desire for consistency as by any racism or land-hunger on the part of the Supreme Court" (p. 246). The fact is that after *Lone Wolf* and earlier cases like *U.S. v. Kagama* (1886), tribal nations were largely bereft of any treaty or constitutional protection of their treaty rights or their treaty-defined lands. It is true, as Banner notes, that Congress has the power to abrogate its foreign treaties as well, but those nations, or a good many of them, have military, economic, and political power to deal with the United States in one of several international venues, a status tribal nations have thus far been denied. And since most Indians were still not citizens of the United States at the time *Lone Wolf* was decided, they lacked citizenship protection as well. Finally, foreign nations do not enjoy, as do tribal nations, a trust relationship with the United States, although the scope and extent of that relationship is itself variable. Therefore, cases like *Lone Wolf*, I would argue, were not about "lawyerly consistency"; they were about giving the political branches of the federal government free reign to continue its coercive assimilation campaign and the individual allotment of tribal lands. Because there were other cases that occasionally recognized Native rights in this period does not offset the devastating impact of this darker line of cases.

These concerns aside, this is a book with real verve and merit. I hope it enjoys a wide readership as it deftly addresses important questions regarding land and sovereignty that continue to have great legal, property, and moral potency today.

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WILLIAM A. PENCAK and DANIEL K. RICHTER, editors. *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods: Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 336. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.95.

This collection of thirteen original essays travels the history of Pennsylvania's relations with American Indians from the Dutch and Swedish settlements of the

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1630s through William Penn's founding of Pennsylvania and the Seven Years' War to end in the post-Revolutionary War period, at which point Pennsylvania had only a few Indian communities remaining within its borders. As editors William A. Pencak and Daniel K. Richter observe in their introduction, Pennsylvania has a peculiar Indian history. Lauded by outsiders and self-promoted by insiders, Pennsylvania's Indian affairs acquired a reputation for fair dealing, a perception consolidated in public memory by the powerful imagery of friendly relations appearing in two paintings, Benjamin West's *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (1771) and Edward Hicks's *The Peaceable Kingdom* (1826). In contrast to these Pennsylvania mythmakers' portrayals of satisfied Indians peaceably negotiating land transactions with the colony's legendary founder, Pennsylvania may have had the most violent, bloodthirsty borderlands of any of the original British colonies. Not coincidentally, Pennsylvania today has an inconsequential Indian population. The editors report that in "the 2000 federal census, among all fifty states and the District of Columbia, Pennsylvania ranks last in the percentage of its population classified as Native American," and moreover, Pennsylvania has no Indian reservations (p. xix).

These essays take diverse approaches to the puzzle of Pennsylvania's colonial history. The essays by Michael Dean Mackintosh, Carla Gerona, Amy C. Schutt, Alison Duncan Hirsch, and Krista Camenzind add a multiethnic and/or gendered dimension by focusing variously on how Swedes, Dutch, English, and Germans; Moravians and Quakers; and men and women had different experiences with Pennsylvania's Native population. Essays by John Smolenski, Louis M. Waddell, and William A. Starna are microhistorical. By examining one violent incident or one individual, they illuminate the behind-the-scenes power relations operating in the areas of law and diplomacy. Essays by James O'Neil Spady, Steven C. Harper, David L. Preston, and Paul Moyer contextualize the frequent eruptions of Indian-white violence within tensions induced by colonial expansion onto Indian lands. A recurring thread in all essays, a rise in white racism toward Indians, is the central issue of the final essay, by Gregory T. Knouff.

The collection as a whole effectively demonstrates the complexity of Pennsylvania's Indian relations and is particularly adept at revealing how Pennsylvania's white population mentally separated themselves from Indians while physically coming to occupy the same geography. Europeans' initial presence in the region led to alternating episodes of violence and diplomacy, both of which derived from Europeans' intent to settle upon Indian lands. Spady's well-researched essay on the earliest of Penn's treaties with the Lenape (Delaware) Indians evokes a period when colonists and Indians constituted clearly defined peoples who inhabited distinct places and who worked through their respective leaderships to resolve international disputes and misunderstandings. Within a few decades, this clear demarcation of residence and territorial rights attached to particular nations was in chaos as the Iroquois asserted authority over the Indians closest to the Pennsylvania colony, as Moravian missionaries set up mission villages that drew Native converts, and as Pennsylvania began to assume legal jurisdiction in incidents of violence between Indians and colonists. By the mid-1750s, when Pennsylvania's pretense of amicable Indian relations collapsed completely in myriad incidents of frontier violence, Indians in Pennsylvania's nether regions could not easily lay claim to a distinct, unified identify as one people in possession of a territory they could call their own. Preston's article on "Squatters, Indians, Proprietary Government, and Land in the Susquehanna Valley," for example, interlaces acts of violence between Indians and whites with evidence that these people were also neighbors who traded, leased land, worked alongside each other, and shared meals together. As the region's Indian population became marginalized and dispossessed, the more vocal and extremist became the racism expressed by colonial advocates of expansion.

As with most collections, the essays here vary in depth and quality, but compared to other collections, this one holds together especially well. Organized chronologically and dealing so closely with the same region and problems, the book situates the dark side of Pennsylvania's history in an easy-to-follow narrative, with richness of detail and, remarkably, with little to no redundancy.

NANCY SHOEMAKER
University of Connecticut

JOSHUA PIKER. *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 270. $45.00.

Joshua Piker's book takes us inside the Creek Confederacy at the level of one of the most important political and social affiliations for an eighteenth-century Creek Indian: the township. This is its genius. By concentrating on a single community, Piker forefronts Creek politics and Creek international diplomatic institutions, as well as the concerns and politics that would have been on eighteenth-century Okfuskee minds as they learned to manage their relationships with Europeans, especially the British. Piker's wonderful insight in doing a community study undoubtedly also made him privy to the "peculiar connections" (p. 1) that existed between two seemingly disparate colonial towns, Okfuskee and Charleston. Although Piker does not fully explore the place of Okfuskee in the Creek Confederacy, he gives us a vivid picture of how Okfuskee politicians understood and manipulated their position in the larger colonial world by forging a town-to-town relationship with Charleston.

Piker obviously did much archival sleuthing. Pulling together enough information on a single Creek town is no easy task. The documentary record is quite fragmentary since the Creeks left few written records and since Indians oftentimes went unnamed in the European documents. Kudos to Piker for not flinching from his com-

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munity focus in the face of such evidentiary problems and kudos to him for finding every scrap of reference to Okfuskee and Okfuskee leaders in the colonial documents. The result is a fine-grained history and analysis of Okfuskee international politics during the eighteenth century, replete with notable historical actors (Indian and British), historical episodes that reflect larger issues, and events particular to Okfuskee that made up the history of the town.

Piker divides the book into two sections. The real strength of the book is in part one, which examines the history of political and economic relations between Okfuskee and the British. Here Piker tracks the rise of Okfuskee as a colonial economic and diplomatic gateway. Because of its strategic location on the Upper Trading Path, which connected Okfuskee to Charleston, Okfuskee became the entrance point for "merchandise and proposals" (p. 36) emanating from Charleston. In fact, the relationship between the two towns became so strong that it was formalized by the appointment of *fannimingos*, a Creek institution in which diplomats from two towns represent each other in their respective councils. At this juncture, Piker then compares British colonial towns with Creek towns and concludes that the two, as social and political institutions, had much in common. Among other things, they were both autonomous entities operating under larger political umbrellas, the Creek Confederacy and the British Empire. Hence a town-to-town Creek institution, rather than a European imperial institution, could shape the diplomatic and economic relationships between them.

However, the differences between the two eventually rent the relationship. Piker makes the clear argument that the British colonies, no matter how autonomous, were always embedded in an imperial logic that ultimately dictated all external relations, especially relations with indigenous people. The relationship between Okfuskee and Charleston, then, was always resting on a "politics of insecurity" (p. 72.). Piker concludes part one with an intensive investigation of how the rise of the British Empire in North America undercut Indian diplomatic institutions and hence the colonial relationships forged by them.

Part two takes a whole different tone and approach. It is a short social history of the town of Okfuskee, outlining daily life and some of the changes that occurred once Okfuskees started ranching, marrying Europeans, and moving out of the towns. Whereas part one is wholly original and fully developed, part two is mostly sketch of Creek life derived from other works. Still, it nicely rounds out the picture of Okfuskee presented in part one and shows how the structures of daily life changed during this time. I only wish that Piker could have found a way to combine the two, as certainly the social changes that he tracks in part two must have influenced the politics presented in part one, and vice versa.

This is an unabashedly local history that carries huge implications for American history. With his focus on the community, Piker joins the histories of Okfuskee and Charleston and moves us steadily toward a true American history: one in which Okfuskee men and women are as important to the historical action as Charleston men and women; one in which the generic terms of "Indians" and even "Creeks" are replaced by names and identities like "Okfuskees" and "Cowetas" that more properly reflect colonial realities. It has been obvious for some time now that a history of America without indigenous people is a false history. Even so, Indians still are portrayed in fleeting roles or as disappearing acts in many conventional colonial histories. Piker's book will undoubtedly force many colonial historians to reconsider and rethink their narratives.

ROBBIE ETHRIDGE
University of Mississippi

BRIAN DONAHUE. *The Great Meadow: Farmers and the Land in Colonial Concord*. (Yale Agrarian Studies.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 311. $35.00.

The sculptor Daniel Chester French famously memorialized the Minuteman of Concord, Massachusetts, as a proud yeoman with musket and plow, equally ready to lay down a furrow or an invading British Regular. Brian Donahue's environmental history of colonial agriculture in the town that fired "the shot heard 'round the world" suggests a very different image. Instead of the plow, the yeoman should be holding a scythe and a rake to gather in the abundant crop of meadow hay that flourished on the banks of what the Indians called Musketaquid, "Grass-ground River," and that sustained the conduct of English husbandry under the unprecedented circumstances of the New World. As for the musket, it served to defend a way of life that persisted with remarkable resiliency down to 1775, despite growing pressures of population on land. Having created a mode of life closely attuned to the local environment, the inhabitants of Concord meant to keep it that way.

This is a major work of environmental history. Donahue has fashioned a brilliant ecological narrative with powerful implications for our understanding not only of early American agriculture but also of such significant subjects as the transmission of English practices in the New World, the character of family and community in the world the Puritans made, and the attitudes and practices that enabled these New Englanders to forge a complex, attentive, and sustainable relationship with nature. Donahue's sweep is panoramic, extending 11,500 years back in geological time to the beginning of our current interglacial summer and forward to chart the rise and fall of ecological regimes among the Native occupants of southern New England down to the eve of Puritan settlement. With equal mastery, he surveys the character of agriculture as it took shape in medieval and early modern England and the periodic crises of subsistence to which it was vulnerable. Then he returns to eastern Massachusetts and assays the methods by which the newcomers turned Musketa-

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quid, a site attractive both for the ready-made planting fields cleared by Natives and for the rich meadow lands along the river, into a viable setting for English mixed husbandry. That proved a formidable challenge, as a result of the variegated quality of Concord's soils and of the severity of New England's winters. The first condition inhibited the establishment of consolidated farms. Concord opted for a nucleated village and a common field system, parceling out rights to tillage and meadow in limited acreage and reserving the great bulk of the surrounding woodland for grazing livestock. That decision was at once an expression of communal values and a recognition of environmental reality. The second condition obliged the settlers to attend to the production of a sufficient crop of hay to tide livestock over the winter—a minor issue in the more temperate climate of southern England. Managing the Great Meadow took enormous planning and labor. From the mowing lands came the hay needed to feed the livestock whose manure was crucial to maintaining the fertility of the fields that supplied the settlers' daily bread. Obtaining that result took intensive labor; far from imposing what William Cronon portrayed as destructive "changes in the land," the yeomanry practiced a sustainable brand of agriculture that was socially valued, economically rational, and ecologically sound.

These conservative husbandmen could not stave off change forever. Faced with mounting pressures of population by the mid-eighteenth century, the yeomen pressed the land to its limits and, with the fresh meadows incapable of meeting the demand, were obliged to put additional acreage under the plow and cultivate English grasses. By this means and by the emigration of young people to the frontier, Concord escaped a subsistence crisis. But the system of mixed husbandry was beset by strains caused by a shortfall of manure and over-grazed pasture. Although agricultural decline had not set in, contrary to what I argued in *The Minutemen and Their World* (1976), "the old world of the yeoman was pushing its limits" (p. 220). In the generations after the revolution, farmers attempted to overcome those limits by clearing the woods, planting extensive acreage in English hay, and intensifying production for markets. The consequence was registered in a degradation of the land and a loss of wildness that would send Henry David Thoreau to Walden woods and generate his enduring environmentalist critique.

This book is a deeply satisfying read, written with evocative images and Yankee wit. For its successful integration of social, agricultural, and environmental history, it amply deserves its award as the best book in environmental history in 2004. For the lyricism of his prose, Donahue should be recognized as the Wendell Berry of agricultural history.

ROBERT A. GROSS
University of Connecticut

DARREN STALOFF. *Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson: The Politics of Enlightenment and the American Founding.* New York: Hill and Wang. 2005. Pp. viii, 419. $30.00.

The strength of Darren Staloff's book is its fine synthesis of the reading and writing habits, and intellectual resilience, of the three statesmen whose worldviews constitute this tripartite study. In each of three well-organized chapters, the author first presents his subject at his most cerebral; next, he assesses each man's political practices during his years of greatest influence.

In his introductory section, Staloff synopsizes the works of such philosophes as John Locke, David Hume, and Adam Smith, ultimately presenting a commercial model of the Enlightenment. As a cultural movement, the Enlightenment coupled urbanity (literally, an urban community) with an adoration of science and empiricism; learned societies defined liberty in terms of a rejection of social tumult and suspicion of any form of zealotry. By this definition, commerce was enlightened, not corrupt, and it was connected to the new virtues of moderation and industriousness. The three founders are thus to be judged according to their responsiveness to this utilitarian system of thought.

Of Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, the author tends to find Hamilton the most intelligible. In Hamilton, he states, the Enlightenment was fulfilled. Though prone at times to bad personal judgments—"turmoil" the author attributes to a conflicted childhood—Hamilton moved from a revolution-era belief in the superiority of a unicameral popular government to his more mature conviction that "the people" were untrustworthy, more interested in speculative opportunities than in pursuing the national interest. "Idealism gave way to realism," writes Staloff, "and worldliness replaced heroic optimism" (p. 63). Government was to restrain excess, and union was to be privileged over state or sectional advantage: North and South were to be bound by their "mutual wants" (p. 101). Hamilton saw America as New York writ large, commercially aggressive and outward-looking. The source of Hamilton's vision was Hume, most of all, with a healthy sprinkling of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776).

In Adams, Staloff tells us, the Enlightenment was transcended. As "the foremost constitutional thinker in revolutionary America" (p. 133), Adams was moody and often undiplomatic, but he was also capable of patient, winning diplomacy—he could transcend his own peevishness. To him, the Enlightenment meant that liberty could only be obtained through profound, lifelong learning, and few citizens were endowed with the qualities necessary to assume a favored role in society. Did this make Adams antidemocratic? From Staloff's perspective, Adams's *Discourses on Davila* (1790) proved that he was an Enlightenment realist, who spared no effort to advance the cause of public education, but who recognized at the same time that "such efforts could expect only a limited return" (p. 159). Adams wrote turgidly; his sophisticated political philosophy did not hold a candle to Jefferson's dramatic Declaration of Independence. Writes Staloff, his *Thoughts on Government* (1776) was "eclipsed" by Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776); his *Defense of the Constitutions* (1777–1778) was "dwarfed" by *The Federalist* (1788).

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George Washington lived on amid what Adams called an "impious idolatry"; and Jefferson was destined to be "quoted by Philosophers, as a model, of profound wisdom" (p. 229). With no patience for the culture of sensibility, Adams offered up instead a doctrine of balance, because liberty could not exist if citizens were given too much of what they wanted. "The people were likely to overreach themselves, attacking the elite and their property," Staloff interpolates (p. 192). Thus, by making unpopular choices, by saying what did not sound as "right" for America as it actually was, Adams was more important than his more popular colleagues, because he sacrificed popularity for integrity.

The author is least comfortable with Jefferson and relies on critical caricatures perhaps more than he should. The Virginian becomes a "Romantic visionary," a phrase that is repeated again and again. The problem with this formula is that Romanticism is not simply the antithesis of the Enlightenment, although it differs in emphasis; for Jefferson, it provides an alternative vocabulary, more sensual, perhaps, but not unscientific. Staloff casts Jefferson as one who has read deeply in the Enlightenment but who does not reflect its cautious prescription. Somehow, he "lived by" the "watchwords" of "moderation and balance" (p. 258) and at the same time "unraveled the Enlightenment" (pp. 261, 267, 270) and "insulated" himself in a way that allowed him to set aside dangerously radical ideals when it came to executive action (p. 294). This portrait of the internally conflicted, self-deceiving, emotionally perverse Jefferson has been put forward by lesser historians and detracts from the author's otherwise wide-ranging and complex analysis.

The modern United States is no democracy, Staloff explains. Thanks, in part, to Hamilton, "Ours may be a government for the people, but it has never been a government by or of the people" (p. 129). Thanks, in no small measure, to Hamilton's principled enemy, it is also a visionary place, because "Thomas Jefferson taught America, as a political entity, to dream" (p. 361).

ANDREW BURSTEIN
University of Tulsa

JOHN FERLING. *Adams vs. Jefferson: The Tumultuous Election of 1800.* (Pivotal Moments in American History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 260. $26.00.

In this volume in the "Pivotal Moments in American History" series, John Ferling returns to a subject he has treated before, although never in such detail. Readers of his skillfully crafted biography of John Adams (1992) and fluent accounts of the American Revolution and the early republic will expect from him what they will find in this account of the election of 1800: clear exposition, careful scholarship, and a middle of the road approach to the big questions. What they will not find is skepticism about the importance of the events described.

Much of the book is devoted to setting up the deeper context of the election. Ferling adopts a sort of Plutarchian, parallel lives approach, giving us biographies of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson that take the two through the 1790s to the eve of the election. The narrative, which has few if any surprises, thickens when Ferling reaches the decade before the election, detailing the political divisions that began to emerge in 1790 and grew apace thereafter. The election of 1796, in many ways a prelude to what happened four years later, gets special attention, and while Ferling does not deal with the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions in as much detail as one would like, he does make clear the mounting Republican anxiety as the Federalists seemingly led the nation in the wrong direction. Thus, Ferling takes the first 134 pages of his text to get to the election itself, which is then dispatched in some seventy pages (there is also a brief epilogue).

Readers will probably expect a book about the election of 1800 to answer two questions. First, why did the election end in Jefferson's victory, and, second, why was the outcome important? Answering the former shows Ferling at his best. It would be hard to find a better guide to the complexities of this very complex election, and Ferling is particularly good at showing just how many contingencies there were. Unlike some recent authors—Garry Wills comes to mind—Ferling is wise enough not to insist that the Three-Fifths Clause was responsible for Republican victory. It was a factor, but so was Republican manipulation of the electoral system in states like Virginia, where the adoption of the general ticket (one of those winner-take-all systems that continue to undermine the notion of democracy in the United States) ensured that the Federalists received none of that state's electoral votes. Ferling also makes the useful point that the election was no landslide for the Republicans, the differences from the outcomes in 1796 being relatively small but enough to allow them to prevail.

Yet explaining why the Republicans won in the Electoral College is only half the job in this case. At least as difficult, if not more so, is explaining how Jefferson prevailed over his running mate Aaron Burr when the election went to the House of Representatives. Why did Delaware's Federalist James Bayard switch his vote and give Jefferson victory? How trustworthy is Bayard's account, insisting as it did that he had received assurances from Jefferson, albeit at second hand, that the Federalists' minimum demands would be respected? We will never really be sure what went on behind closed doors in Washington once the tie between Jefferson and Burr was known, but Ferling does as much as anyone can to unravel the possibilities.

It is in his answer to the second of the two questions—why the outcome was important—that the limitations of Ferling's approach are evident. Contrasting the state of the nation in 1801 with that in 1826 (the year Jefferson and Adams died), Ferling argues that, "[b]eyond a doubt," the string of Republican presidencies beginning in 1801 "ushered in significant changes" (p. 209). One has to wonder whether this is a case of post

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hoc, ergo propter hoc. If America was different in 1826, and in many respects it was, that had at least as much—more, in fact—to do with state and local politics and the activities of individuals than with the often irrelevant federal government. One might also wonder how much emphasis should be placed on either of Ferling's protagonists when it comes to explaining the nation's transformation. Perhaps in the end they are best understood as symbols, not causes, of change. But to pursue those lines of thought would be to question the assumptions on which political history of the sort Ferling writes rests—clearly not the goal of this useful and lucid book.

HERBERT SLOAN
Barnard College

ANDREW BURSTEIN. *Jefferson's Secrets: Death and Desire at Monticello*. New York: Basic Books. 2005. Pp. xiii, 351. $25.00.

Among the political icons of the revolutionary generation, perhaps none is as closely associated with the life of the mind as Thomas Jefferson. A voracious reader and a polymath with practically innumerable interests, Jefferson is often considered an epitome of the Enlightenment and a man to whom nothing mattered quite so much as knowledge and the power of reason. Yet Jefferson was hardly an ethereal being whose intellectual pursuits freed him from fleshly concerns, a reality perhaps never more obvious than in recent years, when discussions about the third president's sex life have been more widespread in popular discourse than about his understanding of, say, the rights of man.

Andrew Burstein extends and deepens this contemporary focus on Jefferson's physicality, making the case that the cerebral Jefferson can be understood only in context of the corporeal Jefferson. Drawing much of his evidence from the underused but voluminous correspondence and writings of Jefferson's retirement years at Monticello after his presidency ended in 1809, Burstein especially argues that Jefferson's engagement with the medical literature and biological knowledge of his era offers a window into his larger worldview as he considered the final stage of his long life. Such an analysis provides entry to a lost vocabulary of spasms, irritants, agitations, and convulsions which Jefferson often deployed for both literal and metaphorical purposes, and to a mindset in which life itself was about finding balance and harmony—what Jefferson referred to as a quest for "tranquil permanent felicity"—amid the nervous excitability endemic to human existence.

Burstein draws connections between Jefferson's medicalized outlook and various aspects of his personal and political life, yielding a portrait of an aging Jefferson simultaneously familiar and foreign to readers with modern sensibilities. We recognize a Jefferson plagued by the physical deteriorations of old age, concerned that the revolutionary history told by his Federalist political enemies would persevere to the undoing of both his country and his reputation, and grappling with the nature of divinity and the prospect of an afterlife. We are less accustomed, perhaps, to bodies of knowledge that led Jefferson to conclude that women's physical fragility was such that they ought to avoid the overstimulation he believed came from reading most novels, that dark skin naturally made individuals who possessed it irredeemably defective both physically and culturally, and that male health necessitated a regimen incorporating regular sexual activity.

Throughout his text, Burstein's sympathies for Jefferson's humanity are obvious, which makes for evocative and engaging prose. But those sympathies occasionally undermine an entirely clearheaded reading of the book's subject. In a chapter discussing Jefferson's views on race and slavery, for instance, Burstein does not shy from criticizing Jefferson for his closed-mindedness to the prospect of abolition and for the rigidity of his racism. But Burstein also repeatedly returns to whether we ought to judge Jefferson especially harshly for his racial attitudes and his inaction on slavery, ultimately concluding that the most for which we might reasonably condemn Jefferson is his "missing the opportunity to prove—and improve—himself" (p. 137).

This is somewhat beside the point. Indeed, it is perhaps unfair of modern Americans to expect Jefferson to have transcended entirely the politics of slavery and scientific currents of his age to advocate some kind of multiracial free society. It may even be unreasonable to have expected him to look past self-serving slaveholder paternalism and forgo the material comforts his enslaved labor force made possible. But the significance of Jefferson's racism goes far beyond his personal growth. The problems of race and slavery were always bigger than one man, but Jefferson has always been bigger than one man. Given the extent to which the words and deeds of the "Founding Fathers" have been and continue to be appropriated for nationalistic purposes, Jefferson's views on race are as suitable for special condemnation as his primary authorship of the Declaration of Independence is suitable for special praise.

The interiority characterizing Burstein's conclusions about Jefferson, race, and slavery similarly undercuts the strength of his argument about Jefferson's relationship with Sally Hemings. Burstein convincingly suggests that Jefferson saw his affair with Hemings more as his class prerogative than as a romance. But instead of situating the roots of that affair centrally in the social and cultural contexts of Jefferson's Virginia, where masters regularly exploited enslaved women, Burstein speculates that the source of Jefferson's sexual imagination may have come from his study of the ancient Greeks and their views on sex and concubinage. Given the scarcity of actual evidence about Jefferson's views on human sexuality and that the most Burstein can say in this regard is that "it is not unthinkable that the Greeks gave *some* shape to his unrevealed sexual views" (p. 164), perhaps we might conclude instead that not every key to unlocking Jefferson's secrets can be found jangling inside his own head or in his library.

JOSHUA D. ROTHMAN
University of Alabama

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RICHARD BUEL, JR. *America on the Brink: How the Political Struggle over the War of 1812 Almost Destroyed the Young Republic*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. PP. 302. $29.95.

The literature on the War of 1812 has grown considerably over the past fifteen years. New studies, primarily military in their emphases, have increased significantly our understanding of this "forgotten conflict." Yet few works have revisited the war's political and diplomatic character. Richard Buel, Jr.'s book takes up the task, offering a fresh look at the political contest surrounding the war. This, however, is only one of Buel's historiographical ambitions. He is equally interested in clarifying the impact of Federalist behavior on early national affairs. Taking aim at older works trumpeting the Federalists' nation-building contributions, and newer works emphasizing their more progressive views on women, Indians, and slavery, Buel labels post-1800 Federalists "the notable exception" among a generation of relatively responsible national leaders (p. 9). Castigating Federalists for "orchestrating the extremism they pretended to restrain," Buel lays the War of 1812, and a decade of disunionist danger, squarely in their laps (p. 3).

In advancing this argument, Buel separates himself from older interpretations emphasizing War Hawk belligerence and newer analyses focusing on James Madison's longstanding goal of securing American commercial autonomy. Instead, he traces the war to the machinations of disgruntled Federalists—a minority, but still culturally and financially empowered minority, whose politically vindictive carping forced the Republican administration to extremes in order to retain political credibility.

This need to appease an ideologically sensitive populace is critical to Buel's argument. Early national politicians recognized the importance of building broad, popular followings. But their efforts were complicated by a persisting localism and the absence of a national political infrastructure. To be heard above the resulting cacophony, politicians needed to articulate a message that was largely ideological, and to deliver that message from recognized positions of authority.

The resulting temptation to rhetorical excess proved too great for many Federalists, according to Buel. Josiah Quincy, the "enfant terrible" of the Federalist opposition, provides an example of this rhetorical extremism (p. 64). Having failed to build a more substantive alliance with John Randolph's Tertium Quids, he employed the language of national honor to assault Republican policy. Their embargo was a spineless submission to foreign harassment, their tough talk a sham; for all their bluster, Quincy charged, Republicans could not be "kicked" into war. It was this sort of rhetoric that limited Republican options in 1812. Having yielded to Federalist opposition in 1809, there was no longer room for retreat. As Tennessee Republican Felix Grundy observed, "if we talk of war, and tamely submit—then indeed, public opinion will and ought to be against us" (p. 152).

Republicans may have had their hand forced in 1812, but as long as Britain retained an ally in northeastern Federalists, confrontation with Britain seemed inevitable. By this point, in fact, many Republicans believed the domestic enemy was as dangerous to the nation as the foreign. It was a conclusion consistent with the era's rhetoric of hyperbole, but it is a conclusion Buel shares. Therefore, it is not surprising that he finds a certain justice in the dissolution of the Federalist Party after the Hartford Convention. Having pushed Republicans, afraid of losing public credibility, toward war, Federalists themselves were forced, after years of protest and threat, to convene their suicidal convention by the same need. The public embarrassment that followed news of the Treaty of Ghent and Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans was politically crushing.

Buel's analysis is unforgiving, yet for the most part his richly detailed narrative captures the complexity of the political forces in play. While heaping most blame on Federalists, he makes clear that this minority's leverage rested on factionalism within the Republican majority. Randolph's Quids were only part of Madison's problem. Moderate northeastern Republicans clung more tenaciously to commercial pressure than their more war-ready partisans to the south and west. And closer to home, the disaffection of Madison's own secretary of state, Robert Smith, compromised the administration's message.

Yet still, one finishes this book wondering if Buel's interest in presenting the Federalists as their contemporaries saw them limited his analysis. To be fair, evaluating the legitimacy of Federalist complaints lies somewhat outside Buel's intentions; more important to him is the political machinations that forced the debate to extremes and took the country to "the brink." But Federalists' very extremism begs a deeper look at their concerns, for example, the economic impact of Republican policies, or the equity of wartime spending. Instead, while the policy reservations of moderate Republicans are cast as ideological, Federalist protests are often reduced to the baseless complaints of the politically dispossessed.

Buel's analysis, rich in detail, adds a provocative edge to our understanding of this war. His powerfully drawn portrait of Federalists as they "appeared to their contemporaries" will challenge Federalist scholars and remind general readers that the political battles of the period continue to have meaning (p. 237).

MARSHALL FOLETTA
University of California, Berkeley

LANCE NEWMAN. *Our Common Dwelling: Henry Thoreau, Transcendentalism, and the Class Politics of Nature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. xv, 255. $65.00.

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This is a well-written, provocative book that is stronger in its parts than as a whole. Lance Newman sees his work as a contribution to the emerging field of ecocriticism, which bills itself as a revisionist theoretical school and a nascent political movement. But Newman's study may be appreciated on more modest terms, as an attempt to ground Henry David Thoreau and Transcendentalism in broader social, political, and scientific contexts of the antebellum period. In this light, the book belongs on a shelf with noteworthy studies by authors such as Anne C. Rose and Laura Dassow Walls.

The title of the book is actually somewhat misleading; Thoreau is the primary focus of only five of seventeen chapters. Another eight individual chapters explore New England's labor turmoil as well as the response of individual Transcendentalists and the movement in general. The remaining four chapters, in addition to a rather partisan foreword, serve as theoretical bookends. Manifestly, the book as a whole suffers somewhat from a lack of synthesis and integration. Newman would have been better advised to compress and consolidate many of the eight background chapters with those on Thoreau (a higher degree of synthesis that he achieved in an article in *American Literature* [September 2003] that includes material from some of these chapters). Rather than sustaining this tighter, more well-wrought approach, Newman instead chose to engage in a more segmented "dialectical writing," but the result falls short of the "holistic, 'totalizing' " finished product that he had hoped for (p. 24).

What, then, of the parts? Newman's main contention is that New England's "working-class movement must be seen as the motive force behind Transcendentalism" (p. 43). Faced with this challenge to their authority and alarmed by the specters of class warfare and widespread poverty, radical elites like Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Orestes Brownson offered cultural leadership rooted in a shared belief in the redemptive power of nature. Roughly speaking, the Transcendentalists divided into "scholars" pursuing self-culture as the surest means to save the republic and "reformers" who turned to more direct methods of social and political activism (p. 109). As one of the idealist "scholars," Thoreau at first looked to germinate "great men" who could assuage class tensions by living well and fulfilling a "just paternalism" (pp. 116). Over time, however, Thoreau's scientific bent and his observations of capitalism's inroads into the local countryside moved him to embrace a more empiricist, materialist, and ecocentric view of nature, with consequences for his politics. His late unpublished writings (such as *Wild Fruits*) reveal a decided shift from individualist to communal solutions for the destructive effects of capitalist expansion.

Newman's explication of this interpretation proceeds along multiple fronts and is more variegated and full of insights than a brief summary can capture. In the course of it he presents some particularly strong chapters, such as the one analyzing Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843* (1844), or another detailing William Wordsworth's influence on Thoreau. Yet there are some missed opportunities to make the kinds of connections that could have integrated the book into a more satisfying whole. Fuller's vision of the Rock River country as an "organic utopia," for example, might have been brought to bear in the discussion (over 100 pages later) of Thoreau's increasing focus on "organic community" (pp. 67, 177). A more serious shortcoming in the latter chapter, in fact, is the absence of any sustained attention to Thoreau's longstanding interest in Native Americans or his depictions of rural folk cultures in works like *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849).

Such interpretive lapses perhaps might be attributed to Newman's determination to keep so many theoretical balls in the air. Certainly many historians will give a sympathetic reading to his account of the ecocritical effort to inject more realism into literary theory, and in so far as it is broadly analogous to Thoreau's evolution from Transcendentalism toward materialism, it belongs in the book. Newman, indeed, makes no apologies for seeking out a usable past to serve current political ends. But when he goes on to declare at length that the materialist basis for ecocriticism must be of the Marxist variety, the reader begins to feel that one too many balls has been put into play, and that the book has become overburdened. Similarly, Newman may anticipate a mixed response to his discussion of the role of ecocriticism as a "movement based in university literature departments" in bringing about a "radical transformation of human relations with nature" (p. 3). Readers might take such assertions as fascinating case studies in the perennial quandary of cultural radicalism in academia: "How may college professors engage in revolutionary politics and still keep their jobs as college professors?" Most conveniently, according to Newman, all that is required is to teach classes and write books.

ROBERT L. DORMAN
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PATRICK W. CAREY. *Orestes A. Brownson: American Religious Weathervane.* (Library of Religious Biography.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 2004. Pp. xx, 428. $28.00.

The difficulty involved in writing a biography of Orestes A. Brownson is not limited to the man's enormous output and his often erratic intellectual trajectory. A prospective biographer of Brownson must be a true polymath, proficient in theology, philosophy, political theory, and American history, and it is for this reason that Patrick W. Carey's book is so impressive.

Scholarly studies of Brownson have at times focused on the man's religious thought to the exclusion of his political thought, or vice versa. Carey's biography, however, manages to discuss Brownson's religious and political evolution in a single, seamless narrative. Carey takes us through the various stages of Brownson's life, from his early exploration of various Christian denominations through his career as a Universalist preacher

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and a Unitarian pastor, and from there to his association with Transcendentalism. He became the best-known nineteenth-century American convert to Catholicism in 1844, and his influence has been compared to that of John Henry Newman, the renowned British convert from Anglicanism.

Throughout his writing career Brownson was known for surprising—or even confusing—supporters and detractors alike. He was, for example, a strong partisan of the definition of papal infallibility promulgated at the First Vatican Council, and yet had condemned what he described as ecclesiastical despotism when Rome unjustly circumscribed the bounds of legitimate Catholic opinion in areas not directly related to the faith. On the one hand, he was contemptuous of those who would downplay certain aspects of the Catholic faith in order to render it more palatable to an American audience or to modern ears; he memorably observed that the task at hand was to Catholicize America, not to Americanize Catholicism. On the other hand, as Carey shows, Brownson himself engaged in speculations on hell that at the very least tiptoed along the boundaries of orthodoxy, suggesting, for example, that the damned might finally be restored to a state of natural happiness—similar to the Limbo of the theologians—in the interest of appealing to modern sensibilities that balked at the idea of eternal punishment.

To be sure, the positions Brownson adopted over the course of his life were not necessarily at odds with one another; they were, at times, simply two sides of the same coin, or they involved considering the same issue under two different aspects. But Brownson's views did change, sometimes quite radically, over time, and even his shifts in emphasis left people baffled. Carey's biography does the best job of chronicling and accounting for the ebbs and flows of Brownson's thought that we can expect to see.

In 1865 Brownson released his only book, *The American Republic*. Although Carey might have devoted more space to analyzing this book and its arguments, he does show *The American Republic* to be classic Brownson: at a time when the country was about the practical task of drafting specific terms and policies for Reconstruction, this lay theologian and student of history was composing a work of abstract political theory. And in American politics as elsewhere, Brownson was difficult to pigeonhole. He had opposed abolitionism but favored emancipation as a war measure. He had condemned the southern doctrine of state sovereignty but embraced the idea of states' rights, which he vigorously upheld after the war. And although he had once considered the growing power of the South the greatest danger to the Union, by the end of the war he had grown far more concerned about the power of humanitarian leftism in the North, which he feared would overturn legitimate jurisdictional boundaries in its zeal for social reform.

Carey respects and admires Brownson, but not uncritically. He finds fault with his subject's quick temper, his unenlightened racial views, and his sometimes rash judgments. This last point, Carey suggests, may have reflected the difficulties inherent in publishing one's own periodical, as Brownson did for much of his career. Simply put, his rigorous publication schedule may have caused Brownson to make some of his political, theological, and philosophical judgments in haste.

Carey paints a sympathetic picture of a man eager to demonstrate that Catholicism was readily reconciled with American principles of religious and political liberty, and yet who struggled to account for (or to explain away) actions and statements by a Vatican that was very far from making its peace with modernity. Orestes Brownson was in some ways a man who straddled the Old World and the New, and who rebuked each with the virtues of the other. Thanks to Carey we have, at last, the definitive treatment of this fascinating—if incorrigibly idiosyncratic—writer and thinker.

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STEPHEN G. ALTER. *William Dwight Whitney and the Science of Language*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, number 1) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 339. $49.95.

Books have been written about Charles Darwin, about the intellectual history of the nineteenth century, about the Victorians, about nineteenth-century science and linguistics, but rarely has a book been written that gathers up and integrates all these strands in one biographical knot. This is exactly what Stephen G. Alter has done. His book provides both a much-needed biography of William Dwight Whitney, an expert on Sanskrit and oriental studies and one of the most seminal writers on general linguistics in the nineteenth century, and a window onto the social, cultural, political, philosophical, scientific, and religious background against which general linguistics emerged as a "science." The book is topical in various respects, as it explores the relations among linguistics, science, and society. As in the nineteenth century, when Whitney was grappling with the notion of science, today "the definition of science itself" is again "in flux" (p. 4). As in the nineteenth century, linguistics faces "the same challenge as the human sciences as a whole in Whitney's days: the juggernaut biological, chemical, and other physically oriented disciplines threaten[s] to absorb the study of society and behavior, including speech behavior" (p. 4). The science of language that Whitney wanted to establish was founded on the axiom that language was a social product and not, as some of his contemporaries claimed, a "natural organism." For him, studying language scientifically did not mean subordinating the science of language to the emerging natural sciences or treating language as if it was a "natural" object. Furthermore, the relation between science and religion on which Whitney pondered throughout his life seems not to have changed substantially. One should also note another

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concern that has recently emerged at the science/society interface: the public understanding of science, to which both Whitney and his arch-rival F. Max Müller contributed in their own ways with regard to the public understanding of linguistics (p. 63).

The first two chapters of Alter's book are devoted to Whitney's early life and the beginnings of his career as an orientalist. It also tells the story of his family and introduces us to his brother Josiah, who influenced W. D. Whitney in many ways. Josiah shared with his younger brother a passion for geology, a field that contributed to a reevaluation of man's place in nature just as much as biology, especially through the work of Charles Lyell, whom Josiah heard lecture and whom W. D. admired. Chapter three provides an overview of debates over science, language, and religion during the Victorian era, which shaped some of Whitney's views on matters of language. Chapter four sets out the main tenets of Whitney's linguistic system and the response it received in America—sometimes quite hostile, as it contradicted some cherished religious beliefs around which American university life was then built. Especially important is the section on the influence of Scottish Common Sense philosophy on Whitney's thinking. Chapter five shows how Whitney tried to systematize his field of study both intellectually and professionally. Chapters six and seven are central to the book, as they explore Whitney's elaboration of the science of language, including a "sociology of language," as a human, cultural, and social science in the context of Whitney's interests in ethnology, anthropology, and Darwin's theory of evolution. Chapter eight provides insights into personal rivalries (Müller), and alliances (Darwin) and into Whitney's opposition to the German romantic view of language as a living organism and the idealist view of Sanskrit. For Whitney language could only be studied "scientifically" by using induction, classification, and quantification and by approaching everything from an empirical and critical angle. Chapter nine deals with various strands of Whitney's legacy. Although there has never been a Whitney "school," his thought left marks on the Neogrammarians, Ferdinand de Saussure, who became the more famous "father" of general linguistics, and sociolinguistics, especially with regard to the concept of lexical diffusion. Chapter ten summarizes Whitney's enduring legacies.

There are some spelling mistakes that should be corrected in a second edition, but they do not distort the meaning of the text: Geothe (p. 124) should be Goethe; Bertoldt (p. 227)/Bertholdt (p. 177, 264) should be Berthold; Miellet (p. 263) should be Meillet; Vendres (p. 263) should be Vendryes; and Bridgitte (p. 325) should be Brigitte.

This short review can only scratch the surface of a deeply engaging book that should be of interest to historians, linguists, and anyone interested in the relation between science and society in the nineteenth century and beyond.

BRIGITTE NERLICH
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SHANE WHITE and GRAHAM WHITE. *The Sounds of Slavery: Discovering African American History through Songs, Sermons, and Speech*. With CD. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 2005. Pp. xxii, 241. $29.95.

It has been too long since anyone has surveyed the broad sonic world of slavery, and we are fortunate that two such keen-eared historians have undertaken the task. This book complements and extends the last major work of its kind, Dena J. Epstein's *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (1977). Like Epstein, Shane White and Graham White mine a prodigious amount of primary material, but they move beyond Epstein's focus on music to encompass the enormous range of sounds slaves crafted and that marked their world. Celebrating that creativity, they provide a superb introduction to this aspect of the slave experience, and the enclosed eighteen-track CD is a bonus that allows us to listen in on some representative samples of the sounds slaves heard and made.

"Above all else," White and White note from the beginning, "slave culture was made to be heard" (p. ix). The authors consequently take as their "main objective" a desire "to reach an understanding of what those sounds meant to enslaved African Americans, and to whites who were within earshot" (p. 29). The text pursues this question through eight chapters and a brief epilogue, traveling across the broad sonic landscape of town and plantation. Along the way, we listen in on frolics and worksongs, plantation bells and equipment, musical instruments and vocal virtuosity, sermons and hymns, dialect stories and jokes, street criers and vendors, and a host of other sounds that formed the sonic space of Africans in America. Yet the analysis does more than merely sample these different expressive cultures. The authors insist that the world of sound was a place enslaved blacks created a refuge from oppression, an "alternative universe" from those who claimed their ownership (p. 93). In particular, the degree to which their New World noises were indebted to their African antecedents and aesthetic principles indicates how extensively the patchwork of sounds, scraps of noise, and the creation of aesthetic frames that "invited co-construction" were means by which the enslaved made the soundscape an area of cultural freedom (p. 64). Through their noises, White and White conclude, the enslaved "for a short time at least, claimed some portion of the plantation South as an African American place" (p. 15). In so doing, they laid the foundation for a broader African American culture that continued to buoy spirits not only through the dark days of slavery but into Jim Crow's lengthening shadow.

It is a genuinely inspiring tale, but one not without a few off-pitch notes. The authors offer no satisfying methodological explanation for what benefits may be derived from studying sound. Indeed, the conclusions White and White reach from their study seem to echo claims that are by now quite familiar within African American historiography, and thus we have no compelling sense about how sound offers us new insights that

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have been thus far opaque to those relying on written texts. Additionally, in their attempts to show how the enslaved crafted a unique culture resistant to the power of their enslavers, the authors frequently make misleading and lopsided comparisons between African American folk culture and planter elite culture. So, for example they write of a "West African tradition that saw music as functional, as part and parcel of the ordinary course of daily life, rather than as something abstracted from it" (p. 40). Yet there is no culture—white southern plantation culture included—that does not find music "functional." A more sophisticated model of cultural comparison might begin by contrasting black folk culture with white folk culture, or pursue the possibility that divisions between white planter and black folk culture were not as strict as White and White assume. "Young massa played his fiddle and us'd sing," one former slave quoted in the book recalled (p. 114). The master's violin could easily become the master's fiddle. Finally, frequent assertions that whites listened "uncomprehendingly" or that black aural culture was "either almost incomprehensible or completely nonsensical to most white listeners" seem more a reflection of the authors' reliance on nineteenth-century travel literature than the degree to which native white southerners shared their visitors' bafflement (pp. 42, 17). Indeed, late in the analysis the authors suggest that the scanty evidence from native whites may in fact reflect not so much confusion but familiarity with "an accepted part of everyday life . . . barely worthy of comment" (p. 151). In short, the degree to which whites and blacks shared a common sonic culture is open to more debate than the authors allow.

Nevertheless, White and White have recovered a significant treasure of material, bringing back to us a world shaped by sounds of infinite variety and creativity. Their book succeeds in placing again before us some of the most astonishingly creative responses to degradation the world has ever known.

GAVIN JAMES CAMPBELL
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DAVID S. REYNOLDS. *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2005. Pp. x, 578. $35.00.

David S. Reynolds is a master of cultural biography, the placement of an individual in the particular cultural and social conditions of the era in which he or she lived. His *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography* (1995) skillfully located the poet in the milieu of the Civil War. In his latest biography, Reynolds analyzes the most controversial of all nineteenth-century Americans, John Brown. His goal is to show that in a different time or place his subject might have been viewed simply as a forgettable crank or a despicable criminal or traitor. In arguing for Brown's achievements in abolition and racial equality, Reynolds succeeds admirably. In part because of Brown's humble eloquence before death, and in part because nothing else approached slavery in its wickedness, the leader of the Pottawatomie killings and the Harpers Ferry raid emerges as an admirable figure.

Reynolds' subtitle will raise doubts among some. Yet the author successfully shows that Brown did help to kill slavery by loosening its roots; he did not cause the Civil War but rather sparked it by creating conditions in North and South that accelerated its inevitability; he did not bring about the civil rights revolution, but he planted the seeds of racial equality that nurtured its development in the mid-twentieth century.

Reynolds is to be praised for emphasizing the role that New England Transcendentalists played in creating sympathy for Brown before and after his execution and in establishing him as a martyred saint. Southerners intensified the differences, too, by exaggerating the meaning of Harpers Ferry, claiming it to be a northern conspiracy in behalf of a madman. The Secret Six, especially George L. Stearns and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, nobly defended Brown's actions against an immoral institution, while it was Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau who rescued him from infamy and possible oblivion by praising his poise and eloquence as he awaited the hangman. Emerson's lecture on Brown's courage and his famous injunction that his death would "make the gallows glorious like the cross" (p. 366) intensified the comparisons to Christ in the North and to Satan in the South. Those in the free states who might have opposed and even abhorred his deeds could now admire his spirit.

At the same time Reynolds helps to rehabilitate the reputations of the Secret Six. Long maligned for both their eagerness to fund Brown's Kansas activities and their cowardice once Harpers Ferry failed, they nonetheless showed remarkable courage. Although Brown kept his invasion of Virginia secret and talked only of Kansas, they remained steadfast in their commitment to him. Higginson publicly praised Brown for his efforts, and Stearns especially was a key figure later in the push to mobilize black troops during the War. On January 1, 1863, rather than attending Boston's public celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation, Stearns hosted a reception for Transcendentalists, calling it the John Brown Party.

Reynolds makes no apologies for Brown's role at Pottawatomie, where he directed the cold-blooded murders of five proslavery settlers in May 1856, saying that his actions were not admirable but were explainable in a time of violence by border ruffians from Missouri, of spineless politicians in Washington, and of the caning of Charles Sumner in the U.S. Senate. Pottawatomie was an act of terrorism set off by proslavery outrages in which the Puritan John Brown patterned himself after Oliver Cromwell.

The oft-neglected years between Pottawatomie and Harpers Ferry were a time of preparation for the invasion of the South. Reynolds develops Brown's many travels throughout the North, hiding from law officials, escorting thirteen Missouri slaves to freedom in Canada, even as he raised funds and sought recruits for

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Harpers Ferry. His contacts with Frederick Douglass (in whose home he hid and wrote his constitution for the liberated nation following the overthrow of slavery), Harriet Tubman, and other black leaders are explained in detail and add immeasurably to our understanding of Brown and his commitment not only to abolition but to complete racial equality.

Reynolds makes some minor errors in an otherwise accurate account. He identifies Representative Joshua Giddings as a Free Soil senator (p. 150) and as the governor of Ohio (p. 208), in both instances confusing him with Salmon P. Chase. He suggests that Kansas was admitted as a free state in 1858 (p. 176) rather than in 1861. Some may question whether Reynolds is guilty of exaggerating Brown's impact on post-Harpers Ferry America. Instead, his book makes a convincing case for Brown's importance. This is a thoroughly plausible analysis of Brown's impact on American history. In a well-written and researched effort, Reynolds shows Brown to be unique among white Americans in his commitment to destroy slavery and bring about racial equality. While many Americans remain uneasy and ambivalent with Brown's violent acts, the author successfully places those acts in the cultural setting of the mid-nineteenth century and shows us why Brown is so central to American history.

FREDERICK J. BLUE
Redmond, Oregon

FREDERICK J. BLUE. *No Taint of Compromise: Crusaders in Antislavery Politics*. (Antislavery, Abolition, and the Atlantic World.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 301. $54.95.

In the decades before the American Civil War, the antislavery movement was wracked with controversy over many issues, most notoriously women's rights and the decision of some abolitionists to embrace political tactics. Historians have produced a number of monographs that study divisions among abolitionists over questions of the worth of political activity, the decision to form a third party, and the necessity for compromise. Frederick J. Blue's volume instead purports to find a "remarkable unity and commonality of purpose" (p. 4) among those who used the political system to attack slavery. Blue organizes his study around the minibiographies of nine men and two women: Alvan Stewart, John Greenleaf Whittier, Charles Henry Langston, Owen Lovejoy, Sherman M. Booth, Jane Grey Swisshelm, George Washington Julian, David Wilmot, Benjamin and Edward Wade, and Jessie Benton Frémont.

This book provides a nice synopsis of the life and career of its subjects. Blue places each individual along a political spectrum based on the timing of their decision to commit to political antislavery. The minibiographies begin with those who were among the first to embrace political tactics and who helped form the Liberty Party in 1840. The study then moves to those figures that joined political antislavery after 1848 with the formation of the Free Soil Party, a more moderate organization advocating the containment of slavery. The final group worked within the two-party system until the decline of the Whigs and then became Republicans in the 1850s. All but one of the individuals in the study eventually joined the Republican Party, or in the case of the women, supported its cause. Blue believes that women influenced political antislavery through agitation, or in the case of Frémont, through behind-the-scenes pressure, and reached the public on behalf of political parties through editorials and oratory. Each biography is well written and is a useful supplement to the work historians have done on more prominent political figures. Blue has chosen to make each chapter self-contained. This is useful for those seeking information about an individual included in the study, but the structure creates repetition for those who read each chapter sequentially, since Blue repeats the background information on political events of the day in each biography.

Blue's overarching argument, outlined in the introduction and conclusion, is the claim that "what most united the eleven was their acceptance of the political process as the most desirable and effective way to bring change and the eventual abolition of slavery" (p. 269). Blue's argument ignores the complex and varied political approaches of his eleven subjects. Stewart, for example, believed the Constitution gave the federal government the legal power to attack slavery wherever it existed. In 1840, he helped found the Liberty Party, because he wanted to use the political system to abolish slavery. Stewart believed the immediate abolition of slavery was the political goal of an abolitionist third party, and he refused to join other Liberty Party members who agreed to replace abolition with the containment of slavery. Wilmot, by contrast, was an antiabolitionist whose main concern was the economic interest of northern farmers. Wilmot proposed that Congress ban slavery in the territories acquired from Mexico, but he voted against abolishing slavery in Washington, D.C. Blue argues that there was a "remarkable degree of consensus" (p. 270) between people like Stewart and Wilmot, yet his own short biographies do not seem to justify this statement. The differences between Wilmot and Stewart seem vast, especially since Blue never, in the brief biography of Wilmot, provides any evidence that Wilmot viewed the political process as the best way to attack slavery. Nor does Blue's inclusion of Frémont or Langston fit well with his thesis. Frémont seems more of an advocate for her ambitious husband, John C. Frémont, than an advocate of antislavery. Langston was an African American civil rights advocate who played a prominent role in the Oberlin-Wellington rescue. Langston seriously considered schemes for African Americans to emigrate and seek a new homeland, a position incompatible with Blue's claim that his subjects never abandoned the political approach.

The minibiographies in this volume portray a complex group of individuals with different roads toward and different goals for political antislavery. Blue brushes aside differences between his subjects because

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he finds consensus in the simple fact that they all believed in a political approach. Because there is so little depth to this thesis, there is little depth to the analysis across the short biographies. Blue's book is a useful reference on some of the understudied figures in the antislavery movement, but it is limited in its ability to explain that movement.

LORIEN FOOTE
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C. A. TRIPP. *The Intimate World of Abraham Lincoln.* New York: Free Press. 2005. Pp. xxxvi, 343. $27.00.

This book is a work of desire, the desire of the late Kinsey Institute author C. A. Tripp to prove that the sixteenth president was primarily homosexual, or a "2" on a scale of 1 (exclusively homosexual) to 6 (exclusively heterosexual). Less a biography than a psychosexual analysis of Abraham Lincoln's correspondence with his putative paramours, Tripp seeks to demonstrate that Lincoln, in effect, led a secret homosexual life in a period before homosexuality was a recognized sexual orientation.

After a brief review of Lincoln's adolescence and speculation about his adolescent masturbatory experiences and sexual outlets, Tripp turns his analysis to the president's relationships with Ann Rutledge, Mary Owens, and Mary Todd, all three of whom apparently provided cover for his true love interests, David Derickson, Elmer Ellsworth, and especially Joshua Speed. To support this contention, Tripp cites Lincoln's off-color humor; his alleged homoerotic poem, the "First Chronicles of Ruben"; his emotional distance from the women in his life; and the alleged sexual unions with both Derickson and Speed, as well as the president's amorous, if unrequited, pursuit of Ellsworth. Tripp relies on the Lincoln-Speed correspondence to bolster his case, and indeed, by his reading of this interesting collection, there is no doubt as to Lincoln's preference, deserving 2 rather than a 1 only because Lincoln married Mary Todd.

Over and above Tripp's controversial thesis, the book makes for an interesting read, particularly so with respect to Lincoln's private life and Tripp's reflections about the president's personality. What one imagines is a real person with wants and needs, some fulfilled and some not. In short, Lincoln is portrayed as someone with an ego and a personality who in spite of his self-declared faults and tribulations as commander-in-chief managed to eke out moments of intense personal happiness. One senses that Lincoln's life was not all bad as Tripp introduces us to a man who projected much warmth that was in turn reciprocated by his friends and colleagues. This essay, however, is not the typical stuff of academic biographies, and herein lies the rub: it is in fact not a work of history, at least not in the traditional sense. Rather, what we have is a highly speculative "psycho" essay about Lincoln's sexual intentions and his sexual orientation.

Proof of intentionality is difficult at best, made all the more so if intentionality is hidden behind a mask of obfuscation. Unfortunately, such is the case in this instance, a fact that Tripp readily acknowledges. Methodologically, therefore, the book has nothing to do with history; instead it relies upon the reader's ability to accept Tripp's leaps of faith, rank assertions, and self-declared insights as a sex researcher. One example may suffice. When describing Lincoln's youth, Tripp quotes Alfred Kinsey on the frequency of homosexuality in rural communities (p. 30). Tripp then proceeds to assert that based upon the observation of a Lincoln family friend, at ten years old Lincoln was "a long, tall, dangling, awkward, droll-looking boy" and had his "first ejaculatory capacity predating even that" (p. 31). Lincoln was by this proposition not only more sexed up but—and according to Kinsey's logic—more available for homosexual sexual activity as a child in the backwaters of the American landscape. While this may have been the case, the speculations of a self-proclaimed expert on the sexual behavior of males are not history but rather the assertions of a gay man who very much wanted Lincoln to be a homosexual, regardless of the sloppy historical methodology employed in support of the author's thesis. No proof is offered in this as in other instances; one only need be an affiliate of the Kinsey Institute to know that the peculiarities of homosexual behavior, especially closeted behavior, may be transferred to dead presidents.

This book was published shortly after Tripp's death, and the publishers inserted a very useful introduction by Jean Baker that places the work within the context of the ongoing debate over Lincoln's sexuality. Baker's essay is followed by Michael Burlingame's "respectful dissent" and Alice Flennessey's "Psychologists Perspective" assenting to the possibility of Lincoln's bisexuality. These essays are helpful to the nonacademic and nonspecialist alike, particularly those who may simply reject Tripp's analysis outright. The final section of the book contains two appendixes, one the entire text of the "First Chronicles of Ruben" and the second the Lincoln-Speed correspondence. I found both of these to be invaluable aids, as they allow the reader to judge personally the merits of Tripp's thesis.

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JOHN F. MARSZALEK. *Commander of All Lincoln's Armies: A Life of General Henry W. Halleck.* Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 324. $29.95.

With this work, John F. Marszalek fills a large gap in the nineteenth-century U.S. historical record. Despite the considerable roles played by Henry Wager Halleck in disparate fields, no other full biography of the man exists. The few extant studies focus on his Civil War career, with the most notable being that of Stephen E. Ambrose dating to 1962. In some ways, this lacuna is unsurprising, because Halleck is best known as the bureaucratic chieftain of the Union armies, or as the

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book's subtitle would have it, "Commander of All Lincoln's Armies." However, Marszalek maintains that this flawed general deserves a much more prominent place in American history than his Civil War record would accord him.

In preparing this life of Halleck, Marszalek certainly did his homework. Because the Halleck papers are scattered, the author dug into repositories from the U.S. Military Academy to the California State Library as well as Halleck family documents in private hands. Adding to the authoritative nature of the volume is its extensive scholarly apparatus, with forty-six pages of endnotes, plus twenty-seven well-chosen illustrations spanning Halleck's life. Missing are the two or three maps that might profitably have traced Halleck's peregrinations.

And what a remarkable story his is. The first of fourteen children, Halleck ran away from the rigors of an upstate New York farm life for West Point. His sterling academic performance led to his assignment during his senior year as assistant professor of chemistry. After commissioning, Halleck continued his scholarly pursuits by writing articles and books such as *Bitumen: Its Varieties, Properties, and Uses* (1841), which outlined the military potential of asphalt. Marszalek characterizes Halleck's prose as "both technical and extremely dry" (p. 34), but it brought the young officer coveted speaking slots at the Lowell Institute of Boston and cemented his reputation among the country's leading intellectuals. In 1846, just seven years out of West Point, Halleck published *Elements of Military Art and Science*, which for years remained the pinnacle of American writing on military theory, earning for him the sobriquet "Old Brains."

That same year, Halleck sailed for California and war. His performance in combat, while on the periphery of major campaigns, was impressive for his personal bravery and tactical flair. In the subsequent tumult of Gold Rush California, Halleck quickly became a leading figure, serving as secretary of state of the 1849 statehood convention and emerging as a top real estate attorney. Employing his engineering skills, he oversaw the construction of the biggest building west of the Mississippi River and became general manager of the world's largest quicksilver mine. By the end of the 1850s, he had scored major profits from his numerous commercial and legal ventures but continued to write at a breakneck pace, publishing volumes on land title issues, military theory, and international relations.

With the coming of the Civil War, Halleck was soon wearing the stars of a major general. As commander in the Western Theater, he oversaw subordinates who won the first northern victories, leading Abraham Lincoln to call Halleck east in July 1862 to direct all the Union armies. He was to disappoint the president in almost every way. Marszalek catalogs Halleck's numerous troubles in his twenty months as the ranking uniformed officer: his uninspiring personal manner, his propensity to blame subordinates for his own failings, and his indecision. Marszalek faults Halleck especially for his myopic inability to see the political nature of war. Ultimately, Halleck did render the Union great service as an able administrator, but his irresolution prompted Lincoln to dismiss him as a "clerk." Marszalek dissects as closely as the evidence will permit his subject's negative qualities, which comprise not only Halleck's failures as a military leader but his prejudiced attitudes toward minorities. Using the insights of modern medicine and psychology, the author controversially ascribes Halleck's wartime indecisiveness partly to health problems, including the lingering effects of mercury poisoning and bouts with liquor and opium. This reviewer found the evidence for such assertions strong but not compelling.

In the final analysis, Marszalek's searching and balanced study offers frequent surprises for even the most attentive students of the era. For example, as early as 1863, Halleck set aside resources for the preservation of Confederate military records, and his continued interest in those leads Marszalek to label Halleck the father of the *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*. Author Marszalek modestly subtitles his study "A Life of General Henry W. Halleck." More accurately, it should read "The Life of General Henry W. Halleck."

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HEATHER ANDREA WILLIAMS. *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom*. (John Hope Franklin Series in African American History and Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 304. $29.95.

The central question guiding Heather Andrea Williams's finely crafted study is "What did ordinary African Americans in the South do to provide education for themselves during slavery and when slavery ended?" (p. 1). In nine deeply researched and passionately written chapters, the author provides nuanced analyses of why and how enslaved and emancipated blacks, who believed "knowledge is power," became literate, often in the face of racial hostilities. Admittedly this "was by no means an untold story" (p. 3) when Williams began the dissertation from which her book emerged, but her "telling" has fresh dimensions.

Unlike previous studies exploring the ways southern blacks gained literacy at the behest of northern white missionaries and the Freedmen's Bureau in the Civil War-Reconstruction era, upon which Williams correctly builds, this book shifts the focus, using James C. Scott's "hidden transcripts" argument to highlight the creative determination of blacks to abandon the metaphorical chains of ignorance. Also of great importance over time were the efforts of black Americans to influence or control the development of and access to education for their people. They associated literacy with liberation: physical, mental, and political.

Few, if any, of the previous studies covering the subject have probed the tenacity of black soldiers in learning to read and write amid the ravages of the Civil War.

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Chapter three, "The Men Are Actually Clamoring for Books," illuminates the lives of the slave-born Elijah Marrs, Susie King Taylor, Henry McNeal Turner, and others integral to the "teaching corps" for soldiers, potential leaders "anxious to throw off the limitations of slavery" (p. 49). Not only did they elevate themselves in preparation for the future, the soldiers assisted in the creation or support of schools in Arkansas, Virginia, Georgia, and elsewhere. Additionally, they contributed more than $6,000 toward the founding of the Lincoln Institute (now Lincoln University) and hundreds of dollars for Wilberforce University's endowment, permanent legacies for future generations.

After establishing schools and employing teachers, with or without the assistance of the Freedmen's Bureau, American Missionary Association (AMA), or other agencies, the acquisition of textbooks was crucial. In chapter seven, "A Long and Tedious Road to Travel for Knowledge," Williams provides contextual analyses of selected texts. Moving beyond traditional discussions about the paucity of resources, her reviews of the available texts reveal social and political intents. The *Freedman's Spelling Book*, for example, focused on more than orthography and discussed temperance, punctuality, and frugality. No doubt teachers customized lessons to fit student needs. As free women and men, they could exercise that right.

In the final chapter, "First Movings of the Water," Williams argues that "African Americans' insistence on establishing schools transformed education throughout the southern states" (p. 176). Black educational achievements concerned white leaders, who worried that blacks would outdistance poor whites and ultimately upset the traditional social order. Concomitantly, a relatively small number of whites breeched cultural taboos by attending Freedmen's Bureau and AMA schools, which served as models for common schools in the South.

As Reconstruction ended, "provision for black education took a decided turn for the worse," writes Williams (p. 198). Many whites objected to the state-supported schools while complaining of the tax burdens associated with school construction and maintenance, potential economic and political competition from educated blacks, and destabilization of the social order. By the end of the nineteenth century, separate but equal had become the law of the land, but unequal educational opportunities for blacks prevailed.

Although Williams answers the question posed at the outset, her book may leave readers with questions of their own regarding the roles played by southern black churches, church-supported black colleges, and black Catholic nuns in the quest for education. This study clearly articulates African Americans' interest in obtaining education for themselves and their children, but it is not as clear in arguing that they intended to use education to uplift the race.

Notwithstanding these rather minor points, the author accomplishes her task. By employing a vast array of published and unpublished sources, Williams maintains that any positive results emerging from the impoverished black schools in the postslavery era, like those prior to its demise, could be attributed to the consistent efforts of black teachers, students, and others who valued education and retained an abiding faith in the adage "knowledge is power."

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KATHLEEN ANN CLARK. *Defining Moments: African American Commemoration and Political Culture in the South, 1863–1913*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. x, 302. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

In the contentious field of Civil War commemoration, each agenda has its moment. For some, it is a brief one; others have a more lasting impact. In May of 1862, long before the war had ended—when its final outcome, indeed, was unknown—African Americans in Norfolk, Virginia, asserted their particular agenda, at first with spontaneous expressions of delight as the Confederates retreated from the city, later with a more organized day of public thanksgiving. Showing rather more confidence in the efficacy of the Union army under George B. McClellan than many in the North at that point, Virginian African Americans ensured that emancipation would have to be on the Union agenda, too. Even amid the turmoil and confusion of armed conflict, when no one, least of all the Union troops in Virginia, understood fully the long-term implications of the war they were engaged in, African Americans had already left slavery behind, in mind if not yet wholly in body. Kathleen Ann Clark describes events in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1862 as "some of the most assertive wartime celebrations" in that state, through which "black Virginians lay claim to a vital form of public rite and civic participation" (pp. 15, 17). Her very fine and detailed study explores in depth the development of the southern black commemorative tradition both during the war and in its aftermath, assessing how this both reflected and informed "ongoing debates among African Americans over how they could best represent themselves" in a world apparently made new (p. 3).

The broader trajectory of Clark's analysis, which follows black commemorative activities between the Civil War and the fiftieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, will be familiar to many readers. Her book is, as the author indicates, part of a growing literature that offers both an addition, and serves as a corrective, to the many studies of white postwar commemorative activities and their role in reconstructing the war-torn nation. This literature includes Mitch Kachun's *Festivals of Freedom: Memory and Meaning in African American Emancipation Celebrations, 1808–1915* (2003), Clark's own essay and others in W. Fitzhugh Brundage, ed., *Where These Memories Grow: History, Memory, and Southern Identity* (2000), and, above all, David W. Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in*

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American Memory (2001). In all of these studies, as in Clark's book, the emphasis is on the gradual erosion of what Blight—and Clark, too—describes as the "emancipationist vision" as white society North and South closed ranks to produce a mutually supportive memory of the conflict in which neither slavery nor emancipation played a significant role. Clark stresses, with justification, that her emphasis differs in its focus on the "ways in which African American leaders' class-infected actions were aimed at combating white supremacy and creating new possibilities for black success under harrowing conditions in the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century South" (p. 5).

Clark's focus is mainly, but not exclusively, on the "urban black public ceremonies" that took place in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia (p. 3). She is especially concerned to highlight the ways in which "class-infected ideas of 'respectability' and 'progress,' and gendered notions of citizenship" informed the black debate and established the terms on which African American southerners positioned themselves in America's national story, and the extent to which their attempts were influenced or constrained by external factors. Both black and white northerners, Clark shows, attempted to import, or impose, "gendered notions of propriety—and particularly the public demonstration of middle-class manhood," that they understood as "critical to the achievement of freedom and citizenship" (p. 8). The result was a tendency to delegate to the "ladies" the onerous tasks of constructing wreaths and banners, while excluding them from direct participation in the Emancipation Day ceremonies themselves. This was a tendency that many women actively struggled against in an attempt to position "freedwomen as the standard-bearers for African American freedom" (p. 85). Their efforts represented something of an uphill struggle that was itself set within the broader context of the struggle African Americans male and female endured as the Civil War became ever more distant in time but ever more prominent in the public spaces of the South. Clark's analysis of the political, religious, and gendered lineaments of this process is astute, but one of the photos she has used in her book sums it up: clearly visible at the end of Broad Street in Augusta, Georgia, the scene of many an Emancipation Day parade, stands a Confederate Civil War soldier monument (p. 32). In some ways a direct challenge to all that Emancipation Day stood for, it also, perhaps, provided a spur to the African American struggle to define the South's history in all its aspects and to ensure that the emancipationist agenda, in all its complexity, would persist.

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Stephanie E. Yuhl. *A Golden Haze of Memory: The Making of Historic Charleston*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 285. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Twentieth-century Charleston, South Carolina, would not leave history in the past. Culturally, socially, and economically, it—or at least a fraternity of whites—resurrected an expired age, and not solely for nostalgia's sake. They reconciled valued elements of the old with trappings of modernism to shape a new identity for their city.

Memory scholars will welcome the arrival of Stephanie E. Yuhl's book. Drawing liberally on local manuscript collections and literary sources, along with an array of conventional materials, she turns to the years between the world wars. Known as the Charleston Renaissance, this period was defined by men and women, mostly but not solely from families with deep local roots, who actively fashioned the city's cultural identity out of the past. Their embrace was discriminating, taking in edifying colonial, revolutionary, and antebellum history while elbowing out the rubble of the Civil War and its Lost Cause aftermath. As it confirmed traditional elite values and racial beliefs, their version of history also fostered interregional tourism. Art, architectural preservation, literature, heritage tourism, and revived Negro spirituals were their cultural provinces and historical mnemonics.

Each of these serves as the subject of one of the book's five chapters. Yuhl begins with the built environment, the most obvious rendering of any place's historical prestige. Motivated to recapture the splendor of a once grand city, a handful of white middle and upper-class women took action to save Charleston's pre-1860 architecture. They gave precedence to reclaiming the city's national relevance rather than to emphasizing its southernness and therefore prioritized the preservation of the eighteenth-century structures of an emerging republic. Once preservation yielded civic merit, men with professional titles took control and turned it into a city-wide enterprise. One result was the shift away from historically integrated residential spaces. Some restoration projects amounted to an early form of gentrification with the forced relocation of blacks, aided by New Deal public-housing programs.

Here was a peculiar (though not uniquely southern) form of modernism. Yuhl is most interested in the modernist impulse of the consumer marketplace, which in Charleston was entangled with memory. Remembering did not mean a "wholesale return" to yesterday (p. 27). Whether one wrote a romance story of the old low country, rendered an exotic plantation scene on canvas, or retailed antiques removed from the family garret, there was new money to be had in the old, and money from outside. White Yankees were as eager as white southerners to pay for the opiate of Negro spirituals. When, in 1924, the mayor proclaimed Charleston "America's Most Historic City," he was articulating a sales slogan for tourism and offering an official endorsement of modern improvements that would stimulate the nascent industry (p. 162).

Insufficient evidence prevented Yuhl from telling the story of black resistance to white cultural hegemony. Her study is about the memory of a class, not a whole

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city; still, it might leave the false impression that her elite were the only white architects of the cultural landscape and that Civil War and postbellum history did not matter. There is no mention of other salient mnemonics that surely helped make Charleston historic: Fort Sumter, a national monument by 1948 and a historical lodestar in the waterscape view of elite homes; Battery Park, a monument in itself palisaded behind the neighborhood of the same elite homes; the Citadel, the parapet of a military elite, white manhood, and traditional southern honor; and the Confederate battle flag, a symbol of heritage that unfurled into a banner of white supremacy. And there was history itself, history read in books and history taught in schools.

Even within Yuhl's analytical parameters, history is a commodity perhaps too spare. What Charleston had been and what it became is hazy, and the historical narratives, mythic (which she confuses with mythical) and otherwise, that the elite were remembering are never quite fleshed out. The study would have reached fuller potential if Yuhl had shared something about the builders and histories of the old structures and the cultural greatness seen within and about the very history the local literati and painters, some with national reputations, felt "slipping away" (p. 107).

Nevertheless, those who read Yuhl with some historical understanding of Charleston, which may have been the expectation of a press setting a stingy page limit, will find an insightful book written with passion and grace.

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CARL H. MONEYHON. *Texas after the Civil War: The Struggle of Reconstruction*. (Texas A&M Southwestern Studies, number 14.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2004. Pp. 237. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

Synthesizing a large and complex body of scholarship, Carl H. Moneyhon has produced the first comprehensive explanation of the political turmoil in the Lone Star State from 1869 to 1873 since Charles W. Ramsdell's *Reconstruction in Texas* (1910), the Dunning-school target of revisionist and neo-revisionist history for over fifty years. Relying on newspapers, provost marshal records, private papers, speeches, and proclamations, the book seeks to explain why Reconstruction failed to live up to the expectations of the Republicans who took hold of the reins of Texas government in early 1869. Moneyhon maintains that this strife-ridden period was not one simply of corruption, irresponsible government, and tyranny, as Ramsdell and those of his generation maintained. Rather, the biracial Republican coalition made a good start toward much-needed social, economic, and political reforms before the Democrat "Redeemers" returned to power fully in 1874, thanks to resurgent white voting, reactionary violence targeting freedmen and Unionists, and the staying power of the antebellum economic and social structure. The book thus adheres to the contours of mainstream revisionist historiography dedicated to a sympathetic understanding of black and white Republicans—and to a Texas-style neo-revisionism postulating that the primary cause of Reconstruction's demise lay in the distinctiveness of Texas as a trans-Mississippi frontier state not devastated by war.

This work represents a remarkable achievement. The field of Reconstruction history has long been fragmented by disputation, and since the publication of Eric Foner's massive *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1977* (1988), historians have pondered what is left to be done. Moneyhon's book joins the ranks of an important body of state-level studies of Reconstruction that began to emerge even before the publication of Foner's monumental work. This scholarship examines closely the variable causes of Reconstruction's failure in widely diverging socioeconomic and cultural contexts. Written with relatively few footnotes and presenting little new information, Moneyhon's study puts together the pieces of Texas's unique historiographical jigsaw puzzle with precision and elegance. He has clearly mastered the relevant material. And while this book undoubtedly employs a less than entirely objective logic of scholarship selection, it will surely endure as the authoritative interpretation of Reconstruction in Texas for quite some time. For any serious student of this subject, it is a must read.

Concentrating on politics in the traditional mode, the book explores most thoroughly policy making, legislation, campaigns, candidates, voting patterns, and constitutional conventions. In this regard, Moneyhon's scholarship is superb. His treatment of factional infighting in the two years following the surrender of Confederate forces at Galveston between "radical Unionists" and "conservative Unionists" is wrought with great clarity and prescience, as is his presentation of the difficulties the Freedmen's Bureau and military commanders faced in a rowdy frontier state fraught with banditry, conflict with Native Americans, feuding, and anti-Republican violence. If there is a hero in the narrative it is Radical Republican Governor Edmund J. Davis, whose accomplishments included responsible commitments to African American rights, public education, railroad and industrial expansion, frontier defense, and an end to racial and political violence. Moneyhon presents these initiatives thoroughly, evenhandedly, and not uncritically in chapters eight through eleven. He is careful to identify regional and county variations in party politics throughout his study. The last several chapters illuminate vividly how the "Redeemer" Democrats shaped a reactionary policy, including a new state constitution in 1876, that catered to the sentiments of anxious agrarians, labor-hungry planters, and expanding railroads—and the unfortunate impact of this reversal on Texas through to about 1900.

Moneyhon's assertion that his book deals with the social and economic forces that shaped the response of Texans to Reconstruction presents both tantalizing possibilities and some disappointments. Its presentation of social life could be more developed. In several

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early chapters, Moneyhon describes briefly the experiences of the freedmen as new political actors and victims of racist violence and, in chapter ten, as sharecroppers and builders of new black institutions and communities. But the voices of African Americans are largely missing from the narrative, as is any sustained treatment of the experiences of ordinary white Texans and important minorities, such as Germans, Tejanos, and the as-yet-unsubdued Comanche. One would like to see more discussion of the substantial changes in the lives of ordinary and elite women resulting from the large number of Texas men killed during the war or who returned from it disabled, and the social and political impact of the massive immigration of southerners to west Texas between the end of the war and 1880. Also, Moneyhon's fundamental assertion about the causes of Reconstruction's demise could be more clearly articulated. Foner maintained that Reconstruction was a radical attempt to destroy the South's antebellum social structure: hence Moneyhon's argument—that an unscathed antebellum community and infrastructure account fundamentally for the demise of Republican government in Texas—is both bold and intriguing. Moneyhon and the scholarship upon which he relies for this conclusion may well be correct. But his subsequent description of the resurgence of the Democratic Party, the planter-merchant-railroad company alliance undergirding it, the charges of corruption and tyranny, the violence against African Americans, and the attendant electoral victory over the Republicans does not seem so different from what transpired in most of the other former Confederate states.

Moneyhon declares forthrightly in his introduction that one important purpose of synthesizing existing scholarship on Texas Reconstruction is to indicate more clearly possibilities for future research. Indeed, his book includes an excellent and up-to-date annotated bibliography that, along with the book itself, suggests both the sweep and the limitations of the scholarship upon which Moneyhon largely relies. By the same token, it reveals the direction that new scholarship on Texas Reconstruction might well take in the future. On the whole, Moneyhon has produced a first-rate piece of scholarship and made an admirable and important contribution to his field.

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THAD SITTON and JAMES H. CONRAD. *Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow*. (Jack and Doris Smothers Series in Texas History, Life, and Culture, number 15.) Assisted by RICHARD ORTON. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. 248. Cloth $50.00, paper $19.95.

Thad Sitton and James H. Conrad seek to discover how thirty-one percent of African Americans in rural Texas became landowners by 1900. In so doing, they provide a pointed counternarrative to the story of African Americans subjugated to the crop-lien system. While two-thirds of Texas rural blacks failed to gain land, the other side of the account is that almost a third of them did.

Steven Hahn and others have shown that freed people very much wanted their own land. In Texas, they attained it at the margins of white settlement: in swampy river bottoms, sandy hillsides, deep pine forests, anywhere Anglos thought the land too infertile or too inaccessible to farm successfully. Sitton and Conrad document the numerous ways in which African American Texans acquired land, including squatting, saving wages, pooling resources with siblings, and following a preacher or an entrepreneur. Some colonies developed in symbiosis with segregated white villages that needed their services.

A number of communities appear to have begun with resources acquired from white relatives. Groups of mixed ethnicity formed, such as that of the Boykins in Angelina County, descendents of white pioneer Sterling Boykin and his successive wives: "One might encounter all-white Boykins, black Boykins, black Boykins that looked white, and various Indian-white-black Boykins" (p. 39). Such aggregations remind the reader that race relations in the postbellum South remained complex and varied. Residents kept low profiles, for the most part, living in "communities of avoidance and self-segregation," managing their relationships with whites and staying to themselves (p. 4). Most such groups remained small and loosely organized and, unlike more formal settlements in Oklahoma and elsewhere, generally escaped notice then and now. But they were abundant. In Freestone County alone, local residents have identified forty-four African American settlements (p. 193).

Sitton and Conrad describe life in these communities: their foods, their crops, their customs. Families typically clustered around Christian churches, as a sober, God-fearing lifestyle well suited many thrifty, hard-working people scratching a living from the land. But juke joints and other sources of illicit amusement also dotted the rural landscape. Freedom colonies developed their own schools and found useful agricultural extension programs. Rather than growing cash crops, the freedpeople concentrated on feeding their families by raising corn, sweet potatoes, and peas and letting their livestock range freely on each other's land.

Over time, contact with whites became more frequent and more virulent, and the neighborhoods became "defensive black islands in rising tide of Jim Crow" (p. 143). Black people could still stand up to whites, as Jim Walls of Goliad County did when he refused to hire out his daughters to a new white neighbor, saying that his girls did no field work, but he was sure his sons would be happy to come after their own work was completed. Local whites told the stunned newcomer that in that community, "blacks would not only say no but fight back" (p. 155). The twentieth century, however, brought wave after wave of violence against African Americans, and settlements shrank in the wake

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of lynchings and burnings. A variety of shady dealings also cheated African American landowners out of their land. As the first generation of settlers died, their children took off-farm employment to supplement their diminished land holdings.

Gradually most of the freedom colonies dwindled away, remaining only as memories and an occasional patch of flowers. To release those memories, Sitton and Conrad conducted numerous oral history interviews themselves and made excellent use of those done by others. The compelling stories are in many ways the heart of the book.

Readers looking for a heavily theorized approach will not find it here. Rather, Sitton and Conrad weave together a narrative of specific places at one time period, and they do it well. Their treatment of race and class is surehanded, but there is little discussion of gender issues. The reader is left to ponder the larger significance of the communities described. What does it mean for America that for a forty-year period, amid widespread economic hardship, there existed places where black people could feel free and act autonomously? Sitton and Conrad have told the story well enough that thoughtful readers can draw conclusions for themselves.

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Eric L. Clements. *After the Boom in Tombstone and Jerome, Arizona*. (Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in History and Humanities.) Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 389. $29.95.

This is an important book about a long-neglected subject: the decline of western mining towns. Scholarly and popular literature is filled with endless stories of the bonanza strikes and the camps around them that grew into towns and sometimes cities. The possibility of great riches in distant and often inhospitable settings drove this initial impulse to settlement, and happy chroniclers describe the great upward trajectory of these places. Few have remained to describe (much less analyze) their decline and sometimes disappearance. That every western state has its guidebook to "ghost towns" is testimony to the presence of large numbers of these disappeared or declined once thriving towns, and to their hold on the popular imagination.

Eric L. Clements has chosen as his subject the boom and decline of two Arizona mining towns, Tombstone and Jerome. He opens his study with a discussion of why he chose these two urban places. He then notes the deliberate choice of a mining town (Jerome) whose history extends well into the twentieth century as a way of lengthening the arc of his study. For, as he notes, "boom and bust in western mining have lasted from the frontier days right through the twentieth century," so a careful study needs to consider both "bonanza camps" and "modern industrial mining" (p. 15). As for the issue representation, he rightly argues that any study needs towns of a certain size to provide an extended historical record, especially censuses and newspapers. Representation is less important than a careful analysis of two towns that now gives us a benchmark from which to consider this important dimension of the western mining experience.

Clements begins his study with four chapters that cover the founding, growth, and decline of the two towns. Here his descriptions are clear and to the point. He effectively bridges the gap in the time frames of the two mining towns, which are noticeably different. Tombstone was founded in 1877, shipped its first silver in 1879, prospered in the mid-1880s, and declined after 1893 with the collapse of silver support. Jerome was a copper town, and its arc was later and longer. Its first mining claims dated from 1877 (the same year as Tombstone's founding), but after several missteps, Jerome developed as a copper producer in the 1890s (propelled by the demand for copper and the arrival of a railroad in 1895), its bonanza years climaxed in the high copper prices of World War I, and it continued to lead the state in copper production (as Arizona led the nation) through the 1920s. Within these somewhat disconnected stories, Clements carefully analyzes the several variables of mining towns: the nature and origin of the work force (skills, ethnic origin, wages), commercial development (a few mercantile establishments mixed with large numbers of saloons), housing, recreation, gender ratios and the role of women, concern with education, and civic improvements.

The foundations laid, in his next several chapters Clements turns to an analysis of several different dimensions of decline. He begins with a consideration of relations between labor and management, the industrial dimension of the mining enterprise. What emerges from his analysis here are the ongoing symbiotic relationships among the company, the town, and the work force. Whatever their different interests, the commonality of the continuing production of the mines was crucial to the existence of each. As for the business world, the decline of the mining town reduced its businesses but did not much alter the mix of commercial establishments. What the cycle of decline did show was that mining was the engine that drove the town forward. Mining towns were unable to find an alternative, or as Clements concludes, "Mining had no substitute in the short run" (p. 113). In the long run, skiing, tourism, and film festivals would become alternatives.

Clements has an excellent discussion of the different groups of people and their characteristics in his mining towns. He notes that mining towns were "a place where cultures, as well as individuals, could collide" (p. 134). Collide they did. The Tombstone Anti-Chinese League eventually had 800 members, but Chinese continued to live in the town (p. 149). In Jerome, the major population shift was among Mexicans. In the face of hard times, some 550 returned to Mexico in 1930–1931. Clements notes that neither example of ethnic hostility was unique to Arizona mining camps. Working women had an important presence in both camps, perhaps because the decline of mining forced them into the work

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place. The age profiles were also similar. Mining attracted young people. As mining opportunities declined and disappeared, this age cohort left and the population aged. Throughout, the chronological spread of his towns (Tombstone 1880–1920 and Jerome 1930–1950) enhances the range of Clements's coverage, carrying his analysis well into the twentieth century.

In terms of the social interactions of individuals and in social institutions, the impact of the "bust" was "mixed." No clear correlations emerged in marriages and divorces (although more marriages were recorded in good times, say 1929 in Jerome). Crime and violence within the communities generally declined (although the records do not have a separate category for domestic violence). Church membership declined, and churches experienced economic hard times, but membership in fraternal organizations remained strong. Important holidays (Mexican Independence Day in Jerome) became less boisterous. Organized sports weakened. In short, those activities with costs suffered.

As the "bust" settled in and spread, streets and buildings were increasing deserted. Ethic neighborhoods shrank in size but generally remained in the same location. Whether in Tombstone or Jerome, the problem was the same: "too many buildings and not enough people" (p. 183). Town governments had fewer funds, the result of declining tax revenues. As a result, civic improvements—water works, sidewalks, sewers, fire protection—languished. Mining companies and individuals "recycled the physical components of busted mining towns, for reuse locally or at other sites" (p. 188). Vandalism was also a hazard. The number of legal actions against mining companies increased, especially for subsidence, but most citizens and groups settled rather than confront the companies in court. With the disappearance of mining and the collapse of real estate, suits against companies were one economic opportunity that expanded.

The economic chaos caused by "bust" had little influence on the makeup of town government. In the face of declining tax base, taxes had to be raised to generate the same revenue, much to the distress of citizens and mines alike. Numerous mining companies throughout the state went to court, claiming excessive tax valuations of their properties. They often won. In the end, reducing goods and services became the only option. To cite only one dramatic example, one monthly expenditures of government in Tombstone was $1,748.66 in 1882, $92.90 in 1899 (p. 217). In both mining towns, education was a major loser.

Jerome's difficulties, already severe enough, took on a desperate cast with the onset of the Great Depression. Hunting, gathering, and subsistence agriculture made their appearance. As the depression continued into the decade of the 1930s, the needs of the town overwhelmed relief agencies. The coming of the New Deal brought a number of federal programs—the most important was the Works Progress Administration—to ease the harsh conditions of the Depression. With the final closure of the mines, both towns sought economic foundations. The solutions were county government and tourism. These kept the towns in existence, but the days of the mining bonanzas remained a distant memory.

Throughout his careful analysis, Clements has reference to a wide range of scholarship and to other mining camps across the West. He has effectively used the stories of two Arizona mining towns to map out a new route of historical enquiry. It is a noteworthy achievement.

MALCOLM ROHRBOUGH
University of Iowa

ROBERT B. OUTLAND III. *Tapping the Pines: The Naval Stores Industry in the American South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 352. $47.95.

This is, quite simply, a fascinating book. It is deeply researched, vast in chronological scope, and Robert B. Outland III is clear and engaging whether discussing colonial mercantile policy, forest ecology, or the details of gum collection from longleaf pines. Economic historians, environmental historians, labor historians, historians of race relations and of the South, and any curious person will find much of interest in his fine account of a significant but poorly understood southern industry.

Although the term "naval stores" means little to most people today, in 1800 it referred to tar, turpentine, rosin, and pitch. Until the advent of steel ships, transoceanic commerce and sea-based military power owed much to tar, which came from pine trees. Tar was applied on rigging and masts to prevent rotting, and it also helped prevent rust on cannons. Having exhausted its domestic forests, England found itself dependent on foreign tar suppliers by the early seventeenth century. North American forests appeared to be the solution, and with ample bounties as incentive—and somewhat by default, as New Englanders cut down their forests and Virginians preferred to grow tobacco—North Carolina became the leading colonial producer of naval stores. Outland's discussion of this process includes analyses of Native American forest-burning practices, labor, transportation difficulties, and wartime disruptions.

In the 1830s, the market for turpentine expanded dramatically with the development of camphene, which replaced candles and whale oil as the most popular method for lighting American homes and businesses. Increased demand led to large-scale production and the widespread use of slave labor. Significant portions of southeastern North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia were covered by pine forests but had relatively poor soil, unsuitable for cotton production. Many slave owners found it profitable to purchase or lease large forest tracts, utilize slave labor to tap the pines, and build turpentine distilleries. Labor conditions were different from those in cotton production but were nonetheless harsh and brutal. In addition, turpentine oper-

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ations quickly destroyed forests, which meant that the industry was transient and did not lead to long-term local economic development.

After disruptions caused by the Civil War, naval stores production continued its prewar patterns. In an early form of capital flight, many North Carolina producers relocated to South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, wreaked havoc on forests, and moved again. The work force also remained predominantly black. Since few people would opt for the hard and dangerous work, low wages, and social isolation both on the job and in scattered forest camps, turpentine operators relied on debt peonage, convict labor, and other forms of coercion to supply America's demand. African American men could be arrested on a whim and transported to forest prison camps, with no recourse and less mercy. Work in the forests included much chopping, hauling of heavy loads, and handling of highly flammable materials that were also toxic when inhaled. Supervision involved heavy doses of violence. Living conditions and food were atrocious, and all took place in remote areas unlikely to be stumbled upon or publicized. Escape was the laborer's best option, and safe harbor could often be found at some other unscrupulous turpentine operation that was equally desperate for workers. Although convict leasing eventually died out, peonage continued in the forests into the 1940s.

Day-to-day tasks changed little over the years until scientific research during the Progressive era led to more efficient and less damaging methods for collecting raw materials from trees. These new techniques also improved the quality of the product, something that had troubled the domestic industry, or at least the consumers of its tar and turpentine, since the colonial era. Despite these improvements, generations of wasteful practices had seriously reduced the amount of productive forest land, and the lumber industry competed fiercely for what remained. The Great Migration of African Americans from the South to the North diminished the supply of potential workers, which increased labor costs in the already unattractive forests. The New Deal helped some producers survive the Depression, but the industry was in permanent decline.

Outland places the naval stores industry within the context of southern industrialization, and he argues that turpentining "certainly provides a better means of examining the region's growth than does cotton textile production" (p. 4). He is correct that the textile industry has received far more attention than has naval stores, and he makes a convincing case that turpentining was the major economic generator in vast portions of the South that were unsuitable for agriculture and that did not have water power to run spindles and looms. But it may not be necessary to determine which southern industry was most typical or which one was most important. Certainly the significance of Outland's findings does not require naval stores to win any such competition. This gem of a book deserves wide readership.

DANIEL CLARK
Oakland University

WILLIAM P. JONES. *The Tribe of Black Ulysses: African American Lumber Workers in the Jim Crow South*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 235. Cloth $45.00, paper $20.00.

So much attention has been paid to the half million or so African Americans who abandoned the South during World War I's "Great Migration" that few historians have concerned themselves with the vast majority of black southerners who stayed behind. As historians debate whether African American migrants left in search of economic opportunities or in protest against lynching and segregation, it has been easy to assume that those who remained lacked the energy or the work ethnic required to get out. Indeed, as William P. Jones argues, until very recently academics uncritically accepted the notion that black southerners were "incompatible with modernity." He traces this presumption back to the influential early twentieth-century sociologist Howard Odum, whose Black Ulysses novels presented southern black workers as footloose, profligate spendthrifts who rejected marriage, morality, and the discipline required to make money in an industrial society. Jones's excellent study of black workers in the lumber industry, which he reveals was the largest employer of African American workers in the twentieth-century South, persuasively refutes these lasting characterizations.

Focusing on three different but equally important lumber towns—Elizabethtown, North Carolina, Chapman, Alabama, and Bogalusa, Louisiana—Jones reveals that early lumber workers resisted year-round work in the early years of the industry not because they were shiftless, as employers argued and Odum believed, but because they saw themselves primarily as farmers who used lumber town wages to supplement their families' income. It was only after World War I, when the agricultural economy bottomed out, that large numbers of black southerners accepted year-round work in the lumber industry. When they did, Jones shows through interviews and extensive research in newspapers as well as state, federal, union, and corporate records, they often brought their families with them. Moreover, they struggled with employers in and outside the workplace to make their transition into the working class worthwhile. Employers not only sponsored "barrelhouses" (juke joints) and baseball teams to attract and retain workers, but they eventually had to accept federal workplace regulation in the 1930s, and African American unionization in the 1940s. By 1960, he shows, thirty-seven percent of all black lumber workers in the three states he studies "owned or held mortgages on their own homes," and black mill workers were slightly more likely than whites to be married (pp. 182, 51). There may have been some "sawdust Casanovas" and "working-class outlaws" among them (pp. 3–4), but most lumber workers came to see the lumber industry not as an alternative to the responsibilities of family and community but as an opportunity to escape rural pov-

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erty. Like the mineworkers studied by Daniel Letwin, the railroad workers investigated by Eric Arnesen, and the tobacco workers recently chronicled by Robert Rodgers Korstad, black lumber workers who stayed behind in the South were, to paraphrase E. P. Thompson, present at the making of the southern working class.

With this book, Jones joins these and other leading historians of African American workers in the South who have moved African American history to the top of labor history's agenda. What makes Jones's work even more exciting, however, is his attention to the history of his subjects outside the mill and union hall. In a particularly interesting chapter on race, class and leisure in the industrial South, Jones considers the music and sports that "developed in tandum" (p. 77) in lumber towns. Rather than seeing barrelhouses and baseball diamonds as autonomous black spaces where black workers carved out a uniquely black working-class culture, safe from the prying eyes of white employers and enforcers of Jim Crow order, he shows that white lumber employers sponsored black clubs and teams and sometimes policed them in an attempt to recruit workers and refashion them in ways that served the industry's bottom line.

Recommended for graduate students and advanced undergraduates, this book is a well-crafted and analytically sophisticated addition to a rich and growing literature on African American, southern, and working-class history.

Cindy Hahamovitch
College of William and Mary

Francesca Morgan. *Women and Patriotism in Jim Crow America*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 293. Cloth $59.95, paper $21.95.

This ambitious book contributes to a growing field of "nationalism studies" exemplified by recent works like Cecilia Elizabeth O'Leary's *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism* (1999). Francesca Morgan compares the ideologies of women's organizations like the Women's Relief Corps (WRC) and Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) with those of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and of African American women in groups like the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). Tracing such varied groups from the 1890s through the New Deal, Morgan focuses on the intersection of race and gender ideologies, ending with the DAR's infamous 1939 decision to bar African American mezzo soprano Marian Anderson from singing at DAR headquarters in Washington, D.C.

In each organization Morgan looks for evidence of "women-centered forms of nationalism" (p. 156). She finds it in the preservation of ordinary artifacts from the past, erection of monuments, promotion of patriotic holidays, and commemoration of "foremothers, as well as forefathers" (p. 5). Women-centered nationalism, she argues, found its strongest foundations in Victorian female moral authority and reached a zenith of public clout in the 1890s, with African American women advancing particularly radical claims for female leadership. Morgan devotes her first chapter to this decade, during which the WRC offered a distinctive cross-racial patriotic model, attracting both white and black women to the work of commemorating Emancipation and defense of the Union.

In subsequent chapters Morgan explores the impact of imperialism on women's patriotic groups, their role in Progressive-era reforms, and the legacies of World War I and its anticommunist aftermath. She argues that World War I "masculinized women's nationalism to a new degree" (p. 101), causing patriotic women to place new emphasis on soldiering and male political leadership to counter foreign threats. In her conclusion, Morgan asserts that the 1930s "marked the final decline and fall of women-centered forms of nationalism" (p. 156). She admits, however, that except for the WRC all the groups she covers continued to play a significant role in public life, while "rightists concerned with national defense remained convinced of organized women's political importance to nationalism" (p. 141).

Morgan's sources are extensive and wide-ranging, but her overall portrait of "women's distinctively gendered nationalism" (p. 55) could be drawn with greater clarity and specificity. Her book shows that, from the beginning, patriotic women's groups focused much of their attention on male soldier-patriots. This evidence, combined with what we know from books such as Kristin L. Hoganson's *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American War* (1998), casts doubt on the idea that women's patriotic groups were strongly "women-centered" before World War I but "masculinized" afterward. It seems more likely that such groups moved to the right in wartime—during both turn-of-the-century imperialism and World War I—but that during peacetime intervals they took up other projects. At some junctures Morgan presents, almost in passing, intriguing tidbits that invite further analysis. Who knew, for example, that one of the WRC's chief twentieth-century projects was prevention of cruelty to animals, or that the UDC lobbied vigorously for US entry into the League of Nations? Such provocative episodes could, if investigated more deeply, tell us even more about the content of women's patriotic work.

Morgan's comparative treatment of African American women's groups is innovative, and she traces black women's negotiations with both American patriotism and black nationalism. Morgan confronts something of an apples and oranges problem, however: the DAR and UDC were primarily patriotic and historical groups, while the cultivation of patriotic loyalties was at best a sidelight for the NACW, UNIA, and NAACP, which had far more pressing objectives in the struggle for racial justice. Furthermore, the DAR and UDC were all-female groups while the NAACP and UNIA were male-

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led. Having ventured beyond standard patriotic groups like the DAR, Morgan might fruitfully bring in other activist women to broaden the comparison. What role in the women's patriotic movement, for example, was played by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, with its invocation of "God and Home and Native Land"? Since the DAR recruited small numbers of American Indian women and Latinas (p. 46), it would also be fascinating to know how their views on patriotism compared with those of African Americans. This book does, nonetheless, cover important ground in comparing an array of organizations, in exploring patriotism across racial lines, and in analyzing the links between nationalism and gender.

REBECCA EDWARDS
Vassar College

AMY G. RICHTER. *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 272. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Amy G. Richter's book is a unique study of two seemingly incompatible topics: the private world of domesticity, and the public world of the railroad, that icon of "masculine power" (p. 1). Richter's thesis is that women and images of women were essential in the building of the railway system that sprung up with "suddenness and enormity" (p. 11) in the mid-nineteenth century. Furthermore, she argues that the interweaving of women and trains "recapitulates" a wider social change from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries and that gender roles helped "create a new order" (p. 58) even as the separate spheres for men and women were breaking down.

Richter uses magazine and newspaper images, letters, diaries, railway brochures, advertisements, etiquette and advice guides, fiction, and prose from the mid-1800s to the turn of the century to show the ways in which women shaped the railroad. All of this documentation supports the wider thesis that "women on trains . . . chart[ed] the changing terrain of nineteenth-century public culture" (p. 1). The study, Richter says, involved "a recasting of railroad history and historiography—a shift away from technological innovation and economic indicators" (p. 1) toward a cultural interpretation.

In particular, Richter looks at the ways trains simulated the home: ladies' cars, Pullman sleepers, dining cars all had interiors that duplicated the interiors of homes, and gender roles on the public train imitated the roles men and women played in private. The paradox is that women on the train had to maintain a semblance of privacy in a very public space. For a woman to be on a train at all broke the expectations of her domesticity, yet there she was. Richter extrapolates from this that women on the train were markers of cultural change at the same time as they helped stabilize the move to an urban, consumerist society.

The book is broken into six chapters: the first three detailing railway travel in Victorian times, focusing on both the transformative power of travel for individual women and the stabilizing influence of women on the train; the last three questioning these ideas, first by looking at the experiences of middle-class African American women, who tested the Victorian belief in "gender deference" (p. 99), then by considering the conductors and porters, those "gentlemen for hire" (p. 113), whose "courtesy" (p. 115) depended on a commercial relationship.

Throughout the book, Richter quotes from a multitude of primary sources, telling the stories of real people who interacted with the railway. This makes for lively reading and astonishing details. The sources range from railroad publications to the private correspondence of young women to popular anecdotes, revealing a cross-section of American society from a fresh angle. Missing from this cross-section, however, is a discussion in any detail of women who were not middle-class ladies, black or white. Such women were on the trains, in second-class accommodations and the "emigrant cars" (p. 82) that Richter mentions in passing, women excluded from the ladies' cars because they lacked the money to pay. Although these women are outside the stated scope of the study, which focuses on ways the genteel home was recreated on board the train, the book might have been richer had there been more interpretation of the interaction of the train and women of the underclasses.

But all in all, Richter's study introduces an intriguing idea based on compelling evidence, with extensive notes that develop ideas further, many illustrations, and a useful index. In addition, Richter's style is not only easy to read but includes a regular spattering of puns on railroad terminology: "train our eyes" (p. 1), "tracking the popular culture" (p. 9), "narrative lines" (the title of chapter one), "traveled in contradictory directions" (p. 26). The book, whose title itself is a play on words, is a welcome expansion on the role of women in the making of nineteenth-century American culture and opens a new door for cultural historians.

KATHLEEN DE GRAVE
Pittsburg State University

SHARON E. WOOD. *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 321. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.50.

Sharon E. Wood's study of Davenport, Iowa, offers uncommon perspectives on the politics of sex in the late nineteenth-century United States. Mainly, she explores public discourse on prostitution, hardly a new topic for historians of urban life in the Gilded Age. But the focus on Davenport makes this an exceptional book.

The city's relatively small population made prostitution visible to one and all. Rough and respectable Davenporters often knew each other, and they routinely

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rubbed elbows in a downtown district where brothels operated next door to reputable businesses. Davenport's size also facilitates the reconstruction of individual lives via newspapers, census manuscripts, city directories, tax lists, police and court records, and other municipal archives, and Wood takes full advantage of these sources. Her book brims with vivid portraits of women reformers and prostitutes, city fathers and sporting men, police matrons and runaway girls, crusading priests and saloonkeepers.

As Wood establishes, commercial vice abounded in Davenport. Although Iowa became a dry state in 1884, the city continued to license saloons—more than 200 of them by the end of the decade. Similarly, in 1893 the city began to regulate prostitution. Prostitutes and brothel keepers had to register with the police and appear on a monthly basis to pay fines that amounted to licensing fees. Income from these quarters so swelled the city's treasury that Davenport repeatedly lowered property taxes until it abolished them completely in 1902.

Against this backdrop, prostitution became a perennial issue for Davenporters, and it figured prominently in larger battles over men's rightful prerogatives and women's proper place. In the ongoing debate over women's gainful employment, for example, one side pointed to the prostitute as a victim of low wages and limited job opportunities, while the other invoked her as a warning of the corruption that awaited women who worked outside the home. Women reformers' campaigns against vice shaded over into those for women's rights, and they faced opposition from the same quarters. As one suffragist explained, the most vehement enemies of her cause were elements associated with the vice industry: "party bosses, gamblers, prize-fighters, wreckers of homes, despoilers of women's virtue, the frail sisterhood, criminals and law breakers of all sorts" (p. 248).

While Wood is not the first researcher to recognize this alignment of forces, her discussions of the clashes that ensued are exceptionally detailed and nuanced. Some of the book's most vivid chapters concern the Working Woman's Lend a Hand Club, a mutual benefit society whose members ranged from domestics, seamstresses, and factory hands to teachers, bookkeepers, and physicians. In 1889 the club spearheaded the formation of a Charitable Alliance of women reformers that campaigned successfully for the appointment of a police matron and establishment of a separate jail for women and children. When opponents argued that prostitutes should be excluded from the facility lest they corrupt innocent girls, the Alliance insisted that all women deserved protection from sexual assault in the men's jail and that Davenporters who genuinely worried about the corruption of innocents should stop tolerating commercial vice.

Although the city fathers gave in on the matters of the matron and the women's jail, the Charitable Alliance lost the battle of ideas. That became painfully clear when three men went to trial in 1891–1892 for the statutory rapes of girls aged ten, eleven, and twelve. The accused portrayed the girls as hussies unworthy of protection under the Iowa law that defined thirteen as the age of consent, and that view was pervasive to judge from the outcome of the trials. To the applause of Davenport's newspapers, one defendant was acquitted, another sentenced to thirty days, and a third pardoned after a few months in prison.

Resting on similar logic, the city's system for regulating prostitution sought first and foremost to facilitate men's access to sex. A registered prostitute could not charge a man with rape. She had to obtain a health certificate that presumably protected her clients from venereal disease. And she had to be at least eighteen years old; that promised to quiet women reformers who called for strict enforcement of antiprostitution laws. The police matron whom the Charitable Alliance had envisioned as a protector of innocents now devoted most of her time to keeping records that normalized vice.

If the politicians in league with the sex industry outmaneuvered women reformers, prostitution still faced powerful opposition from the Catholic Church and eventually fell prey to a coalition of prohibitionists and welfare capitalists. The book grows less coherent when it turns to this part of the story, in which the Lend a Hand Club plays a marginal role. As in earlier chapters, however, the book amply vindicates Wood's claim that "Great questions can be asked in small places" (p. 13), and it makes a genuinely unique contribution to the historiography of American life in the Gilded Age.

Priscilla Murolo
Sarah Lawrence College

Jane Lancaster. *Making Time: Lillian Moller Gilbreth, a Life beyond "Cheaper By The Dozen."* Boston: Northeastern University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 415. $35.00.

The name of Lillian Moller Gilbreth (1878–1972) is not widely known today, despite her extraordinary engineering achievements. She is best known from *Cheaper By The Dozen* (1948), in which she is falsely presented as the nonworking mother in the background, playing a secondary role to the powerful father of the family's twelve children. In fact, Gilbreth reached the height of her profession, served as advisor to five U. S. presidents, and traveled the world on business until she was nearly ninety. Jane Lancaster's engaging and deeply researched biography provides a detailed description of how her life and reputation were shaped by traditional gender stereotypes.

Born into a wealthy California family, Lillian represented the "New Woman" of the 1890s who sought both career and marriage. She was the first female graduate to speak at a University of California Berkeley commencement in 1900, receiving her Master's degree in literature in 1902. At age twenty-five she married Frank Gilbreth, an engineer with a large construction company who insisted that his formidable mother be a permanent member of the household. Her mother-in-law

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took over domestic responsibilities, releasing Lillian to learn engineering, assist Frank in his work, and raise her eleven surviving children, who were born at roughly fifteen-month intervals between 1905 and 1922. She did all this while finishing a doctorate at Brown University in 1915 and winning national distinction for her pioneering work in scientific management. Frank's sudden death in 1924 was a turning point. Lilian rushed to arrange his funeral for the next day so that she could leave three days later for the management conference in Europe they had planned to attend. When she sailed, eight of her eleven children were sick in bed with chicken pox and measles. They never saw their mother cry again.

Lillian Gilbreth is know for having humanized Taylorite organizational methods by seeking the cooperation of employees with the new ideology of scientific management. She emphasized congenial work environments, ergonomic equipment, persuasion, and training to gain support of workers in an overall effort to improve productivity by minimizing worker fatigue and increasing their sense of self-being, rather than by the use of speedup techniques. She made significant contributions to both industrial and household management. This amazing woman juggled her responsibilities as a mother and career woman with skill and love, integrating and interweaving her private and public personas both to challenge and to celebrate women's traditional roles. Contemporary women struggling to combine work and family will recognize the challenges she faced.

Lancaster shows the complexity of how attitudes toward the lives of working women in this period of great social change both reflected and determined how the meaning of Lillian Gilbreth's life was continually reinterpreted by contemporaries and descendents. Her biography is also notable for its focus on social context, and on cultural and political history. At every spot along the way, the author presents the wider background to Lillian's story, from describing the Berkeley experience for women in the 1890s, to the infancy of the sanitary napkin industry in the 1920s, to the reception of female professors in the 1940s, to the emerging feminism of the 1950s and 1960s. This well-written, intriguing study presents a fascinating way to learn and to teach the evolving experience of American women during the ninety-four years of Lillian Gilbreth's life.

DEE GARRISON,
Emerita
Rutgers University

MARY TING YI LUI. *The Chinatown Trunk Mystery: Murder, Miscegenation, and Other Dangerous Encounters in Turn-of-the-Century New York City*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 298. $29.95.

In recent years, scholars such as Patricia Cline Cohen and Suzanne Lebsock have used the murder of European American women as a narrative device in order to explore the social and cultural underpinnings of a particular moment and place. Mary Ting Yi Lui employs this same device to tease out the attitudes toward and realities of New York City's Chinese immigrant community at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Lui's book examines the murder of Elsie Sigel in 1909. Sigel, a young, well-to-do European American woman, did missionary work among Chinese immigrants in New York City. That is how she met Leon Ling, the prime suspect in her murder, and developed a romantic relationship with him. The police quickly settled on the theory that her death was the result of a lovers' quarrel between Ling and Sigel, possibly over her feelings for another Chinese man. The general public also perceived Sigel's romantic involvement with Ling and other Chinese immigrant men as the root cause for her murder and, as such, more disturbing than her actual death. Sensationalized media coverage conflated this murder with deeper anxieties about interracial relationships and resulted in increased police surveillance of interactions between Chinese immigrant men and European American women.

Lui spends much of the rest of the book exploring the tension caused by such interracial liaisons in New York City. The state of New York had no miscegenation laws, but government officials and police officers took it upon themselves to monitor suspect interactions. With Sigel's murder, reporters, moral reformers, and police officers focused on Chinatown as a source of iniquity and a threat to the moral fiber of European American families. However, as Lui ably demonstrates through the use of U.S. census schedules, Chinatown was not the homogenous neighborhood often imagined in newspaper reports, plays, and tourist guidebooks. Indeed, it was home to other immigrant groups and poor, native-born European Americans. Furthermore, the majority of Chinese immigrants were spread throughout the city, often living in the same building where they worked (Ling rented a room in Midtown, not too far from his job). Lui helps to shatter some of the myths about Chinatown and in the process provides, as does John Kuo Wei Tchen's seminal work, a deeper understanding of New York City's Chinese immigrant community.

Lui's argument concerning the heterogeneity of New York City leads to the second major point of the book: because scholars have traditionally studied Chinese American urban life through a monoracialist and spatially narrow point of view, they have actually participated in the "erasure of those members of the Chinatown community who are of mixed race or not of Chinese descent" (p. 226). Attempts to cast Chinese immigrant men as sexual deviants who needed to be isolated and constantly policed did not stop socialization across racial and ethnic lines, including the formation of domestic partnerships and marriages. As Lui notes, the Sixth Ward, where Chinatown is located, was also home to Irish and later Italian immigrant families. In addition, Chinatown provided shelter for a large number of young women, who were frequently poor or runaways. These women often married into the largely male Chinese immigrant community and had families. This is a fact that has often been suppressed and largely forgotten. Lui does an admirable job of showing how

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commonplace these relationships were and challenges assumptions about interracial unions during this period.

Lui has created a solid historical narrative through her combined use of empirical data and Chinese-language sources. Her analysis helps paint a richer portrait of Chinese immigrants in New York City and the racial and social codes that policed them. In the absence of substantive criticism, this reader would suggest two points. The first is that, despite the wonderful hook that the case of Elsie Sigel provides, Lui uses it rather sparingly. In *The Murder of Helen Jewett: The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York* (1998), Cohen manages to weave and contextualize her subject's murder throughout her book. Lui focuses on Sigel's case primarily in the introduction and leaves the reader intrigued and wanting more. One is also left to wonder about the legacy of interracial marriages, especially the offspring of these unions. This topic seems worth exploring further. Perhaps this is beyond the scope of Lui's book. However, this reader would have appreciated an expanded discussion of mixed-race children in Chinatown in the early twentieth century.

Despite these modest criticisms, Lui's work deserves to be recognized as an important contribution to American history.

KRYSTYN MOON
Georgia State University

EVELYN GONZALEZ. *The Bronx*. (The Columbia History of Urban Life.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 263. $29.50

Once a "wonder borough" of attractive homes and parks, the Bronx became a residential suburb of Manhattan that was annexed in 1874 and made a borough in 1898. By the 1970s, though, it symbolized urban decay. Evelyn Gonzalez attributes this not to racial discrimination, rampant crime, postwar liberalism, or big government but rather to the same kinds of social projects, economic transactions, political choices, and human preferences that were once central to the borough.

The study begins in the 1840s, with the formation of the villages north of the Harlem River and west of the Bronx River: Mott Haven, Melrose, Morrisania, Claremont, Hunts Point, and Crotona Park East. These became the heart of the South Bronx, on which most of this book focuses. Over time, the South Bronx included everything south of Fordham Road. This region became the "most extensively abandoned piece of urban geography in the United States" (p. 109). Four-fifths of its residents were blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Hispanics.

Gonzalez offers an overview of the early Bronx (named for the Bronx River), which developed within the orbit of New York City. A speculative suburb from the outset, its boosters linked profits with the expansion of rapid transit and public improvements, combining a rural yet urban image for Manhattan's population overflow. Despite recommendations from landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, developers imposed a grid plan and created public transit that facilitated travel downtown. By the early twentieth century, the Bronx had become "a Manhattan-style environment north of the Harlem River that because of its density, housing type [apartments], and elevated tracks was conducive to a continued outward movement of people, and thus to settlement by progressively lower income groups" (p. 58).

Eventually newer, more fashionable neighborhoods to the north and east surpassed places like Mott Haven. Blacks and Puerto Ricans moved into these older neighborhoods. The process of continual neighborhood renewal ended for the South Bronx, which was from the 1920s rapidly becoming a slum. Better-off white residents moved away, aided not only by expanded public transit but also by federally subsidized housing. Meanwhile, slum clearance and construction of the Cross Bronx Expressway diminished housing options. The borough also lost hundreds of employers and thousands of jobs. Poverty, crime, and suburban exodus increased.

Social disintegration, which came to a head during the July 1977 power blackout, preceded physical deterioration. Abandonment of buildings between 1970 and 1981—a fifth of its housing stock—reflected a proportionately higher number of apartments, more crime, and a more rapid rate of ethnic and racial change. Landlords and tenants "abandoned, vandalized, and burned apartment buildings that a few years before had been filled to the brim" (p. 124). This reflected "an interaction between the housing market and the socioeconomic condition of the building, the block, and the locality" (p. 125). Landlords possessed buildings that no one wanted, as they were in the path of urban devastation. All of this happened "in spite of well-meaning policies to arrest poverty and blight" (p. 127). Antipoverty job programs, for example, encouraged people to move away, and borough presidents provided ineffective leadership.

The study ends with a chapter entitled "The Road Back," which traces neighborhood revitalization beginning in the 1980s to "grassroots community networks and coalitions and innovative strategies." These were legacies of the 1960s War on Poverty. The spread of abandonment created a context for the turnaround, as "[t]he abundance of city-owned vacant land and abandoned buildings, along with a multitude of public and private initiatives that had been devised, enacted, or ineffective during the height of the destruction, now made it possible to rebuild whole areas" (p. 130). The arrival of more blacks and Hispanics rejuvenated the housing market. Community groups, public-private partnerships, City Hall, and the Bronx borough president worked together to stabilize neighborhoods and revitalize the South Bronx. Social problems declined, and a middle class began to emerge.

Relying on a wealth of primary sources and abetted by helpful maps and tables, this book tells a thoughtful story of urbanization in a place that most Americans know only stereotypically. Photographs showing sites

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before and after the late 1980s enhance the quality of this worthwhile study.

DARREL E. BIGHAM
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MARGARET C. DEPALMA. *Dialogue on the Frontier: Catholic and Protestant Relations, 1793–1883*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 220. $55.00.

In many respects, the history of American religion is defined by controversy, both within denominations and between them. It is hardly a wonder that the conflictual aspect of American religion has been a major focus of historical investigation.

Given the prevailing direction of the scholarship, this book is a welcome addition to the literature on frontier religion. In it, Margaret C. DePalma, without denying the occurrence of anti-Catholicism west of the Appalachian Mountains, convincingly asserts that relationships between Protestants and Catholics were more fluid than in the east, and that, at least in Kentucky and Ohio, "members of both religions were carrying on a dialogue of mutual necessity that allowed them to build a region and a nation" (p. xi). By examining the careers of Father Stephen Theodore Badin, Bishop Edward Dominic Fenwick, and Archbishop John Baptist Purcell, she demonstrates that relations between Protestants and Catholics were far more nuanced than is frequently supposed.

DePalma's introductory chapters provide little new information, yet are useful in establishing the wider American context within which her study is situated. John Carroll, America's first Catholic bishop, struggled with Protestant antagonism, as well as internal issues such as clergy quality and the tendency of lay church trustees to view themselves as ultimate parochial authorities. Attempts to exercise episcopal control over such matters contributed to Protestant perceptions that Roman Catholicism was despotic and unsuited to American republican culture.

Given this context, at first glance it seems surprising that Father Badin would encounter at least some Protestants who were willing to cooperate with and be supportive of his endeavors in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Badin's irenic temperament contributed to this, as did civic "boosterism" that saw any church planting as a positive development. Additionally, as DePalma points out, the Second Great Awakening on the one hand fueled Catholic development as well as Protestant and on the other involved perceived excesses that became grounds for critique by both mainline Protestant and Catholic clergy.

The seeds of subsequent controversy were sown by the Great Revival. After the War of 1812, the fusion of democratic and millenial ideologies in "evangelical republicanism" encouraged Protestants to view Catholicism as un-American. DePalma opines that the arrival of women religious contributed to the perception of Catholicism as an alien religion, since these frequently stepped out of conventional gender roles. This argument is less convincing given the presence of a Protestant analog in the women who migrated west to become teachers in the newly created common schools. As Polly Welts Kaufman and others have documented, these women also took on unconventional roles and were allowed to do so as long as they remained single.

By the time Fenwick, Cincinnati's first Catholic bishop, arrived in the 1820s, the era of "dialog and debate" had begun. The liberal deism of the previous generation had given way to militant Protestantism tightly focused on evangelizing the infant republic. One signal of this was the establishment of the American Home Missionary Society in 1826. A major impetus for its creation, signaled in Lyman Beecher's famous treatise, *A Plea for the West* (1827), was fear of Catholic domination of the Mississippi Valley as a result of large-scale immigration.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the early years of Bishop (later Archbishop) Purcell's tenure were marked by what DePalma characterizes as "defense and distrust." While Purcell generally sought to be a conciliatory civic voice, his attempts to gain public funding for parochial schools, and to mitigate overt evangelical Protestant influence in the public ones from the early 1850s on, culminated in the Bible War of 1869, in which evangelicals clashed with Catholics, Jews, and liberals over using the King James Bible as a school text. However, by the time a final 1873 controversy over whether parochial schools could be taxed was decided, the religious climate had once again changed in favor of a more ecumenical spirit.

The more irenic climate of the 1870s and 1880s was pointed up by Cincinnati's reaction to the failure of the bank created by Purcell's brother. Despite indignation over the haphazard administration that cost many Catholic citizens their life savings, the Protestant and secular press almost universally refrained from turning the crisis into a cause celebre. Instead, the common sentiment was compassion for the now elderly archbishop who found his last years blighted by scandal. DePalma rightly interprets this as a sign of the positive regard in which he was held.

While this book provides little in the way of new research, it synthesizes material in a fresh manner. Perhaps its greatest failure is the paucity of interpretation: indeed, the last chapter attempts to summarize the entire study in only three concluding paragraphs. The work would have been strengthened by more fulsome interpretive chapter summaries, and by a final chapter devoted to an interpretive overview of the entire topic. Still, DePalma's book is a worthwhile examination of nineteenth-century Christianity on the Middle Border from a novel perspective. It will be of interest to both regional historians and, more generally, to scholars of American religion.

F. MICHAEL PERKO
Loyola University of Chicago

KEVIN E. SCHMIESING. *Within the Market Strife: American Catholic Economic Thought from* Rerum Novarum *to*

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Vatican II. (Studies in Ethics and Economics.) Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2004. Pp. xv, 185. Cloth $75.00, paper $19.95.

Kevin E. Schmiesing's brief analytical survey of American Catholic economic thought belongs to a growing body of literature recognizing Catholicism's longstanding engagement with questions of social and economic order. Many of these studies, including this one, see such perspectives as important not only for Catholics but for American society at large.

Like almost all histories of modern Catholic engagement with social and economic questions, Schmiesing begins (after a brief nod to the early republic) with the impact of Pope Leo XIII's pioneering encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891). Schmiesing emphasizes the "ambivalence" with which Catholic thinkers regarded the prevalent American Progressive-era social gospel and "post-religious" economics that emerged at the same time as the pope's declaration. Most Catholic economic writers favored some kinds of "reform" but argued—often in a neo-scholastic language that pragmatic American reformers ignored or scorned—that economics must be located within a larger account of human purpose and well-being.

In the 1920s, Schmiesing contends, Catholic economic thinkers divided along several lines in their specific economic prescriptions, while retaining a common theological and moral foundation and distancing themselves further from the American economic mainstream. In the 1930s, the crisis in American capitalism drew almost all Catholics to advocate economic reforms, although serious differences remained among Catholics like the "premodern" conservative reformer Frederick Kenkel, the mystical Benedictine monk Virgil Michel, the New Deal enthusiast John A. Ryan, and the radical Catholic Worker movement. Even the once-widespread Catholic consensus on promoting the "common good" and checking "materialistic and individualistic" capitalism through such means as labor unions eroded in the 1950s. Postwar prosperity and Catholic anticommunism further weakened Catholics' belief that theirs was a unique "middle way" between laissez-faire and communism. More narrowly, Schmiesing points out, the growing disenchantment among the Catholic economists in the Catholic Economic Association with what they increasingly saw as the constraints of classic theological ethics on their profession drew most (though not all) Catholic thinkers into the American economic consensus. The Catholic Economic Association eventually became the "Association of Social Economics."

While much of Schmiesing's account will be very familiar to scholars of Catholic social thought, two features are distinctive and worth noting. The first is that he focuses on the specific subject of Catholic economic thought, which usually gets incorporated into the larger and more complex category of Catholic social and political thought on an array of subjects like sexuality and democracy. This enables Schmiesing to analyze some Catholic economic thinkers' relations to the emerging mainstream American economics profession in the academy and elsewhere. This provocative subject might have received even more attention in the book, since it highlights the ways that Catholics had long resisted mainstream economic insistence on disengaging economic analysis from political and moral categories, and certainly religious categories, as a way of enhancing its "scientific" status.

The other distinctive feature involves Schmiesing's stated thesis that Catholic economic thinkers' perspective derived not primarily from the authoritative social teaching of their church but rather from "the same complex set of factors that informed the views of non-Catholics," including "political loyalties, personal experience, and economic theories" (p. xiii). This seems less persuasive on the book's own evidence. While it is certainly true that Catholics differed in their economic prescriptions and did not mechanically apply papal dogma to economics, Schmiesing's narrative tends to confirm the judgment of historians like John T. McGreevy that Catholics listened to some different drummers than most non-Catholic Americans. The formidable William Kerby was only one of many Catholic economic thinkers who was trained at Louvain and other centers of European Catholic thought. Figures like Ryan, no less than more obviously "premodern" thinkers like Kenkel and Michel, triangulated their economic proposals between historic Catholic moral theology, the papal encyclicals, and contemporary American circumstances. It is hard to imagine anyone but a Catholic economist like Bernard Dempsey, for instance, criticizing both technically oriented mainstream American "Ricardian" economics and Marxism for their inadequate philosophical foundations.

Schmiesing's thesis might, however, be understood in a somewhat more limited way that the narrative does support. It seems quite right to say that those Catholic thinkers like Kenkel who did not really comprehend American conditions or the particular character of American capitalism were doomed to irrelevance, while Catholics who engaged the culture had the opportunity to help shape it. But relevance may lie in the eye of the beholder, and in changing historical conditions. Schmiesing notes in conclusion that some contemporary religious social critics, including adherents of "radical orthodoxy," make criticisms of mainstream American economic thought and institutions that are strongly reminiscent of older and supposedly discarded Catholic metaphysical thinkers, and sometimes even draw on them. Maybe what goes around comes around.

MEL PIEHL
Valparaiso University

HENRY PRATT. *Churches and Urban Government in Detroit and New York, 1895–1994*. Introduction by RONALD BROWN. (African American Life Series.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 193. $24.95.

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Places of worship seem to grace the corners of every major thoroughfare, and are fixtures of every neighborhood, in America's largest and most powerful urban centers. But while churches, synagogues, temples, and mosques are ubiquitous in these cities, scholars know very little about the political role that such institutions may have played in urban politics over time. What is the relationship between city hall and the Roman Catholic Church? How much were local city governments shaped by the many Protestant churches that dot urban landscapes?

These are the broad questions that political scientist Henry Pratt set out to answer in his study of Detroit and New York from the Progressive era to the mid-1990s. Pratt, who died before seeing his book to publication, was himself a native Detroiter who attended graduate school at Columbia University, where he became fascinated with religion and politics while working as Reinhold Niebuhr's research assistant. Throughout Pratt's career, he remained persuaded that historians and political scientists alike had much to learn about the ways in which political power evolved in American cities, and particularly about how religion shaped that evolution.

We do indeed learn a great deal from Pratt's book. From the chapter on the Progressive era, for instance, we learn that city governments increasingly found themselves playing roles previously considered the preserve of churches when they tried to address the often brutal and disruptive changes wrought by industrialization. But rather than becoming politically irrelevant, churches responded by joining together and forming their own blocks of political influence. Two of these were the Detroit Council of Churches and the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York. As Pratt makes clear, the evolution of city politics and church politics was inexorably intertwined.

We see this even more clearly as Pratt takes readers through the turbulent political times of Depression-era Detroit and New York. Again he challenges assumptions about churches waning as local governments took on greater responsibility for the social good. In fact, in both Detroit and New York, although "urban residents accepted the premise that the states and municipalities are obligated to play a large, ongoing role in the social welfare field, churches and sectarian welfare agencies [also] had a part to play in that process" (p. 60). Not only did churches fail to lose power as local government expanded, but in cities known for "machine" politicians who were highly dependent upon ethnic voters (such as New York City but not Detroit), the church remained an important political player.

Even later, during the civil rights era, churches clearly could still wield great power with city mayors, benefiting or harming them in ways quite tangible. Pratt notes, for example, that Detroit mayor Jerome Cavanagh's open and friendly relationship with citywide Catholic groups netted him much-needed cooperation when he launched various civil rights projects. In contrast, Mayor John V. Lindsay had a very cool relationship with New York's Cardinal Francis Spellman and thus found the Catholic Church noticeably reluctant to embrace his civil rights initiatives (pp. 85–88).

But for all that is quite valuable about Pratt's book, it has at least one major weakness. Although this is an examination of two major urban centers that became home to huge African American populations (and in the case of Detroit, even a majority population), the role of the black church is relegated to one short chapter at the end. Given the fact that there were thousands of African Americans within the denominations that Pratt examines, that in the city of Detroit white church federations were weakening while black churches were growing ever more powerful, and that African Americans in both Detroit and New York City were an increasing presence in city government writ large, this is startling. The full impact of African Americans (Protestant and Catholic alike) on the evolution of urban and church politics in Detroit and New York simply cannot be explored adequately in a separate and last chapter.

In fairness, the book's preface notes that Pratt's premature death prevented him from "fully addressing reviewers' concerns about Black church confederations in chapter 6" (p. xi). But one gathers that those concerns had more to do with whether Pratt fully appreciated the impact of black nationalism on the evolution of the black church, not with the fact that black Protestants and black Catholics were relegated to the back of the book rather than integrated with their brethren from page one.

This detraction notwithstanding, it is important that Pratt's research and insights have been published. Without question, urban and religious historians have much to gain by reading this book. Churches were far more than social and spiritual entities in American cities. They directly shaped the evolution of urban politics as well.

HEATHER ANN THOMPSON
University of North Carolina, Charlotte

ROBERT HARRISON. *Congress, Progressive Reform, and the New American State*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 293. $75.00.

This well-researched, clearly written, and provocative study seeks to delineate the emergence of the modern American regulatory state during the early twentieth century through a close examination of the congressional decision-making process. Robert Harrison is quick to point out that the impetus for such regulatory activity did not come from corporations looking to influence congressional decision making. In fact, he finds that corporate influences often lined up against any expansion of federal power rather than in support of it. Nor should we look to a model that suggests that social pressures coming from a variety of well-organized interest groups triggered progressive state building. Instead, the development of the American state was "shaped by the actions of key administrators and po-

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litical entrepreneurs who exploited the space created by interest-group conflict and the balance of economic forces" (p. 9).

The key in all of this is the role of Congress. It was where the new regulatory agencies came into existence and where their form and functions took on character. Harrison utilizes a case study approach in analyzing key legislative measures and relies heavily on roll call analysis-Guttman scaling, calculations of the value of Yules' Q, cluster analysis, and group averaging to gather the characteristics that will define political progressivism. What he finds is a fairly cohesive political grouping led by Republican insurgents from the Midwest and Democrats from the South that began to demonstrate a preference for modern, rational, bureaucratic procedures of decision making over the "vagaries of legislative 'log-rolling,' which was all too susceptible to constituency and partisan pressures" (p. 5). These progressives supported stricter control of railroad rates and practices, a pure food and drug law, federal meat inspection, reform of the banking and currency system, and stronger antitrust laws. The author notes, however, that their intention was not to replace the corporate system but to moderate its influence over government and to check the perceived abuses arising from unregulated corporate power. As spokesmen for their sections, they especially wanted to redress perceived regional imbalances in the economic system.

Harrison's progressives also tended to draw on traditional elements of republican ideology to portray an enduring conflict between the "people" and the "interests." They often described themselves as vigilant protectors of the public interest in opposition to a variety of special interests who looked to exploit government for their own advantage. Their actions were, in part, motivated by public opinion-an awareness of a rising consumer consciousness and a sense that the public was becoming morally outraged as muckraking journalists alerted them to problems. But the concept of the public interest also served as "a rhetorical device for handling social conflicts, and for negotiating the tensions between the democratic principle and the elitist implications of administrative decision-making" (p. 258).

Although the author identifies a distinct progressive movement in Congress, he notes that it did not always embrace everything we have come to accept as "progressive." Issues such as conservation policy, child welfare, and trade union rights continued to show divisions rooted in regionalism, localism, a commitment to state's rights, and a willingness to defer difficult economic decisions to the courts. Harrison also notes that one of the inconsistencies of progressive state-builders is that many of those who contributed to the creation of the regulatory state never totally abandoned a distrust of bureaucracy and reservations about the creation of powerful, autonomous regulatory agencies. As a result, they often allowed reform legislation to be weakened and compromised. The greatest irony in the entire process, however, was that in rebelling against the dictates of party discipline, the progressives damaged the primary source of leadership and direction in congressional policy making. In doing so, they undermined the system of party government without completely displacing it. The result was a hybrid structure in which new forms struggled to coexist with the old system of "courts and parties."

This book complements recent works by historically minded political scientists interested in electoral realignment, congressional "modernization," and regulatory politics. The uninitiated reader will have to trust the methodology and the author's choice of data sets. That caveat aside, the study makes a significant contribution to early twentieth-century American political history and to a sharper definition of political progressivism.

Steven L. Piott
Clarion University

Todd J. Pfannestiel. *Rethinking the Red Scare: The Lusk Committee and New York's Crusade against Radicalism, 1919–1923.* (Studies in American Popular History and Culture.) New York: Routledge. 2003. Pp. xiii, 229. $79.95.

Todd J. Pfannestiel's book is a well-researched, clearly written contribution both to the increasing literature examining the first American "red scare" and to the debates over civil liberties and academic freedom that emerged in the United States in the context of World War I. While the book concentrates on the State of New York's response to the establishment of the Soviet Russia Bureau (under Ludwig Martens) in New York City and the overall crusade against pro-Soviet radicals in the entire state, the special contribution of Pfannestiel's work lies in its examination of Clayton Lusk's campaign against both the Rand School of Social Science and public education in New York State as a whole. While it adds little new to our understanding of the operations of the Martens Bureau or the campaign against it, we learn much about the struggle for academic freedom in New York's schools in the early 1920s.

Pfannestiel argues that while the operations of the Martens Bureau were part of the broader struggle between the Soviet and American governments, the Lusk Committee soon set its sights on education, and that "The Red Scare's most lasting legacy [was] the harm it did to the hundreds of teachers who were named, investigated, and subsequently tainted under the short-lived Lusk Laws" (p. 133). Unfortunately, while Pfannestiel details the creation and attempted implementation of those laws, and their ultimate demise, he does not fully explore their impact or the ways in which they chilled the climate for full and free exploration of political and social issues in New York's public schools from 1919 to 1923.

Pfannestiel places his examination squarely in the context of the emerging "red scare," first exploring its underlying causes and then proceeding to a discussion of the formation of the Lusk Committee and the operations of the Soviet Bureau and the reactions of the

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Lusk Committee to it. Here, his treatment is unremarkable, distinguished only by a perhaps more thorough discussion of the origins of the Lusk Committee, particularly the place of New York politics in its formation. Much of this has been covered elsewhere, however, notably by Lawrence H. Chamberlain's *Loyalty and Legislative Action* (1951) and Julian Jaffe's *Crusade Against Radicalism: New York during the Red Scare, 1914–1924* (1972). In his discussion of the origins of the Martens Bureau, Pfannestiel underplays the important role of Santeri Nuorteva, the Finnish socialist, who perhaps did more than any other person to get the Soviet Information Bureau launched in 1919. Readers would do well to consult Auvo Koistianen, "Santeri Nuorteva and the Origins of Soviet-American Relations" (*American Studies in Scandinavia* 15 [1972]: 1–14.)

The heart of Pfannestiel's study remains his examination of the Lusk Committee's attack on the Rand School of Social Science and academic freedom in public schools in the State of New York. His discussion of the Rand School is clear and helpful, particularly his complete list of courses and lecturers, 1919–1920. He shows both the attacks on the school and the school's rather successful response, which generated publicity and funds to keep itself alive during the controversy. In fact, in can be argued, partly on the basis of Pfannestiel's evidence, that a key source for the mobilization of the liberal community and its formation of the National Civil Liberties Bureau (later the ACLU), was the defense of the Rand School. The discussion of the attack on public schools is less successful. The New York State Senate, at Lusk's urging, did pass five bills (three of which were enacted into law) to tackle radicalism in the state schools: one creating a special secret service to continue the state's investigation into education, one calling for public school teacher certification, and one requiring private school licensing. However, the furor over these bills mobilized a wide variety of opposition, and eventually they were repealed. As Pfannestiel argues, this legislative and political battle "triggered a negative public response" (p. 127). It may well have been this outcry that brought an end to the "red scare" in New York. Pfannestiel's study, however, leaves one wanting more. An exploration of the harm done to hundreds, possibly thousands of teachers who were named and investigated under the Lusk Laws remains to be written.

DAVID MCFADDEN
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DAVID KAHN. *The Reader of Gentlemen's Mail: Herbert O. Yardley and the Birth of American Codebreaking*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 318. $32.50.

Herbert Osborn Yardley is hardly a household name, yet he is the most famous United States codebreaker thanks to a sensational book—*The American Black Chamber*—he wrote seventy-five years ago. Heretofore he has not had a biographer, but he certainly has one now.

There is a truism, well known to historians, that biographers either love or hate their subjects. David Kahn has written that rarest of commodities: a balanced biography of Yardley, warts and all. In so doing he has reinterpreted Yardley's role and what we know about early American communications intelligence. Kahn undertook an exhaustive search covering virtually every archive in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, and Japan that could conceivably hold documents relating to Yardley. Kahn also interviewed virtually everyone still living who knew Yardley and his contemporaries. The result is a tour de force, a definitive biography that will lay to rest most of the controversies swirling around Yardley's career.

Who was Yardley, and why is he important? He was a State Department clerk-telegrapher who had taught himself codebreaking. When the United States declared war in spring 1917, Yardley volunteered to set up a cryptanalysis operation in Military Intelligence. His offer was accepted, and by the end of the war the United States had its first communications intelligence organization (MI-8). Kahn notes Yardley was so successful that, after the armistice, when he proposed to establish a secret United States government "black chamber," his offer was snapped up and jointly funded by the Army and the State Department.

Established in New York, the Black Chamber targeted Japanese codes from the beginning. When the 1921 Naval Conference convened in Washington, Yardley and his colleagues were reading the two principal Japanese diplomatic codes in a timely fashion. As a result, the American cryptanalysts enabled their diplomatic colleagues to know with certainty the negotiating position of the Japanese delegation in regard to naval tonnage. This codebreaking feat was a major coup, and Yardley was personally decorated with the coveted Distinguished Service Medal by the Secretary of War.

Kahn relates that despite this achievement there were substantial budget cuts in successive years that had a significant impact on the number of codebreakers that could be employed. In addition, there were serious problems in obtaining the necessary foreign diplomatic telegrams from the cable companies. Kahn also dissects the accusation made by historian Ladislas Farago that Yardley secretly approached the Japanese Embassy in Washington and for $7,000 sold information that the Black Chamber had been reading their codes. He concludes that it never happened, and he is probably correct.

The Black Chamber closed its doors in 1929 when a new secretary of state, Henry Stimson, shut off funding, pompously stating that "Gentlemen do not read each other's mail" (p. 98). Yardley and his staff were out of work and the Depression was beginning. Broke and desperate, he decided to write a book about his codebreaking experiences. The result was *The American Black Chamber* (1931), which caused a huge uproar. The Army and the State Department, angry over the book's disclosures, denied that the Black Chamber existed, and the Japanese government was outraged at learning

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that Japanese codes had been broken at the time of the Naval Conference.

Yardley did not make a fortune from the book, but he got a lecture tour and several screenwriting contracts in Hollywood that kept him afloat for half a dozen years. In 1938, the Nationalist Chinese government hired him to go to China to break Japanese codes, and for almost two years he did this with some success. When he returned to America in the summer of 1940, Army cryptanalysts paid him $4,000 to write a report on Japanese military codes. In 1941, the Canadian government employed Yardley to set up a codebreaking unit, but both the U.S. and British authorities protested his hiring and demanded that he be fired. The Canadians did so reluctantly, because they liked him.

During World War II, Yardley wound up working as an investigator for the Office of Price Administration. He died in 1958. Kahn concludes that "He endowed his country with the best kind of intelligence" (p. 242).

LOUIS R. SADLER
New Mexico State University

LUCY MADDOX. *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. 205. $35.00.

Consider this from the index of a standard college-level American history textbook: Native Americans are listed on page 539, in a section dealing with Wounded Knee and the end of the Indian Wars in the 1890s, and not again until page 815, this time for a discussion of the Indian New Deal of 1934. So what happened to Native Americans during those intervening 275 pages, covering nearly forty years? This is the question that Lucy Maddox sets out to answer. More precisely Maddox is interested in whether Native Americans participated in that movement we loosely term "Progressivism." The answer, Maddox finds, is yes, and she expands upon that by focusing, as the book's subtitle suggests, on a group of Native intellectuals.

The book begins with a reevaluation of Indian performances and exhibitions at the turn of the twentieth century, which constituted the primary way in which white America encountered Native Americans. Rather than seeing these, as other historians have, only as shameless (and shameful) episodes of racialized exploitation, Maddox believes that Indians also appropriated these exhibitions and performances as a way of communicating with white audiences, that they "adopted, manipulated, and transformed the means already available to them for addressing white audiences" (p. 16).

Although the book begins with this rereading of Indian performances, the central story Maddox tells is about the Society of American Indians (SAI), founded in 1911. SAI was thoroughly of its Progressive-era moment (the founders first considered calling their group the "Progressive Indian Association"), and Maddox is primarily interested in those writers associated with it. The SAI "offered an opportunity to escape or at least contest the usually unreflective paternalism" (p. 88) that attended most white reform efforts targeted at Indians. The organization became a vehicle for Indians to participate in the public debate and to "situate their particular, local concerns within a cosmopolitan or universal context" (p. 88)

This was no easy task, to be sure. On the one hand, SAI might portray the Indian "problem" as simply one among the many that Progressive reformers were tackling, while, on the other hand, SAI intellectuals seemed wary of being lumped together with African Americans as part of the nation's "race problem." SAI intellectuals wanted to engage in the public debate on equal footing with white commentators, but Indians were not yet citizens of the United States, a political condition that only encouraged condescension even from ostensible allies. Indians struggled with a variation of W. E. B. Du Bois's twoness: in order to be taken seriously as intellectuals, Maddox writes, these writers had to suppress "their relationship to tribe and tradition" (p. 174). As Maddox points out, whites might have a confident sense of what it meant to be a Progressive, but "what it meant to be an *Indian* progressive, on the other hand, was a question that it was much less easy for anyone to be sure about" (p. 95).

In the end, Maddox hedges quite a bit about the organization's ultimate effectiveness. The SAI does not seem to have had a major impact on legislation or policy during the Progressive years. Rather, she believes that its members were successful in "creating . . . a space for an Indian public opinion" (p. 124). This measured assessment of what SAI did and did not achieve strikes me as just right.

The book concludes curiously. Much of the writing about reform in the first quarter of the twentieth century examines the connections between the Progressive era and the New Deal which began in 1933. Historians continue to debate the influences that the Progressive generation did or did not have on the New Dealers who succeeded them at the spearhead of reform. Maddox, however, does not go on to explore the relationship between the SAI and the so-called Indian New Deal. Perhaps here she might have found a more direct relationship between SAI members and the creation of Federal policy.

Instead, Maddox jumps from a consideration of Luther Standing Bear's *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933), which she reads as marking the end of the attempt to construct an Indian progressivism using white frameworks, more or less to the present. She presents SAI's work as having prefigured many of the issues with which a contemporary generation of scholars and activists continue to wrestle. SAI "provided an important intellectual grounding for succeeding generations of Native spokespersons and writers" (p. 166), Maddox asserts, and she continues that "understanding the issues that engaged the SAI generation . . . can provide a critically important context for situating Native politics in the present" (p. 167).

Justifying the book this way feels almost apologetic, as if current relevance is the only reason these writers

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should command our attention. It need not be. Maddox's book has demonstrated that Native Americans were actively engaged in trying to create a place for themselves as both Indians and Americans during the Progressive era, and in so doing she has filled in some of those missing pages in our national textbook.

STEVEN CONN
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CHARLES WILKINSON. *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. Pp. xvi, 543. $26.95.

It is indeed fortunate that, at long last, scholars of American Indian history have discovered the post-World War II era. At the very least, uncovering previously untold stories adds depth and texture to these ongoing stories. But even more, studies located in the more recent past contest stubborn habits of inquiry that place supposedly authentic Indian life (and therefore meaningful historical inquiry) deeper into the past. This tendency not only "exoticizes" American Indian history but reifies narrow perspectives that offer only two possibilities: the valiant but doomed struggle that ended sometime in the late nineteenth century, and the depressing story of contemporary communities wracked by social problems and seeking deliverance through the false god of gaming.

True, not all studies follow those patterns, and not all historians cling desperately to familiar paradigms. This is particularly the case with the latest work of the attorney, scholar, activist, and historian Charles Wilkinson. Wilkinson is perhaps best known to readers of this journal for *American Indians, Time, and the Law* (1987). But specialists in American Indian studies also know him as an advocate for American Indian tribes, a staff attorney for the Native American Rights Fund, and a key participant in the legal struggle over tribal sovereignty.

Wilkinson offers a compelling overview of legal, political, economic, and social currents from the era of termination to the early twenty-first century. Part history, part legal primer, part memoir, and with a refreshing dose of advocacy, his book argues that the survival and renaissance of Indian communities (and cultures) is largely a function of tribal sovereignty, itself a product of community-based activism assisted by skillful legal counsel and (at times) sympathetic courts and legislators. Indeed, and significantly, Wilkinson demonstrates that it is advances in expressions of sovereignty, much more than gaming, that account for the positive (but too often ignored) news now coming from Indian country.

Appropriately, the book begins with reminiscence on Menominee termination and restoration, an often told story enlivened this time by the author's personal recollections of key individuals (notably Ada Deer) and incidents from the seminal events of the 1970s, to which Wilkinson made significant contributions. Engagingly personal, this prologue also situates the narrative, providing historical context for termination but also context for a half century of struggle that ultimately yielded modern "tribal nations."

This is a very wide-ranging book. In the space of fourteen chapters, divided into four parts ("Abyss," "Last Stand," "Foundations for Self-Determination," "Reviving the Homelands," plus a coda entitled "The Outlook"), Wilkinson covers the familiar, such as "Red Power" and its stunning efflorescence on rocky Alcatraz and the windy plains of South Dakota, and the development of gaming. Both are important stories but do not, as Wilkinson makes clear, comprise the sum total of Indian activism. Instead, and to his credit, Wilkinson insists on proper context for more familiar stories, devoting far more pages to the hard work of self-government, from successful fishing and hunting rights cases (here he correctly identifies *Washington v. U.S.*, or the "Boldt Decision," as a monumentally important milestone), challenges to termination from Menominee to Colville and Klamath, the sometimes referenced but too often forgotten Maine Indian Land Claims settlement of 1980, and the activities of tribal governments, which as Wilkinson argues, are deeply involved in the reform of community education, and the rebuilding of tribal justice systems. These, he argues, are markers of tribal sovereignty in action.

For the most part, the vignettes serve intended purposes, and hang together effectively. But there are a few problems. The inclusion of Hawai'ian sovereignty movements is welcome but too brief to be of much use. Some also may contest Wilkinson's portrayal of Richard M. Nixon's Indian policy. True, that administration endorsed tribal self-determination in many of its dimensions, but was it an expression of genuine concern for Indian welfare or political expediency, connected with efforts to divide and thus undermine ethnic, class, and racially based challenges to the status quo? Others may contest what seems to be a deliberate decision to underplay persistent social problems plaguing Indian country.

But the book is much more than a compendium of legislation and laws or even of stories from across the continent. It is, at base and most importantly, the story of a movement, motivated by a "set of ideals to which a people will make a blood commitment" (p. 89), with philosophers (Charles Eastman, Black Elk, D'Arcy McNickle) and activists (Vine Deloria, Jr., Clyde Warrior, Hank Adams, Mel Thom). It is the story of tribal communities, resisting, adapting, and insisting on tribal solutions to tribal challenges. And so, if Wilkinson's study sometimes seems a bit to optimistic, shying away from persistent problems in favor of good news, it is balanced by the valuable realization that Indian progress ultimately depends on self-government and self-sufficiency.

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DAVID E. STANNARD. *Honor Killing: How the Infamous "Massie Affair" Transformed Hawai'i*. New York: Viking. 2005. Pp. ix, 466. $25.95.

In Hawai'i in the 1930s, a tiny, powerful white oligarchy controlled the destinies of the dark-skinned eighty percent majority of native Hawaiians and Asians. Formal annexation by the United States and territorial status had bestowed on the islands not just a lucrative expansion of the Pearl Harbor naval base but southern attitudes of white racial supremacy and a chivalric honor code absent in nineteenth century island life. In Honolulu, oligarchy families resided in gracious homes in Mānoa Valley alongside military officers and their families accorded haole elite status. Those they ruled lived in urban slums and tenements known as Hell's Half Acre—only four miles away from lush Mānoa. A growing tourist industry featured multihued "people of paradise" and their "spirit of aloha" and left unmentioned that they lived "under the authoritarian rule of an openly white supremacist oligarchy" (p. 1).

The oligarchy was unseated after World War II by the Democratic Revolution of 1954. Subsequent histories have tended to present that change as chiefly brought about by labor's success at organizing across ethnic lines and by the heroic wartime record of Nisei Japanese Americans and their allies who achieved statehood in 1959 and ethnically shared governance. Conversely, David E. Stannard argues convincingly that the first meaningful inroad against the oligarchy actually occurred in the Massie case. The heroism of a few brave men of various racial and ethnic backgrounds and a Hawaiian princess who wanted to help her people confronted some of the most powerful forces in the United States and effected a turnaround in a "connected series of racially charged events—a white woman's allegation that she had been raped by a gang of native men, a kidnapping, a murder, and two sensational criminal trials that together focused the world's attention on justice in Hawai'i in 1931 and 1932" (p. 3).

Stannard's eloquent narrative recounts how young Thalia Fortescue Massie, wife of Kentuckian Thomas Massie, U.S. Naval Academy graduate and submarine officer, wandered away from a Saturday night drinking party in Waikīkī and, she alleged, was grabbed by five or six Hawaiian men who dragged her to their car and beat and raped her. She got away and called her husband, famously saying, "Something awful has happened." Meanwhile, police picked up five local men in a traffic altercation several miles away who were also out drinking that night. The police stopped looking for other suspects.

A "Rush to Judgment" (p. 93) by those in power lined up behind those they considered to be refined and cultured and against the five accused described as "lust-sodden beasts" and "devils" (pp. 197–202). A manufactured crime wave whipped up island and national hysteria over dozens of supposed rapes by marauding gangs of dark-skinned men roaming the streets of Honolulu looking for white victims. Admiral Yates Stirling, a southerner and top military official in the islands, urged military personnel to take the law into their own hands. Only the Japanese-English *Hawaii Hochi* newspaper warned that the men might be innocent. Associated Press editors voted the Massie case one of the top world news events of the year.

Two trials resulted, and the oligarchy lost both. The jury in the first, in December 1931, was deadlocked. The timeline did not add up, and rape could not be proven. A mistrial was declared. Navy men kidnapped Horace Ida—one of the five alleged rapists—and brutally beat and abandoned him. A murder followed. The second trial was for this murder. Thalia Massie's mother, Grace Bell Fortescue, a well-connected Washington, D.C. socialite, set up residence in Mānoa and concocted a plan to avenge the honor of her daughter and son-in-law. Grace, Thomas Massie, and two sailors abducted accused rapist Joseph Kahahawai and drove him to the Fortescue house where he, like Ida and the other three men, refused to confess. Kahahawai was fatally shot and stuffed into the trunk of the car. Police quickly intercepted and arrested the killers before they could dump his body into the ocean.

Walter F. Dillingham, oligarchy leader, persuaded Grace to hire Clarence Darrow as her criminal lawyer. Like the first trial, the second, in April 1932, had a diverse jury, a packed court room, enormous interest, and a capable and fair judge. Darrow let Thomas take the rap for firing the shot that killed Kahahawai because of the unwritten law that a man has the right to kill another man who has assaulted his wife. (Years later, navy man Albert O. "Deacon" Jones admitted he pulled the trigger.) The prosecuting team, including Chinese Hawaiian William Heen and haole John Kelley, a copper miner's son from Montana, destroyed Darrow's case. The jury brought in a surprise verdict of manslaughter for each, which carried a sentence of ten years in prison, and recommended leniency for Grace and Thomas.

The oligarchy was in shock. The navy threatened to cancel annual fleet visits, and Congress considered imposing military law or a commission government. Phone calls and cablegrams flooded in. Governor Lawrence M. Judd was pressured by military officials and by Washington, D.C., and the murderers did not spend a day in jail but were housed in a navy ship at Pearl Harbor. Judd refused to pardon them but commuted their sentences to one hour in his chambers. They soon left the islands and were never retried.

The case was largely forgotten until the 1960s, when a number of fictional films and television treatments emerged, followed by several journalistic accounts including one by Theon Wright, who had covered the murder trial. In *Rape in Paradise* (1966), Wright identified the Massie case as contributing to the massive political shift of the 1950s.

Stannard's book benefited from his access to previously suppressed material like the 331-page Pinkerton Detective Agency report (1932), which found the accused Hawaiians innocent. His extensive and highly readable "Notes" in narrative form (pp. 429–451) re-

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veal the enormous range of primary sources he consulted. He both narrowed and broadened his approach: narrowed it by demonstrating that the central characters were not at all what previous authors thought them to be; and broadened it by providing a solid historical context. Stannard also makes a point of emphasizing the development of nonwhite solidarity, implying mixed ethnicity and expressed as being "local."

This is now the definitive history. Stannard reminds us that Hawai'i remains ahead of the rest of the country in civil rights and civil liberties, "as well as the affability of everyday interracial relations" (p. 422), but still has serious problems. He hopes the islands' liberalism will last.

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NEIL LANCTOT. *Negro League Baseball: The Rise and Ruin of a Black Institution*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 496. $34.95.

Although certainly not the first work of note on the subject of the Negro Leagues, Neil Lanctot's book is an admirable account of black baseball from the 1930s to its ultimate demise two decades later. Whereas previous works, including a plethora of biographies of Negro League legends, have focused primarily on historical developments related to action on the diamond, Lanctot provides a remarkable glimpse into the economic complexities of the Negro Leagues. By drawing together a variety of sources, including newspaper accounts, interviews, and private collections, Lanctot has painstakingly recreated the economic landscape of black baseball over a period of time when it rose from obscurity, reached its zenith, and then crumbled in the wake of integration.

Tracing the economic fortunes of the Negro National League and the Negro American Leagues from the 1930s until the integration of Major League baseball eventually rendered the Negro Leagues superfluous, Lanctot reveals much about black baseball and its connection to black culture during the first half of the twentieth century. Most impressive is his ability to connect black baseball to the economic ebbs and flows of the black community at large during the era under investigation. The author perceptively concludes that the profitability of black baseball was not just dependent on internal issues but ultimately also on elements within the white community, especially Jewish entrepreneurs, who elicited a great deal of animosity among some African American leaders. Lanctot asserts that, although mismanagement and/or incompetence hampered the profitability of some black baseball teams, more often than not the necessity of relying on white promoters, team owners, and other prominent figures in the sporting community led to inequities that made economic solvency for the Negro Leagues an improbability, especially during the mid-1930s. For example, he details the involvement of white individuals such as Abe Saperstein, the owner of the Harlem Globetrotters, Nat Strong, a notable sports promoter, and a number of Major League baseball team owners who utilized their positions and contacts to charge outrageous fees for Negro League teams to schedule games in desirable locations. Lanctot more than adequately draws the obvious parallels between black baseball and exploitation in other economic ventures within the black community financed by white entrepreneurs.

Lanctot arguably provides his most riveting analysis in the middle portion of the book, in which he outlines the improving fortunes of the Negro Leagues in the late 1930s through the immediate postwar era. Again, Lanctot notes that the increasing profitability of teams at this time was indicative of the larger African American community, which, because of the war, was experiencing significant financial gains for the first time in a decade, albeit at lower rates than white society. The author observes correctly that the implementation of the military draft actually proved beneficial for the Negro Leagues since African Americans served in disproportionately smaller numbers because of War Department quotas limiting the numbers of black servicemen. Thus, whereas Major League baseball lost approximately ninety-five percent of its prewar rosters to military service, the percentage of Negro League players who served was much lower, which ensured that Negro League contests boasted the best professional diamond talent then on display. This fact, combined with increasing levels of discretionary income for both whites and blacks, encouraged many people to attend Negro League games through the conclusion of World War II. Although the author addresses these subjects adequately, he could have strengthened his position by elaborating a bit on the talent discrepancies between white and black organized baseball during the war and determining how much, if at all, the quality of play affected attendance.

Lanctot illustrates dispassionately the quick descent of the Negro Leagues that followed the integration of professional baseball shortly after the end of the war. He provides a valid critique of many short-sighted black team owners who did not fully grasp the eventual scope of integration and who were unable to survive the disintegration of black baseball as a separate institution. Lanctot concludes with a final chapter that attempts, in part, to connect the black baseball experience of the first half of the twentieth century to more recent developments involving baseball and the African American community. Although Lanctot does provide a few paragraphs on the contemporary state of affairs on this topic, a potential improvement here would have been to elaborate on the subject in a prologue or a separate concluding chapter. Overall, however, this is a wonderful piece of scholarship that illuminates a subject that has been largely ignored or deemed too difficult to address.

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CHRISTOPHER A. MCAULEY. *The Mind of Oliver C. Cox.* (African American Intellectual Heritage Series.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 296. $60.00.

Without a doubt, Oliver Cromwell Cox stands as an important black intellectual and social theorist for the twentieth century. It is regrettable that, after all these years (Cox died in 1974), he has not received the studied attention to his ideas and works that he so richly deserves. Christopher A. McAuley's book is the first to delve deeply into Cox's thinking. While it is certainly not definitive, it is an excellent start. It is to be hoped that we will see more examinations of a black thinker who was, as McAuley states, a true "pan-African-American."

Noting that Cox was a 'natural comparativist" owing to his birth and initial education in Trinidad, his migration to Chicago, his studied observations of American race relations, and his research in the socioeconomics of colonial and industrial nations, McAuley provides us with a detailed understanding of how Cox's background influenced and shaped his work. Place and space played important roles. Cox was not part of the Harlem scene of the 1920s and 1930s and thus was not involved with the various forms of black nationalism and left radicalism current among Afro-Caribbeans and African Americans. His career in academe was spent toiling away at small colleges and universities, away from the major research centers where his own work would have received greater exposure and feedback. Then there was his bout with polio, which would have slowed anyone down. Nonetheless, Cox produced stunning works on caste and social theories of race relations that were not only critical of mainstream ideas put forth by Gunnar Myrdal and Robert Park but were also thoughtful alternative analyses grounded in materialist thought. Although later in his life Cox would reject any notion that he was Marxist, McAuley persuasively argues that Cox was a Marxist thinker with a keen eye for the dialectic and a thoroughness in analyzing the political economic machinations of capitalist systems.

Because of his Caribbean background, class was as important as race in Cox's thinking. He eschewed black nationalism per se and grappled with antisemitism and white racism. McAuley successfully demonstrates that Cox's class analysis had its strong points but ultimately was limited with regard to understanding the full cultural context of race in America. This rich discussion deserves a close reading, especially in light of the continuing debates surrounding black-Jewish relations.

There are many such gems in this book, and many suggestive comments for further studies to pursue. McAuley is to be commended for bringing Cox out of the shadows of such black intellectuals as E. Franklin Frazier, W.E.B. Du Bois, Charles Spurgeon Johnson, Abram Harris, and Ralph Bunche. Cox was a serious thinker, and many of his ideas resonate in the world as it is today. McAuley's intellectual examination introduces us to Cox's oeuvre and guides us through his deep and illuminating thought. We are indebted to him for his efforts.

CHARLES PETE BANNER-HALEY
Colgate University

JACK DOUGHERTY. *More Than One Struggle: The Evolution of Black School Reform in Milwaukee.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 253. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Jack Dougherty's masterful study of six decades of black educational struggle in Milwaukee demonstrates the power of telling the story of the civil rights movement through the frame of a northern city. It illustrates the utility of pulling the timeline of the movement forward and backward (from 1930 to 1990) and of moving beyond a strict civil rights-black power binary. Dougherty, as the title suggests, sees more than one educational struggle and thus includes—but does not focus solely on—efforts for school integration.

The book begins in 1930s Milwaukee, where not one black person was employed as a public school teacher. Urban League executive director William Kelley made a strategic compromise to push for the hiring of black teachers in black schools and then used the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision to pressure the school board to hire more black teachers. By 1960, 191 black teachers had been hired.

Dougherty then turns to examine an emerging political discourse in the educational struggle—compensatory education—and how school officials framed the problem of black education around the cultural deprivations of black (southern migrant) students. While Dougherty critiques the "overtly negative portrayals" of black migrant culture, he seeks to examine black support for compensatory education. However, by focusing primarily on the 1950's, he misses an opportunity to look at how this rationale would thwart the movement for educational equity over the long term by providing a rationale for black educational failure that was located within the black community itself. The fact that some black Milwaukeeans "cooperated to support and direct programs for cultural adjustment" (p. 69) makes the story more complicated but does not make this strategy less dangerous in the long run.

Milwaukee schools were acutely segregated, and as black schools grew more overcrowded and underresourced, the district maintained segregation though "intact busing": transporting black children in their classes and teaching them separately in white schools. In response, a mass movement for school integration grew in the early 1960s under the direction of Wisconsin National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) president Lloyd Barbee. In 1964, an interracial coalition of civil rights, religious and political groups created Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC). They held marches, rallies, and pickets, and called a school boycott, drawing the participation of 11,000 children, most of whom attended Freedom Schools for the day. But by 1965, the

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movement for school integration had died down. Dougherty powerfully challenges the "abandonment narrative" that often explains this as the quick rise and subsequent rejection of the civil rights movement in the North: "Several activists who moved from MUSIC to other school reform groups affiliated with community control or black power typically did not perceive their actions as an abandonment of previous efforts but rather as a series of uninterrupted steps in their long journeys for improving black education" (p. 107). Dougherty uses case studies of local women activists such as Mildred Harpole, who moved from MUSIC to create the Harambee Community School, to show this continuity of efforts.

MUSIC's efforts were largely frustrated by the conservative school board. Like other northern districts, Milwaukee insisted that it kept no racial data on students, so activists spent countless hours proving segregation, which took energy from nourishing this burgeoning mass movement. In 1976, U.S. district judge John Reynolds ruled that Milwaukee "intentionally created and maintained" school segregation (p. 152)—a ruling subsequently vacated by the Supreme Court. In response, the city reorganized its high schools into citywide magnet schools, which still sought to protect educational options for white students.

In the book's final chapters, Dougherty traces the movement to protect black students from bearing the undue burden for integration. Over ninety percent of Milwaukee students bused for desegregation were black, and whites had a better chance of getting into the magnet schools they requested. Community activists waged a successful fight for a new building for the decrepit all-black North Division High School and again in 1979 to prevent the closure of North Division and its conversion to a citywide magnet school. Neighborhood activist Evelyn Williams explained: "Here we finally get, in North Division, some stuff that we had fought for . . . [and] they . . . turn it around on you. Just because we wanted integration, they figured that they can do anything to us for the sake of integration" (p. 172).

Conceptually, Dougherty could have strengthened his critique of the abandonment narrative even further by framing his analysis around desegregation rather than integration. Not simply a semantic distinction, community activists saw the hiring of black teachers, diversifying the curriculum, and access for black students to seats and the best resources in every school as fundamental components in dismantling segregation. But this is a small point in a powerful work that should be read by all who care about the past and future of American education.

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MICHAEL JANEWAY. *The Fall of the House of Roosevelt: Brokers of Ideas and Power from FDR to LBJ.* (Columbia Studies in Contemporary American History.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 284. $27.50.

Every generation has its best and brightest, and those young liberals who stormed the gates of Washington, D.C. during FDR's New Deal made their mark for positive government unlike any other period in U.S. history to that time. Coming as legal realists and Keynesians, they valued results over process and fit nicely with Roosevelt's own pragmatism. In his well-crafted book, Michael Janeway chronicles and analyzes the actions and personalities over several decades of New Dealers such as Thomas Corcoran, Benjamin V. Cohen, William O. Douglas, Abe Fortas, Thurman Arnold, and James Rowe. In addition to the public side of the study, a more private or personal element emerges as the author grapples with the life and legacy of his father, economist and writer Eliot Janeway, who had close affiliation with the other New Dealers. The story is not always pretty.

The longer these initially eager and intellectually energetic young men remained in Washington, the harder it became to relinquish power or what had become the shadow of power. Always a wheeler dealer, Corcoran ended his career in the eyes of many as the ultimate "fixer." Fortas, appointed to the Supreme Court by President Lyndon B. Johnson, another of the Rooseveltians, left the bench in disgrace. Douglas suffered from a messy personal life. At the beginning of the 1990s, Clark Clifford, who began in the Truman administration but became one of the group, crashed in an international banking scandal.

The elder Janeway, who died in 1993 and whose papers are used as one of the book's sources, disappointed his son by being a cold and distant grandfather, and by suppressing his Jewishness. Networking was crucial to tightening affiliations within the New Deal and after, but the author points out that his father, from the 1930s, shied away from establishing a bond of religion with Cohen, Fortas, and others, although he may have discussed the problems of political maneuverability that it caused them. As he made his way up the corporate ladder to serve as business editor of Henry R. Luce's *Time* and as a writer for *Life* and *Fortune*, Janeway attempted to distance himself not only from his birth religion but from a brush with communism. Nevertheless, he prided himself, as did the others studied by his son, on his advisor and "insider" status as one of those who witnessed important decision making and, not infrequently, the peddling of influence.

Michael Janeway contributes to the vast historiography of the New Deal not only by studying individuals who played important (but often second-level) roles but by linking reform during the 1930s to that of the 1960s. He notes that the New Deal informed Johnson's presidency symbolically, and his exuberance for domestic programs had personal roots in his participation in Roosevelt's mission. According to Bill Moyers, LBJ preferred the term New Deal to Great Society, but as the latter became immersed in "community action"

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programs and "maximum feasible participation" by the poor in policy development, differences emerged. Janeway explains that the New Deal operated "through two presidential terms dominated by acute economic crisis, when uneasy barons of the power structure were receptive to changes in the rules" (p. 194). Johnson, of course, operated in a time of "high prosperity in the name of justice and reform, not as a Depression-era crisis manager."

It should be added that the coming of World War II helped to end the Great Depression while the war in Vietnam made it more difficult to concentrate on "guns and butter" simultaneously. Furthermore, it created fissures in the already weak House of Roosevelt, which, according to the author, by the end of 1968 had breathed its last gasps. Janeway's book assists us in understanding the process of declension that occurred and demonstrates the pitfalls that face reformers who wind up with the responsibility of governing and cannot let ago once outside of positions of real power. In our own time, as the political process is affected by new mechanisms of influence such as the internet and the attempt to organize mass participation, this book offers a useful portrait of an era that may seem less complex but really was not.

BRUCE M. STAVE
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NILS GILMAN. *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America*. (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History.) Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 329. $48.00.

Although myriad studies assess modernization theory, Nils Gilman's book deepens our understanding of modernity in the context of U.S. intellectual and foreign policy history. His probing analysis concludes that the "tragedy of modernization theory" is that a well-intentioned approach toward the postcolonial world ultimately failed to produce the desired results. Moreover, modernization theory "died without having been replaced by positive alternatives" (p. 20).

Gilman claims that modernization theory offered the most explicit and systematic framework in the history of U.S. efforts to foster development and Western orientation in the postcolonial world. The postwar architects of modernization exalted "progress" and became increasingly authoritarian, particularly as Cold War tensions heightened, in their response to challenges offered by competing sources of knowledge.

After providing a richly detailed theoretical and historical foundation for modernization theory, Gilman proceeds to assess the worldview of the postwar "mandarins" in three micro-historical chapters. The first focuses on Harvard's Department of Social Relations, followed by a chapter on the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Comparative Politics, while a third chapter analyzes the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for International Studies. Gilman follows up with chapters on modernization as "foreign policy doctrine," the "collapse of modernization theory," and a conclusion on the putative failure of successor theories.

Gilman challenges the familiar narrative that U.S. Cold War intellectuals oversimplified a complex situation, forced an essentially conservative ideology on a victimized "developing world," and ultimately ushered in foreign policy disasters, notably the Vietnam War. Like Gilman, other scholars have argued that modernization theory actually reflected the liberal tradition more than conservatism, yet Gilman shows more reluctance than many of them to condemn intellectuals such as Gabriel Almond, Lucien Pye, Walt W. Rostow, and other postcolonial theorists. As he confesses in the introduction, "It has been rather uncomfortable for me to realize my growing respect for the motives behind their ideas" (p. 22). Although Rostow, long targeted as the primary modernization ideologue behind the Indochina intervention, was indeed by the late 1960s "spending most of his time directing the killing of Vietnamese peasants, he was also more sincerely interested in improving the welfare of postcolonial peoples than the vast majority of his contemporaries" (p. 22). Gilman insists that Rostow was not even hostile to Marxist theory so much as to the Soviet and Chinese applications of communism.

Gilman's analysis is original, well researched, probing, and provocative. Among his more compelling findings is that "postwar American thought about non-Western peoples had less to do with anything intrinsic to those people than it did with Americans' understanding of their own identity" (p. 12). Thus modernization theory reflected profound domestic anxieties as opposed to being a rational international development policy.

This contradiction not only helps to explain the ultimate failure of modernization theory but also calls into question the author's sympathies for the modernizers. Like the modernist mandarins with whom he identifies, Gilman purports to understand the "benefits that the postcolonial poor want"—namely, "more modernity, not less" (pp. 273, 276)—even as he argues that development policy responded to the internal drives of American identity.

Gilman's intellectual commitment to understanding modernization theory stands in sharp contrast to his caricature of postmodernist theory on the basis of his reading, or misreading, of a handful of texts. Postmodernists have "no program" (p. 265) and offer only a critique that is "corrosive, cynical, and decadent in a precise Nietzschean sense" (p. 266)—whatever Gilman thinks that means. The author charges "the failure of these post-modernists to articulate any viable policy alternative to modernism consigns them to a permanent parasitism vis-à-vis modernist development discourse" (p. 266).

Following on the heels of this essentialist screed, Gilman offers a disappointing and conventional conclusion vaulting Francis Fukuyama's "end of history" and

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Harry S. Truman's Point Four program to the forefront as models of progressive development policy.

While Gilman peppers his book with insight and penetrating analysis, it seems not to occur to him that if modernization theory was ultimately self-serving and failed in application, then postmodernist approaches, including perhaps some form of hybrid modernity—to which Gilman refers but makes no attempt to understand—might logically offer an alternative path to liberation from the enduring bonds of Western postcolonial modernity.

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JENNIFER E. BROOKS. *Defining the Peace: World War II Veterans, Race, and the Remaking of Southern Political Tradition*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 256. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

Jennifer E. Brooks addresses what a growing number of historians contend is the most important turning point in southern history: World War II. Specifically she writes about the political transformation of Georgia brought about by veterans of that conflict. Brooks draws the insightful, obvious, and somewhat unsettling conclusion that the more things changed in the state, the more they stayed the same.

Returning black and white soldiers reshaped post-World War II politics in Georgia by leading a charge for expanded political and economic opportunity for all of the state's citizens. Blacks voted in state primaries for the first time in 1946 after the *Primus King v. Chapman et al.* court decision outlawed the all-white primary. Organized into groups like the Georgia Veterans League and the All Citizens Registration Committee, black veterans helped register voters and successfully challenged conservative political machines in key communities like Savannah, Augusta, and Atlanta. White progressive vets in the American Veterans Committee and Georgia Veterans for Majority Rule, meanwhile, led campaigns to promote the further expansion of the franchise. While these "good government" groups did not attack segregation itself, they significantly aided blacks in generally advocating for a more democratic process. Black and white veterans together challenged the county unit system that disproportionately privileged rural counties in state elections and typically favored mossback candidates. They also put their efforts into labor organizing. With support from the Congress of Industrial Organization's (CIO) Political Action Committee in Georgia, they pushed for union rights and a working-class voice in local economic, political, and social decisions.

But for all of the efforts by these veterans to establish a new political environment in the state, Brooks points out that "reactionary veterans proved much more successful in postwar Georgia than their progressive counterparts" (p. 73). Indeed the progressive insurgency had powerful enemies, including race-baiting, conservative former governor Eugene Talmadge and his son, Herman Talmadge. Typical of the old guard in Georgia politics, the elder Talmadge attacked progressive reforms as un-American, even communistic, and a direct threat to the traditional racial order. Returning soldiers who became members of the Ku Klux Klan and neo-fascist Columbians joined the nativist cause and helped Talmadge win the gubernatorial election in 1946. Before he could take office, though, he suddenly died. His son Herman seized control of the Talmadge machine and took office on the dubious claim that he was the legal successor. His power grab drew the criticism of newly elected veterans in the state legislature, but Talmadge, who had also fought in World War II, adopted a potent political platform that combined his father's white supremacy with "good government" veterans' calls for urban, industrial, and educational progress. The state ultimately accepted the younger Talmadge as governor and settled on a plan of "conservative modernization" characterized by economic growth, anti-unionism, and racial stability. Veterans went on to support House Bill 13, which privatized primary elections in the state and bypassed the court decisions outlawing the white primary. They also overwhelmingly endorsed Georgia's open shop legislation in 1947. White supremacy and hostility toward labor unions thus continued as main currents in state politics just as new notions of government responsibility and commercial development took hold. "The war failed to wholly transform the southern political and racial landscape in the short term," Brooks concludes, "but it did challenge fundamental notions about the static nature of the southern way of life" (p. 10).

This is among the few state histories focusing on the political and social changes brought by World War II. The scholarship is original, revealing the efforts of little-known veterans groups, while appropriately inclusive of well-known national and regional events such as the CIO's "Operation Dixie" campaign and the Fair Employment Practices Commission debates. In addition, Brooks effectively brings together the stories of blacks, whites, progressives, and reactionaries into a single narrative. She might be faulted for neglecting discussions of war industry, black migration, and other wartime changes in Georgia. She could also be criticized for relying too much on anecdotal evidence. Overall, though, this is an enlightening work that helps answer important questions about southern political history. The author adds much to the argument that World War II rivaled the Civil War as the most important turning point in the state's and region's history. Like the Civil War, World War II scattered political seeds that grew over time. It created fissures that became faults. But Brooks is also wise to recognize that at another level, little had really changed in the garden and the glacier's course had not been significantly altered.

JEFF WOODS
Arkansas Tech University

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ROBERT W. CHERNY and WILLIAM ISSEL, editors. *American Labor and the Cold War: Grassroots Politics and Postwar Political Culture*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 297. $23.95.

Most labor historians see the Cold War as one root of labor's current weakness. The volume under review, edited by Robert W. Cherny and William Issel, stems from a 1999 Southwest Labor Studies Association conference and provides a "look in detail at the grassroots" (p. 4) through local studies from varied angles of vision.

Issel and Kenneth Burt offer positive evaluations of Catholic anticommunism. Issel maintains that the church and Catholic labor activists in San Francisco were motivated by a moderate social vision, worked to settle the 1934 longshore strike, and ignored campaigns to deport left-wing leader Harry Bridges. Burt notes that Catholic officials in Los Angeles worked with left-wing Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) leaders until 1949 and contends that key activists supporting the anticommunist International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) over the Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (UE) in a 1952 representation election were part of the "liberal-left" (p. 134). Issel acknowledges, however, that the church's labor activists sought to promote "alternatives to radical unionism" (p. 166). Burt, for his part, reports that "toleration of Communists" (p. 125) ended with the appointment of an anticommunist archbishop, church activists' leaflets blared "DON'T LET THE COMMIES FOOL YOU" (p. 132) to counter the UE's emphasis on women's equal contract rights, and the victorious IUE represented workers poorly.

Other accounts see little difference between right-wing and laborite anticommunists. Ellen Schrecker points out that the CIO's investigation of its left-wing unions was "almost identical to the operation of all other anticommunist investigations in the McCarthy era" (p. 12). Don Watson highlights the crippling effect of irrational anticommunist charges by American Federation of Labor (AFL) labor activists on organizing efforts in California agriculture in the 1950s. Samuel White notes how an anticommunist faction in Evansville, Indiana, organized workers to cross a UE picket line and then joined with the Ku Klux Klan, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and company supervisors to drive from their jobs fourteen unionists who had refused to testify at a hearing organized by a Republican representative who had asked the witnesses "would it be a violation of your constitutional rights if a group got together and hid behind the constitution and tarred and feather you birds?" (p. 147).

In an essay on the failure of Operation Dixie, the CIO's postwar effort to organize the South, Michael Honey argues that anticommunism and racial conservatism were intimately linked and together doomed the campaign. Ignoring CIO strength among left-led unions, black workers, and the black community, Operation Dixie leaders accepted the South's racial order, excluded leftists, and tried without success to root the drive in the predominately white textile industry. An ensuing racist and anticommunist offensive scattered the beachheads that had been won by left-led unions, weakened the civil rights movement, and led to a more deeply entrenched racial conservatism among white workers. Randi Storch stresses an opposite cause of racial conservatism in Chicago, arguing that Communists in the Packinghouse Workers alienated white ethnic workers by onesidedly promoting black leadership in the context of their national campaign against white chauvinism. Storch shows that a demographic and pragmatic logic was also at work. National noncommunist union leaders and Communist activists alike relied on the growing number of black workers and aggressive antidiscrimination activity to rebuild union strength following a 1948 strike defeat.

Two essays highlight little-known popular front movements. Organized in 1937, the Washington Pension Union (WPU) discussed by Margaret Miller was an effective grassroots organization that functioned as an advocate for the poor. The WPU handled individual grievances of recipients, organized cultural and social programs, lobbied effectively, and won a ballot initiative that provided minimum monthly grants and equalized treatment of recipients. Weakened by its endorsement of Henry Wallace in 1948, the WPU was unable to recover from the 1953 Smith Act trials of its president and two other activists for their Communist Party leadership roles and dissolved in 1961.

Gigi Peterson explores "grass roots Good Neighbors" (p. 245), a movement for cross-border solidarity between Mexican and U.S. labor activists that resulted in CIO support for Mexico's nationalization of U.S. oil companies and Mexican labor support for CIO organizing among metal miners in the Southwest. Popular front activists in the United States and followers of Mexican labor leader Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the key figure in the movement, also shared information and learned from one another. Lombardo's opposition to U.S. postwar plans to penetrate the Mexican economy contributed to U.S. government efforts to contain his influence, and the Cold War led to the marginalization of the movement.

Schrecker offers a review of the literature that emphasizes that the removal of leftists from labor leadership hurt the movement's ability to tackle racism and sexism and led to a loss of dynamism. The volume also includes an essay on the breadth of programming by Communist labor schools by Marvin Gettleman and engaging oral history interviews of Schenectady people from both sides of the Cold War divide by Gerald Zahavi.

MARTIN HALPERN
Henderson State University

JOHN A. SALMOND. *Southern Struggles: The Southern Labor Movement and the Civil Rights Struggle*. (New Perspectives on the History of the South.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xiv, 212. $55.00.

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This book by John A. Salmond compares two major grass-roots movements in the twentieth-century American South: the battles waged by white textile workers to win economic rights and full citizenship in a region politically and culturally dominated by the South's largest industry, and the monumental efforts of black southerners to wrest social, legal, and political rights from the segregated institutions of the Jim Crow South. These stories are seldom recalled together. Southern workers' chronicles are normally segregated histories, as Jim Crow long divided the region's jobs, and effectively most of its unions, into white and black. With few notable exceptions, civil rights activists normally regarded textile workers, and the white working class generally, as foes rather than friends. Nor are the movements entirely contemporary, as the textile workers' heroic efforts in the first half of the century ultimately succumbed to the final defeat of deindustrialization in the latter half of the century, just as the civil rights movement began to achieve national prominence and legislative success. And yet, as Salmond reveals, the two histories overlap and converge in interesting ways. Each deployed a similar set of symbols, traditions, and organizational styles. Both movements drew liberally from church traditions, fused their cause with that of Christian justice, and relied on gospel hymns—sometimes the very same songs—to inspire their followers. Neither movement would have been possible without the fierce commitment and courage of local people in the face of extraordinary odds. Moreover, the two movements briefly converged after southern industry desegregated. Thus Salmond concludes, the historic division between these two groups is perhaps "the greatest tragedy of all" (p. 7).

Salmond begins with sketches of three incidents in South Carolina: a clash between striking millhands and authorities in Marion in 1929, in which the sheriff's deputies fired into a crowd of picketers, killing six and wounding thirty-six men and women, most of whom were shot in the back; the slaughter of striking textile workers in Honea Path in 1934, the bloodiest incident in the history of the largest industrial conflict in American history, in which special deputies and privately hired guards opened fire on a crowd, killing seven and wounding dozens, most of whom were shot in the back as they fled; and finally the Orangeburg massacre of 1968, in which state patrolmen and guardsmen opened fire on a group of 200 student civil rights protesters, killing three and wounding twenty-seven, many of whom were shot as they lay on the ground trying to avoid gunfire. These incidents, plus many others, demonstrate a "grim continuity" between the two movements, Salmond argues, as they graphically illustrate the dangers of dissent in the South and, significantly, the repeated failures of regional or federal officials to bring the perpetrators of these murders to justice (p. 5).

In subsequent chapters, Salmond deftly combines his own research with a skillful synthesis of the existing literature on both movements to highlight similarities in leadership, ideology, and experience. For example, Salmond constructs a novel biographical pairing of two well-known indigenous southern female leaders: Ella May Wiggins, a martyr of the 1929 Gastonia strike shot by antiunion vigilantes and Fannie Lou Hamer, a civil rights activist savagely beaten by Winona, Mississippi, police in 1963. A single mother of nine and a Mississippi sharecropper, neither well educated, each inspired a generation of activists through their music and their exceptional courage and leadership in spite of their humble backgrounds. Each faced formidable enemies. Mill managers allied with southern political leaders evicted union members, harassed organizers, brutalized strikers, and enforced blacklists to deny workers the right to earn even the meager wages of the mill. White citizens' councils, allied with southern political leaders, coordinated white control of southern land, industry, and authority to terrorize civil rights activists and deny them a living. When Tennessee sharecroppers, evicted after attempting to register to vote in 1961, established makeshift homes in "Freedom Village," they were following in the footsteps of striking North Carolina millhands, evicted from their mill village homes during the 1929 strike, who retreated to a tent city on the outskirts of Gastonia. The book is full of such illuminating comparisons.

Some readers may be disappointed that Salmond, a scholar of both movements, chose to be primarily descriptive and synthetic rather than analytical. Although he focuses a keen and sensitive eye on the continuities and discontinuities of these histories, he rarely ventures into more difficult discussions of what a comparative approach might reveal about the deeper dynamics of race and class in the South. Salmond is a masterful storyteller, however, and this book is testament to his skill as a writer and interpreter of southern history. A grand narrative that does the near-impossible work of synthesizing much of southern social history while also giving due attention to the historiography, this provocative work will offer a unique introduction to the uninitiated student of southern history.

MICHELLE BRATTAIN
Georgia State University

LANCE HILL. *The Deacons for Defense: Armed Resistance and the Civil Rights Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. x, 363. $34.95.

This gripping narrative history documents the untold history of poor and working-class blacks in the white supremacist South, who organized in the name of armed self-defense at the height of the civil rights era, from 1964 to 1967. Drawing on extensive oral histories, newspaper reports, and archival records, Lance Hill has reconstructed the wide-ranging organizational efforts of the Deacons for Defense, who at their height had twenty-one formal chapters in Louisiana and Mississippi, but who possessed a far-reaching symbolic significance beyond their relatively small numbers.

The Deacons were an integral part of the southern black freedom movement, struggling against segrega-

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tion and discrimination in collaboration with established civil rights groups like the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). What distinguished them were their rejection of elite brokerage politics and the tenets of nonviolence. Thus, behind characteristic marches for jobs, voting rights, and integration was an at times shadowy paramilitary group protecting life and limb of nonviolent protesters and outside organizers against resurgent white supremacist terror. Giving the book its riveting quality are countless incidents in which small groups of armed Deacons (many of them military veterans) faced down local law enforcement and Ku Klux Klansmen on the highways and byways of the rural South.

Hill convincingly shows how the quotidian fight against segregation was a "deadly contest for power" (p. 29). In this context, the credible threat of black counter violence was not only indispensable to concrete civil rights victories in Jonesboro and Bogalusa, places where the Deacons were the strongest; it also illustrated important lessons about the limits of civil rights orthodoxy: that in an environment of public hostility and violent threat, formal rights were only as good as a group's ability to seize and defend them, and that new signs of black willingness to use force and violence induced changes in psychology and consciousness (for both whites and blacks) that were preconditions for the meaningful exercise of black freedom.

Exploding "the myth of non-violence," the Deacons, like the street rioters of Birmingham and later Watts, represented a sea change in black consciousness whose significance, Hill argues, has been underestimated and misconstrued. "It was the threat of black violence, not redemptive suffering and moral suasion" that made "the political establishment take notice of non-violent protest" (p. 262). Although the Deacons failed in their tentative bids to become a national political organization, and although they never abandoned the civil rights agenda, the publicity they garnered in black periodicals and in the mainstream press signaled a new emphasis on black manhood, honor, and organizational autonomy that would be central to the burgeoning of black power in the latter part of the 1960s.

The Deacons have been largely forgotten, Hill suggests, because nonviolent orthodoxy still reigns so securely over civil rights historiography. He seeks to demonstrate the necessity of black "defensive violence" to the achievement of the most basic of all civil rights: the right to have rights without fear of being maimed or killed. The Deacon's example of working-class leadership, indigenous militancy, and organized collective force, moreover, advanced the cause of black dignity by shattering stereotypes of black docility, dependency, and passivity. Yet, paradoxically, their example was not sufficient to contradict the initial judgment of Martin Luther King, Jr. that black counter violence, however justified, would alienate white liberal supporters (and patrons) of the movement and saddle blacks with new forms of racial stigma.

Perhaps the most important contribution of this study is its demonstration that there was nothing nonviolent about the civil rights movement. Segregation was predicated on the constant threat of violence. For those struggling against it, the boundaries between violence and nonviolence, at the level of both tactics and experience were always and by necessity permeable. Thus, just as Medger Evers once seriously contemplated raising a black guerilla army in Mississippi, Frederick Kirkpatrick, one of the original founders of the Deacons, went on to join King's SCLC. Conventional dichotomies, as historians continue to discover, no longer serve our efforts to understand a black freedom movement that was at once more heterogeneous and more continuous than previously imagined.

NIKHIL PAL SINGH
University of Washington

CYNTHIA GRIGGS FLEMING. *In the Shadow of Selma: The Continuing Struggle for Civil Rights in the Rural South*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2004. Pp. xix, 349. Cloth $72.00, paper $24.95.

Most students of the civil rights movement know about the pivotal role that the dramatic confrontations between demonstrators and police in Selma, Alabama, played in convincing the federal government to pass the Voting Rights Act in 1965. Less well known is the story of civil rights activism that occurred in neighboring rural counties of Alabama during this period. Cynthia Griggs Fleming recounts the experiences of the "forgotten" rural black people of Wilcox County whose participation in the movement, although not as highly publicized as the Selma protests, was equally important to its achievements.

Following other scholars who have located the origins of the civil rights struggle well before the 1950s and 1960s, Fleming discusses the history of slavery, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow in Wilcox County before moving to an analysis of black activism at mid-century. Much of what she recounts in the first few chapters reinforces what historians of the South's plantation regions have found in other states. Sharecropping, economic dependence, inadequate school facilities, and violence severely circumscribed the lives of black people in the county and limited their ability to engage in open protest. Beneath the contented masks presented to white people, however, African Americans harbored strong feelings of resentment and participated in subtle acts of resistance. Traditions of support for education and of armed self-defense against white violence existed in Wilcox County as in other parts of the rural South. In the 1930s, federal intervention in the form of New Deal programs began to shake the social order. African Americans in the all-black community of Gee's Bend, in particular, benefited from a Farm Security Administration project that transformed them from tenant farmers into landowners. As in Mississippi and Louisiana, black landowners and veterans of World War II took the lead in establishing local civil rights groups in

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the 1940s and 1950s. Activists from national organizations like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference assisted local people in their struggles for political participation, school integration, and improved public services in the 1960s.

Unlike most studies of the civil rights movement, Fleming extends the story into the decades after 1965. The last three chapters of the book offer a detailed account of the long struggle to wrest political control of the county from white supremacists (an effort that did not succeed until the 1980s) and the problems encountered by black elected officials who proved unable to effect significant change. Using material gained from interviews with local residents, Fleming reveals the strength of white opposition and the often vindictive measures taken by county officials to prevent black empowerment. Economic reprisals, arson, and violent attacks on activists continued well into the late twentieth century. Local authorities ended the ferry service that connected Gee's Bend to the town of Camden, forcing residents to drive ninety miles around a peninsula to reach the town instead of taking a quick trip across the Alabama River. In response to a court order to integrate the faculty as well as the student body of the county's schools, the superintendent randomly reassigned teachers without regard to their subjects of specialization. White flight from the public schools into private, all-white academies left segregation intact and ensured inadequate funding for the county schools that black children attended. When African Americans gained control over the school board in 1982, they were left without the money they needed to fix a decrepit educational system that many believed had been deliberately sabotaged.

As Fleming notes, the persistent poverty and failing schools that still characterize Wilcox County today are problems that are shared by other black communities throughout the nation. White residents, like their counterparts elsewhere, deny any responsibility for these conditions, attributing them instead to genetic or cultural traits that supposedly hinder black achievement. Yet Fleming's study powerfully demonstrates that white racism, not black deficiencies, is to blame. "As America moves into the new millennium," she concludes, "it is imperative that national policy makers begin to come to grips with the reality of these links between past exploitation that resulted in an incredible maldistribution of wealth and present degradation of the victims of this process" (p. 313).

GRETA DE JONG
University of Nevada, Reno

ALAN SCOT WILLIS. *All According to God's Plan: Southern Baptist Missions and Race, 1945–1970.* (Religion in the South.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2005. Pp. xiii, 260. $45.00.

This is a book about racism, religion, and Southern Baptist missions in the twentieth-century South. Alan Scot Willis explores the role of progressives who worked in specific mission agencies related to the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC), including the Home Mission Board, the Foreign Mission Board, and the Women's Missionary Union. Other agencies such as the Social Service Commission, the Christian Life Commission, seminaries, and colleges also provided significant progressive leadership on matters of race during the years 1945–1970.

Willis contends that missionaries and other progressives worked to make the idea of racial equality an actuality among Southern Baptists. His documentation of their work is a significant contribution to studies in southern racial and denominational history. Indeed, in using popular denominational periodicals as the primary sources for his study, Willis documents progressive voices that have not received sufficient attention in the past. This is particularly true of the contribution of Southern Baptist women in addressing racism, segregation, and the need for social change in the South.

The first chapter offers an insightful overview of the cultural and religious situation confronted by SBC progressives in the post-World War II era. Willis insists that "race was the most important area of disagreement between the progressive leadership and the more conservative elements of the denomination" (p. 14) during those years. This is evident in the controversial efforts of Southwestern Baptist Seminary professor T. B. Maston to call issues of race to the attention of the SBC constituency in his 1946 pamphlet entitled *"Of One": A Study of Christian Principles and Race Relations*, published by the Woman's Missionary Union, auxiliary to the SBC. (Maston's first publication on race appeared in 1927.) He and others challenged the Jim Crow "biblical arguments" related to divine sanctions against interracial marriage and "mixing" of the races. They also suggested that Southern Baptists could not extend their evangelistic imperative nationally and internationally as long as they perpetuated racial division at home.

This latter assertion was a major theme that progressives used in their attempts to move the SBC toward public stands in behalf of *Brown vs. the Board of Education* (1954) and other early events in the civil rights movement. In certain Baptist-related colleges, such as Wake Forest in North Carolina and Mercer in Georgia, the admission of African students who had been converted through Southern Baptist missionary work was an important element in the desegregation of the student body. Progressives worked hard to secure admission for African Americans in their seminaries and colleges throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Perhaps the book's most important contribution is in the documentation of the writing of progressive Southern Baptist women and their opposition to racism and segregation in their society and their denomination. Willis makes extensive use of articles written by women in denominational periodicals. The latter include the *Royal Service* and *The Window*, magazines of the Wom-

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an's Missionary Union; *Home Missions* magazine; and various papers from state Baptist conventions. We learn the names of many men and women, heretofore largely unknown, who spoke out for racial justice in the postwar years. For example, in a *Royal Service* article, Katherine Parker Freeman described a 1946 meeting of some twenty Southern Baptist women to work toward racial reconciliation. She noted that they had come to realize that "in the heart of God, black is as beautiful and dear as white" (p. 156). Likewise, women like Alma Hunt, longtime executive secretary of the Woman's Missionary Union, demonstrated progressive leadership in raising the consciousness of southern women to the racial crisis. These progressives did not address black/white relations only. They called Southern Baptists to respond to racism as directed toward Native Americans, Latinos, and other minorities in American society.

Willis notes various aspects of opposition to these progressives, many of whom were also under attack from conservatives for introducing elements of theological liberalism into Southern Baptist life. This anticipated greater divisions in the SBC over other theological and ethical issues. In fact, Willis concurs with historian Barry Hankins's assertion that today's conservatives believe that race was the only correct position advocated by SBC progressives.

Clearly the SBC deserves great criticism for its participation, implicitly and explicitly, in the segregation that characterized the South in the Jim Crow era. Although racial progressivism among Southern Baptists has been discussed in various sources, Willis has shown that it was much more extensive than previously documented. His work also illustrates that denominational periodicals remain a rich resource for reading Southern Baptists on topics yet to be explored.

Bill J. Leonard
Wake Forest University

Jerma A. Jackson. *Singing in My Soul: Black Gospel Music in a Secular Age*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 193. Cloth $49.95, paper $18.95.

This book is an enlightening and lucid analysis of gospel music's history through the first three quarters of the twentieth century. Jerma A. Jackson gives special attention to describing the significance of a few key female participants and accounting for the crossover of gospel from a purely sacred setting to a more secular, market-driven one during the 1940s and 1950s.

The author makes her argument carefully, drawing from over three dozen live interviews and first person reports supplemented by an up-to-date bibliography. She efficiently describes the early stages of the movement and explains its inspiration within the worship setting of Pentecostal and Holiness (or Sanctified) sects of black Protestantism circa 1900. While much of the book is devoted to the central role of Sister Rosetta Tharpe (1915–1973), Jackson begins at the beginning by linking the post-Civil War emergence of arranged spirituals with what came after.

Blues and gospel arose from the same African American cultural and economic matrix in the dismal social environment of the 1890s. Pressed down by suffering and loneliness, many black singers were emotionally drawn to ecstatic religion and demonstrative forms of personal expression. Yet many religious people disavowed connections to the impious lifestyles and songs associated with bluesmen. At a time when the spirituals had come to be accepted as the chief form of black religious music, embodied in such groups as the Fisk (University) Jubilee Singers, early gospel singers were seeking something quite different, a style both fervid and worshipful. They proudly cited biblical authority for their intense musical expressions (p. 16).

The spirituals were known primarily as a cappella choral pieces, performed in smooth, close harmony. Gospel's first practitioners embraced a rougher, wilder style, which found freer singing, a wider range of physical gesture, more gravelly vocalism, and even shouting to be legitimate. With instruments added, such as guitars, tambourines, drums, and horns, the contrast with the sober older style could not have been more pronounced (p. 23). Both blues and gospel were recorded and widely distributed in the 1920s, the first decade when the term "gospel" was applied to this new type of religious song (p. 4).

"The 1930s saw the exuberant religious movement expand from the margins of black religious communities toward the center of black religious life" (p. 5). When Thomas Dorsey, the composer of "Precious Lord" and other hymns, and Sallie Martin, a dedicated and lively Georgia singer, made common cause at Chicago's Pilgrim Baptist Church, a powerful partnership resulted. Through publishing their songs and organizing touring quartets and choirs, these two developed gospel as a commercial, interdenominational venture. Tharpe pushed the envelope further by taking her swinging religious enthusiasm onto the nightclub stage. Jackson explains Tharpe's early experience helping her mother's work as a traveling missionary. Mother and daughter migrated widely, singing, playing (mandolin and guitar), and, preaching, although women were officially barred from the pulpit. Jackson fleshes out Tharpe's story, based on a thorough consideration of her recordings as well as published accounts, stressing the steadfast spiritual basis for Tharpe's work, even as her concerts filled theaters, arenas, and public auditoriums and her purse grew.

In 1938, Tharpe's performance on the stage of the renowned Cotton Club in New York and a cover story in *Life Magazine* gave her instant notoriety and a national reputation. Such moves marked a decisive turn in the public perception of gospel. Following World War II, gospel music's money-making potential would be more fully exploited, and Tharpe's personal reputation would decline as negative impressions persisted about her motives. Jackson avoids a cynical interpretation of these developments but faithfully recounts the ups and

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downs of Tharpe's career, her changing position with respect to audiences, religious communities, and the media. Tharpe's life is interwoven with the larger story told in the final chapter, which recounts the powerful boost gospel received from radio and television as it "became a full-flown agent of commerce and part of a mass commercialized culture" (p. 105).

This book's sole weakness is its somewhat circumscribed scope. To keep her focus on broad historical questions using Tarpe's singular story, Jackson omits significant discussion of other major figures, such as Mahalia Jackson, Clara Ward, and any men at all after Thomas Dorsey. This lapse should not be viewed as a fatal drawback, however, since gospel historiography stands in need of the probing and detailed examination Jackson provides. Although women who sang gospel music were blocked from prime leadership roles and taking the title of "Reverend," they nevertheless achieved a musical and religious transformation for their congregations that could not have been accomplished by men alone. If you already know the main cast of characters in black gospel music history, Jackson's research will only enhance your appreciation and understanding of it. But even newcomers will find this short book full of fresh, accurate information and insightfulness.

THOMAS L. RIIS
University of Colorado, Boulder

NADINE HUBBS. *The Queer Composition of America's Sound: Gay Modernities, American Music, and National Identity*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. 293. Cloth $50.00, paper $19.95.

This is an important book and, overall, a good read. Each of its four chapters contributes well to the book's central task, which is to delineate how significantly the sexual orientation of Virgil Thomson and Aaron Copland, among others, figured in the evolution of an "American sound" suitable for America's opera, ballet, and concert stages.

In the first chapter's discussion of Thomson and Gertrude Stein's *Four Saints in Three Acts*, Hubbs demonstrates that the opera's most salient and controversial features—including Thomson's accessible musical idiom, rooted in the American musical vernacular—derive from its authors' parallel projects of creating complex public idioms based in camp, rife with eminently deniable homoerotic and homosocial meanings that would be fully understood only by those in the know. Chapter two challenges conventional accounts of musical modernism, exploring that category's attraction for homosexuals and other marginalized groups; more generally, Hubbs here probes music's penchant for circumventing inconvenient realities, which made music a seductive refuge for many mid-century gay men. Midway through the book, in an "Intermezzo" on Paul Bowles, Hubbs argues that the enforced guardedness of gay life in America fostered an easy alignment with the "American character" more generally. Chapter three notes the affinity gay American composers in Paris between the wars felt for French neoclassicism's sometimes arch use of tonality, then places this affinity within the more general tendency of American gay men to associate themselves with a coded Frenchness, relishing the latter's qualities of refinement and outsider status—both long associated with creative artistry—as well as its traditional opposition to more "masculine" English and German sensibilities. The final chapter relates how the gay tonalist Americana-based idiom, accepted by mid-century as a quintessentially American sound, lost prestige in the early 1950s due to three interwoven forces: rising homophobia tied to the Red Scare, increased valorization of "scientific" serialism as more boldly masculine than tonality, and a societal shift from nationalism to internationalism. Through subsequent decades, during which the serialist alternative failed to attract audiences, Copland's earlier synthesis continued, if somewhat sporadically, to represent the sound of America in films, on the concert stage, and in the public imagination.

Despite Hubbs's sorely needed revisionist account of a central development in American music, however, her book occasionally disappoints. Her engagement with music is perfunctory, failing to ground it securely in the history she tells. And she relies too uncritically on the grandstanding memoirs of Ned Rorem. More disturbing, however, is her occasional inability to manage well the central categories under discussion.

Eager to restore Thomson and *Four Saints* to the head of the gay modernist table, Hubbs glosses over significant differences between Thomson's campy masterpiece—a sideshow in American musical history, if beautifully wrought—and Copland's populist works, the core of the gay modernist Americanist tonalist repertory. While it is fine to call attention to Thomson's role in developing a tonal Americanist idiom, it is less acceptable to collapse his and Copland's styles into one. Thomson's camp mocked the tonality it helped recover, and thereby preserved the secret language of the homosexual closet, whereas Copland's layered dissonances and edgy rhythms made difference tell within a mainstreamed Americana, creating an assimilationist musical profile in which broadly scaled landscapes are ennobled by their capacity to accommodate such complications. The "American sound" here is solidly Copland's, only partly derived from Thomson.

Elsewhere, Hubbs accepts too easily the view that camp was exclusively the domain of homosexuals until it was "outed" in the 1960s. As with frequently heard claims that jazz was exclusively an African American development, she ignores the more mixed reality of musical presentation, in which gay and straight (and black and white) participate—as performers, audiences, and consumers—in sometimes awkward dialogue with each other. Hubbs's lapse here relates to another, fairly basic failure of the book: to consider other versions of "America's sound" cultivated during this period, including jazz, blues, Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hol-

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lywood. The parallel with jazz, in particular, is telling: in both, an engagement with cultural norms from a marginalized vantage point produced new musical paradigms. But Broadway and Hollywood musicals might have provided even more important contexts for Thomson and Copland, particularly regarding camp negotiations. To cite just one example: Vincente Minnelli's *The Pirate* (1948, with Judy Garland and Gene Kelly) appeals strongly to heterosexual adolescent fantasy in its pirate camp, but it is informed throughout by gay sensibilities (Minnelli's use of Garland, Cole Porter's arch songs), so that the film becomes a fascinating site for hetero-homo negotiations over camp.

What this book fails to do should not keep us from noting and applauding Hubbs's accomplishments in elevating the linked profiles of gay sensibilities and tonality within American modernism. Yet, good as it is, the book should have been better.

RAYMOND KNAPP
University of California, Los Angeles

RAYMOND KNAPP. *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 361. $35.00.

In recent years, scholars across the disciplines have revisited subjects once thought to have been thoroughly covered and, in the process, have expanded the contexts in which they flourished. Such is the case in the area of popular entertainments. Janet Davis has reexamined the American circus in light of the major social changes that occurred in the later half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; Bluford Adams has done much the same with the legendary P. T. Barnum; Eric Lott has written an incisive cultural analysis of the antebellum minstrel show; and now musicologist Raymond Knapp has revisioned a liberally studied popular form— the American musical—with an eye toward offering an alternative to chronological narratives like Gerald Bordman's *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle* (2001) and Ethan Mordden's series of books on the musical; to aficionados' "insider" accounts; or to the coffee table books that all purport to provide an authoritative look at the musical. Unlike these volumes, Knapp intimates in his preface that his text is interpretive, not merely descriptive, and is meant to serve three potential readers: the student; the general reader; and the academic.

In his study of the American musical, Knapp finds similarities among the musical, jazz, and film. All, in his opinion, are culturally reflexive arts, "connected in vital ways to their American constituency, with a connection more reinforced than undermined by their collaborative and broadly democratic participatory basis" (p. 4). Regarding his subject as more a set of intertwined stories than a master narrative, Knapp has chosen to structure his study thematically rather than chronologically. His eleven chapters thus encompass such topics as the musical's nineteenth-century roots, precursors of the musical, Tin Pan Alley, American mythologies and counter mythologies, race and ethnicity, World War II, and exoticism. Each is liberally supported by examples from musicals of the past.

Not surprisingly, Knapp's study is particularly strong in its detailed analysis of music from European operettas to *Rent* (1996) in tracing the various antecedents of the modern musical. In this regard, it is the best account available. Additionally, Knapp actively examines a subject that previous scholars have avoided: the commercial nature of the musical.

If there is a weakness in Knapp's study, it is in the area of the popular entertainments that predated the American musical, many of which he maintains directly influenced its development. In his third chapter, Knapp briefly describes popular performances (minstrelsy, burlesque, vaudeville, extravaganza) that contained elements later manifest in the musical. While his coverage of these forms is hardly comprehensive (nor was it intended to be), the thumbnail sketches serve to link the musical to performative antecedents that other studies ignore. Nevertheless, Knapp's coverage contains a number of factual errors. For example, he claims that vaudeville degenerated into burlesque and that British music hall introduced commedia dell'arte characters into English culture. In actual fact, vaudeville and burlesque were parallel entertainments, and one did not morph into the other (vaudeville did not degenerate as much as disintegrate as the "talkies" eclipsed it as a popular diversion, and, although there was a free exchange of performers between vaudeville and burlesque, the latter did not absorb the former). And, stock commedia characters like Arlechino had appeared in British pantomimes long before they took to music hall stages. Furthermore, Knapp leaves the reader with the impression that Tony Hart performed principally in blackface (he did not) and that somehow Ned Harrigan and Hart worked for Tony Pastor (they were, for the most part, independent of Pastor). Lastly, Knapp's sketch of nineteenth-century extravaganzas omitted the kings of spectacle: the Kiralfy brothers, who staged massive productions like *Around the World in Eighty Days*, *The Siege of Troy*, and *Constantinople*, or *The Revels of the East* in the 1870s and 1880s. These, however, are deficiencies easily corrected in subsequent editions.

Knapp's text is accompanied by a helpful list of additional resources for further study and an equally useful website that provides audio examples of the music described in the chapters. The reader/user must have RealPlayer on his/her computer, but it is quite easy to download. This one feature alone—the capacity to listen to the music being referenced at the same time its significance is described and analyzed in detail—serves to distinguish Knapp's book from others that went before. Accompanied by his expert insight into the music, it will be necessary reading for all segments of his target audience.

JOHN W. FRICK
University of Virginia

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PAUL BUHLE. *From the Lower East Side to Hollywood: Jews in American Popular Culture*. New York: Verso. 2004. Pp. ix, 304. $25.00.

According to Paul Buhle, the different perceptions of African Americans and East European Jews "make up much of the ground of American popular culture" (p. 3). His book, however, is devoted to the East European Jewish aspects of that culture, and hence this review will focus on them as well. Why have East European Jews and their prodigy been so identified with American culture since the beginning of the twentieth century, Buhle asks. "*Yiddishkeit*," he tells us, is the basis for that influence: the mixture of savvy, self- deprecating, irreverent, mocking, sarcastic, lively, and intuitive humor that, combined with religious traditions and a left-wing social philosophy, allows one to look at others with wit, vitality, and at times compassion. People imbued with "yiddishkeit" can laugh at themselves and the world about them while striving to make the place where they live more responsible for everyone's needs. In the United States, these East European Jews and their heirs were mostly secular, rarely feared or respected authority, and always questioned society's dictums. In one of the slang terms of today, they "pushed the envelope." In addition, the East European Jews more often than not had a complex and deprecating attitude toward Christians, whom they feared, envied, and often emulated.

East European Jews fit in with, absorbed, and sentimentalized the values of the communities in which they dwelled. One of the attributes of "yiddishkeit," according to Buhle, is that those who possessed it recognized trends in the making and used this knowledge to create and mold what Americans heard, sang, saw, read, and laughed at. We have seen "yiddishkeit" in the songs of "Tin Pan Alley," vaudeville, the theater, on radio and television, in popular and more serious American music and dance, in cartoons, and in comic books. Many turn-of-the-century Jewish immigrants made popular movies from the 1920s on that captured and promoted values of the dominant culture. Buhle explains that phenomenon: "Jewish issues were not going to surface all that much in films made for the *goyische* masses" (p. 68). And it was the Jew Abel Meeropol who in 1945 redefined Americanism as multiculturalism in the Academy Award-winning short film whose title song, "The House I Live In," was sung by Frank Sinatra (p. 138). If all of this sounds intriguing, it is!

Does "yiddishkeit" depend on the Jewish faith? At one time it may have, but it no longer does. However, familiarity with the biting wit, sarcasm, and irreverence of Yiddish, even if one neither speaks nor understands the language, is necessary. In recent decades most of the Americans creating and participating in the society's "culture" have already been imbued with the values of "yiddishkeit" and hence did not have to learn as adults the ideas that the immigrants had brought with them.

Just a listing of the East European Jews, their children, and their grandchildren who produced, created, and/or performed suggests their tremendous impact on American popular culture: Irving Berlin, Milton Berle, Mel Brooks, Phil Silvers, Jack Benny, Aaron Copland, Lenny Bruce, Danny Kaye, John Garfield, Barbra Streisand, Eddie Cantor, Fanny Brice, the Marx Brothers, Jack Klugman, Paddy Chayevsky, Sidney Lumet, Steven Spielberg, Joe Papp, Bob Dylan, Michael Eisner, David Geffen, Michael Ovitz, Samuel Goldwyn, Louis B. Mayer, Paul Simon, Arthur Garfunkel, Art Spiegelman, Zero Mostel, Leonard Nimoy, Carl and Rob Reiner, and Stanley Kubrick. Reading this book reaffirms what almost everyone already knows. The author's unique contribution is in tying these people's accomplishments to a particular cultural milieu.

LEONARD DINNERSTEIN
University of Arizona

KEVIN HEFFERNAN. *Ghouls, Gimmicks, and Gold: Horror Films and the American Movie Business, 1953–1968*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 323. Cloth $79.95, paper $22.95.

The Hollywood horror film conjures up immediate images for millions of film fans. Depending on a person's age, that image might be the movie monsters of Lon Chaney or Boris Karloff, Vincent Price's films based the writings of Edgar Allen Poe, or, for younger fans, the exploits of Freddy Krueger in the *Friday the 13th* series. The vast majority of books on the horror genre are glossy and nostalgic. They feature more pictures than analysis and only rarely offer more than a passing mention of the role that horror films played in the motion picture business. Kevin Heffernan's study is a refreshing contrast to such pictorial histories. He provides a thoroughly researched and well-written account of the role horror films played in the financial history of the American film industry, from helping small neighborhood theaters survive to pioneering modern-day business practices such as saturation booking and syndication of movie packages to television.

1953 was a bad year in Hollywood. Americans were staying home and watching television. Movie theaters, especially the massive urban picture palaces, were closing in record numbers across the country. Production of films plummeted, as did revenue at the box office. Desperate to find a way to lure fans back to the theaters, the industry turned to 3-D films. Two low-budget horror films, *The House of Wax*, starring Vincent Price, and *The Creature from the Black Lagoon*, were hits despite being panned by every major film critic. Yet, in the long run 3-D failed because the industry could not find a standard for projection or find a solution to the horribly uncomfortable glasses that the viewers were forced to wear. But 3-D did prove one thing: people would come back to theaters if Hollywood offered them something they could not see at home.

The falling production of films by the major studios played havoc with small-time theater owners in urban

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neighborhood theaters and in rural America. In essence, this lack of big-budget studio features created a market niche for low-budget features. Into the void stepped schlockmeisters like William Castle, Sam Arkoff, Roger Corman, and Sam Katzman. Forming their own production companies and releasing features through the studios, filmmakers like Katzman and his Clover Productions provided Columbia Studios with such creature features as *Zombies of Mora Tau* (1957) and *The Werewolf* (1956). These innovative filmmakers used such modern business techniques as saturation booking (the release of a film on a specific date to as many markets as possible), produced novelty items for sale to fans, and generally marketed their films to a targeted audience: teens. Their films were often double-featured with other horror films or with second-run studio features. Seemingly insignificant today, Katzman, Castle, and other independent filmmakers were important revenue producers for both the studios and independent theater owners.

Horror films were surprisingly popular with African Americans. Heffernan illustrates this by examining Philadelphia's African American community and its film-going habits. By the mid-1960s, African Americans made up thirty percent of the first-run film market, and studios often chose urban theaters to open horror flicks; for example, Fox picked Philadelphia for its *Plague of the Zombies* (1966). Horror films also served as second billing for race films. In 1968, Sidney Poitier's romantic *For the Love of Ivy* was teamed with the flesh-eating zombies featured in *Night of the Living Dead*.

One the most interesting sections of Heffernan's book is its discussion of the relationship between horror films and television. It was commonplace during the 1950s and 1960s for local television stations to feature a late-night "creeper feature." Usually broadcast on Friday or Saturday, the programs were tremendously popular. In 1957, Screen Gems made available to television more than 500 pre-1948 Columbia features. A package of some fifty horror features proved to be one of the most popular selections for local stations. When color broadcasting was introduced a decade later, horror features were again in demand. In the fifteen-year period of Heffernan's study, more than sixty separate horror film packages were sold to television syndication, generating millions of dollars for producers. Horror features that had been, for the most part, dismissed as so much schlock by the critics turned out to be television gold by the mid-1950s.

Horror films and horror filmmakers played an important role in the financial and business history of the American film industry. This is an important study that deserves the attention of film scholars.

GREGORY D. BLACK,
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BRADFORD D. MARTIN. *The Theater Is in the Street: Politics and Public Performance in Sixties America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 210. Cloth $80.00, paper $22.95.

The expansion of consumer culture and the primacy of individual choice that reputedly marked the course of life in the United States after 1945—and set the stage for new concepts of personal freedom in the 1960s—cannot obscure the conjoined tendency of the 1960s toward expanding the scope of experience "in public." Public universities, public television, public subsidies for old-age health care, equal access to public accommodations: these tell part of the story. But there also emerged a new definition of the public, encouraging a movement out of doors, beyond limited venues and "into the streets," where vitality could be found in the buzz, the exposure, the personal interactions, self-transformation, and social change that seemed possible in open space. Bradford D. Martin's book captures one main current in the wall-dissolving (and form-bridging) ventures of the 1960s: the outdoor uses of visual art, music, and theater in political expression, not merely as adjuncts to but as the very stuff of social action. To demonstrate the salience of this impulse in those years, he ably surveys the 1960s careers of the Freedom Singers, product of the civil rights campaigns led by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); the Living Theater led by Julian Beck and Judith Malina; the Diggers of Haight-Ashbury; and New York's Art Workers Coalition, producer of the well-known antiwar poster depicting the victims of My Lai, emblazoned in bold red type with a line from a Mike Wallace interview with a soldier who had been there: "Q: And Babies? A: And Babies."

The definition of what was genuinely new in these ventures is not always clear. Song was long a part of abolitionist, freedpeople's, and labor organizing in the United States. Stage pageants supported strikes, and visual artists sought to aid Popular Front causes and May Day parades. All this Martin acknowledges. Like the Fisk Jubilee Singers or the Almanac Singers before them, the SNCC Freedom Singers showed that song boosted morale and helped raise needed funds. In a surging mass movement, during an age of relatively easy travel and recording, their sound perhaps influenced a wider audience than their predecessors' had. Yet whether their practices of public performance bore much resemblance to the Living Theater's politically and erotically charged provocations of audience and police, or the Diggers' fanciful notions of creating a post-scarcity society by acting out a life without money, remains obscure. In any case, Martin devotes an informative chapter to each of his four main cases, describing the performers' evolving aesthetic as the political demands of the moment changed. His narrative of the Living Theater is especially vivid, describing the troupe's move over more than two decades from an avant-garde inspired by Erwin Piscator and Antonin Artaud to adoption of a pacifist-anarchist program that required a break from the proscenium stage, the enclosed theater, and the authoritarian director's role. By

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1968, their productions took the form of participatory spectacles spilling into the street, devised by a performers' collective that was willing to dare (in Brazil) political dictatorship, jail, and torture. Perhaps in that sense, the troupe members echoed the political courage if not the aesthetic mode of the SNCC singers.

Martin is most at home in discussing the theater arts, and the book might have had greater coherence if clearly focused on the links between the Living Theater, the San Francisco Mime Troupe (discussed briefly as seedbed of the Diggers), artist Alan Kaprow's "happenings," ensembles like Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater, and other instances of protest theatricality (occasionally adopted by the Art Workers Coalition or its offshoot, the Guerrilla Art Action Group). To be sure, a legacy was thus built that became more familiar in some forms of feminist organizing and in radical styles later identified with the AIDS agitators of ACT-UP and the Seattle battle against the World Trade Organization. In this history lies something important about a long-term convergence of consciousness-expanding efforts previously associated with bohemian avant gardes and organized protest typically undertaken by disciplined "politicos." Martin's suggestive book traces part of the history of this convergence. Some further insight into the meaning and efficacy of that convergence is needed to make clear how this account might alter our understanding of the 1960s or the political prospects of protest and art in our own time.

HOWARD BRICK
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PENNY M. VON ESCHEN. *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 329. $29.95.

The prominence of jazz in Cold War-era cultural diplomacy is well known. Studies by Lisa E. Davenport, Burton W. Peretti, Uta Poiger, S. Frederick Starr, and myself describe the U.S. State Department's desire to seduce Eastern Bloc and decolonizing countries with America's "secret sonic weapon." But Penny M. Von Eschen's book offers the broadest and most in-depth treatment to date, with specific attention to the ironies and contradictions inherent in the U.S. government's promoting African American culture abroad while waffling on racial justice, civil rights, and public funding for the arts at home. Whereas earlier studies arguably reached a more jazz-oriented readership, Von Eschen aspires to convince historians of U.S. foreign policy that African American culture was a significant force in international relations. Using State Department documents, U.S. and foreign press accounts, and musicians' oral and written reminiscences, she has written an engrossing narrative about how jazz musicians experienced and (re)configured their roles as cultural ambassadors, while addressing multiple overlapping themes about race, representation, aesthetics, activism, and the possibilities of musical diplomacy.

Though initially "the brainchild of an alliance of musicians, civil rights proponents, and cultural entrepreneurs and critics" (p. 6), the jazz tours became pivotal to State Department efforts to deflect Soviet criticism of American racism and to distract attention from U.S. interventions in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and South and Southeast Asia. From the outset, the tours were paradoxical in their insistence on "the universal, race-transcending quality of jazz while depending on the blackness of musicians to legitimize America's global agendas" (p. 4). Although wary of being used for diplomatic purposes they abhorred, musicians usually agreed to the tours as a way of promoting their cherished art abroad and securing overdue recognition and support from their government. Benny Goodman and Duke Ellington proved to be patriotic Cold Warriors, eager to promote American democracy, but most musicians' agendas clashed with their sponsor's: Dizzy Gillespie, Phil Woods, Randy Weston, and others insisted on "playing for the people" and "ragamuffins," and resisted handlers' efforts to restrict contact with local musicians. Most artists shared "Ambassador Satch" Louis Armstrong's stance that "freedom remained an aspiration, not an achievement" (p. 89), an attitude with which audiences living under repressive conditions could identify. The tours had a tremendous impact on the musicians, fostering "oppositional transnational and Afro-diasporic sensibilities," redirecting their compositional energies, and conferring on jazz artists "an unprecedented authority to speak and act as political subjects" (pp. 255–256). Von Eschen is less attentive to the impact on local music scenes, relying mostly on foreign press clippings selected and archived by State Department officials.

The itineraries, artistic content, and purposes of the tours evolved in response to changing international and domestic conditions from 1956 to 1978. The Kennedy administration's support for civil rights legislation, for instance, gave Ellington "unprecedented latitude in the expression of his political views" during his 1963 tour (p.136). More chilling is the realization that artists were often sent into hotspots to "soften" America's image before some covert action took place: Dave Brubeck and Ellington's Middle East tours coincided with Iraqi coups; Armstrong's African trip was timed to distract Congolese from the assassination of Patrice Lumumba; and Mahalia Jackson was sent to South Asia during West Pakistan's U.S.-backed invasion of East Pakistan (Bangladesh).

The tours began as the avant-garde "New Thing" was provoking controversy in jazz circles. However, Von Eschen only mentions stylistic disputes between advocates of swing and "modern" (bebop) jazz. Ornette Coleman was touring under State Department auspices by the late 1960s, but she says little more about the decision to include avant-gardists than that their music "represented for Eastern European audiences a challenge to state structures" (p. 222). It is unclear if this was the State Department's reasoning.

Von Eschen concludes that, despite the program's

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successes, jazz concerts could not diminish the impact on foreign opinion of U.S. carpet bombing in Southeast Asia or CIA-backed coups in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. Those who talk today about "winning hearts and minds" in the Islamic world through cultural diplomacy, while simultaneously employing more lethal methods in pursuit of national interests, would do well to read this book and take to heart its lessons.

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Donna M. Binkiewicz. *Federalizing the Muse: United States Art Policy and the National Endowment for the Arts, 1965–1980*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 295. Cloth $59.95, paper $24.95.

While few administrators at the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) have failed to publish a memoir of their experiences, scholars have craved an overview of the agency's evolution since 1965. Donna M. Binkiewicz provides this for the years 1965 to 1980 with a chronological account of the political forces that shaped the NEA's Visual Arts Program in particular and the federal agency in general. She does not attempt to examine the dance, music, museum, theater, architecture, and film components; compare the support for painting and sculpture to that of other programs at NEA; survey the state and local councils that developed in the mid-1970s; or dissect the internal dynamics between bureaucrats at the office. Still, her assessment of the context in which the NEA grew is thoughtful, careful, and persuasive, and it will be of use to all readers with interest in government support for the arts.

After a brief account of federal funding for the arts during the Progressive and New Deal eras, the author reviews 1960s efforts to launch the NEA. She is careful to demonstrate that it was politics, and certainly not the personal tastes of the presidents, that ignited White House interest in government grants for the arts. Here, John F. Kennedy is simply a Cold Warrior, bent on proving that American artists enjoyed freedom of expression while Soviet artists were regulated. The book portrays culture vulture Jackie Kennedy as an underestimated player, despite the First Lady's insistence on presenting herself as a traditional helpmate to her husband. It is Lyndon B. Johnson who carries out a modified Kennedy plan, in order to contrast his Great Society with the tyrannical Soviet system. Richard M. Nixon enjoys considerable attention for his stunning increase in NEA funding, from $7 million in 1968 to $64 million in 1974. Binkiewicz asserts that Nixon's zeal can be explained as a calculated and self-serving effort to appease and control his American critics and launch an arts campaign internationally to improve his tarnished image abroad. The Ford and Carter years, despite widespread federal budget cuts and staggering inflation, remained supportive. They assaulted the NEA's longstanding reverence for conservative and old-fashioned abstract expressionist painting to make room for newer and more popular art forms, including feminist art, performance art, video art, and populist forms of expression such as folk arts, ethnic arts, and urban murals in black communities (while neglecting the arts of other racial minority groups). Briefly, Ronald Reagan is referenced for slashing the arts budget, crippling most of its programs, calling for private funding, and ushering in conservatives who used Robert Mapplethorp's graphic photographs and Andres Serano's "Piss Christ" to decry citizen taxation for immoral works.

Binkiewicz supplements her presidential story with additional biographies. We meet Senators Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, Jacob Javits of New York, and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Representatives Frank Thompson of New Jersey and John Brademas of Indiana. We meet the old guard of grant winners (abstract expressionists Willem de Kooning, David Smith, Robert Motherwell) and the newer artists who gradually found support at the NEA (Deborah Butterfield, Beverly Pepper, Nam June Paik, Ronald Reiss). We are introduced to the staff who administered the agency, including Nancy Hanks, Michael Straight, Livingston Biddle, and Henry Geldzahler and Brian O'Doherty in the Visual Arts Program.

Along the way, we learn of countless projects undertaken in the visual arts, including classroom residencies, public art commissions, art in American embassies, and touring exhibits via Art Fleet and Artrain. For supplements, the author invites us to a website with five appendixes, including lists of NEH members, art panelists, and grant winners. My sole disappointment in this superb overview is its reluctance to confront a contradiction. Binkiewicz paints the agency as perenially cautious, determined to avoid political controversy, and willing to capitulate to any political winds that blow. Accustomed to such defensiveness, how did the NEA come to fund the incendiary works that served to undermine it in the 1980s? Only this piece of the story still requires exploration.

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Lois W. Banner. *Intertwined Lives: Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Their Circle*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2003. Pp. xii, 540. $30.00.

In 1959, noted anthropologist Margaret Mead, curator of the National Museum of History, published *An Anthropologist at Work*, a compendium of letters, diary entries, poems, and other writings selected to document the anthropological career of Ruth Benedict (1887–1948), her Columbia University mentor, colleague, friend, and lover. Benedict had weathered the gender politics of being one of the few women in Columbia's graduate faculty and had garnered both praise and criticism for applying the concept of pattern to the study of culture. Mead's 1959 portrait, together with her later volume *Ruth Benedict* (1974), were Mead's efforts to define and protect Benedict's legacy. Mead depicted Benedict as a scientist whose bestselling *Patterns*

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of Culture (1934), a defense of cultural relativism and a critique of Western society, and *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (1946), a configurationist study of Japanese culture, were landmark studies. In turn, Mead also published her own story in *Blackberry Winter* (1972), which addressed not only her career but also the personal and professional significance of her three marriages.

In the past thirty years, a number of biographers (notably Judith Modell, Margaret Caffrey, Jane Howard, and Mead's daughter Mary Catherine Bateson) have relied on these standard sources, as well as on archives at Vassar College and the Library of Congress, to study Benedict and Mead. The portraits appearing to date have generally told one woman's story, albeit set, inevitably, against the backdrop of the Benedict-Mead friendship. By contrast, Lois Banner's book, as the title suggests, is an ambitious biography focusing directly on the multilayered intimate and intellectual ties between Benedict and Mead. Further, Banner's is the first study of Benedict and Mead to draw on revealing personal correspondence opened only recently, with the observance of the Mead centennial in 2000–2001.

Banner was attracted to Benedict and Mead as subjects by their "importance . . . to twentieth-century feminism," finding their ideas prescient of later advances in gender theory (p. ix). Her book arrives at its thought-provoking interpretations by way of history, literary scholarship, women's studies, and queer theory to reveal what Banner believes existing portraits of Benedict and Mead to varying degrees have masked. As Banner explains, even if *An Anthropologist at Work* was, in Mead's words, no "detective story" (p. 4), the carefully orchestrated book nonetheless provides a host of clues as to the interconnections between Benedict and Mead—guarded during their lifetimes and heretofore left relatively unprobed by biographers—as do the correspondence and manuscripts that Benedict and Mead left behind. Mining the historical record, Banner sets out to uncover the hidden story of Benedict and Mead's friendship.

Banner begins her study—a "geography of gender" (p. 7)—with a lengthy discussion of Benedict and Mead's trip to Rome in 1926, where they toured the Sistine Chapel. As Banner explains, Benedict and Mead had remarkably different reactions while viewing Michelangelo's Sibyls. In Benedict's eyes, these figures evoked the "beautiful people" of her fantasy world (p. 4). By contrast, Mead, who prized femininity, saw no beauty in the strong-bodied figures, describing them as "outsized demagogues" (p. 7). As Banner elaborates, Benedict's and Mead's different sensibilities, evident in their divergent reactions to the image of the Sibyls, drove a wedge between the two women, and yet their lives were intimately connected and their enduring friendship, in turn, influenced their connections to friends, family, and colleagues.

Benedict and Mead had met in 1922, four years before the Sistine Chapel incident, at Barnard College, the women's coordinate college of Columbia University. Mead was an undergraduate majoring in English. Benedict, then Franz Boas's graduate teaching assistant at Barnard, was fifteen years Mead's senior. She was married and struggling to forge a university career. Over the next twenty-five years they read and critiqued each other's work, helped breathe intellectual life into the developing field of cultural anthropology, confronted the hostility and competitiveness of male Boasians, and negotiated their differences. Benedict was "introspective and insecure" (p. 3); Mead was talkative, a bold orchestrator. Both subscribed to free-love ideals and took male and female lovers; both married and divorced. Through the study of non-Western cultures they came to understand sexuality and themselves. Benedict ultimately identified as a lesbian while Mead, rejecting the polarity of Western notions of male and female, embraced a more fluid bisexuality. Through Banner's lens, we see more clearly how the concerns and passions of these two intellectuals reflected the historical moment in which they lived, and how their personal questions regarding sexuality and sexual identity deeply influenced their lives and work.

ANDREA WALTON
Indiana University, Bloomington

MARGARET A. WEITEKAMP. *Right Stuff, Wrong Sex: America's First Women in Space Program*. (Gender Relations in the American Experience.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 232. $45.00.

Margaret A. Weitekamp recovers the story of a little-known, ultimately unsuccessful, initiative to select American women to participate in the early astronaut training program. The program was largely the result of the efforts of two aviation pioneer/entrepreneurs: Jackie Cochran, a wealthy (through marriage) woman aviator/entrepreneur, and Dr. William Randall Lovelace II, a prominent physician involved in aerospace medicine. The two were largely responsible for initiating and conducting a series of physical and psychological tests on a small group of female aviators to determine their suitability for space flight. Because women are on average lighter, and consume less food and oxygen, there were sound engineering reasons to employ them as astronauts in the early orbital program. Predictably, although female pilots were identified who passed the same battery of tests given to the Mercury astronauts, they were treated with condescension by the press, and as a potential public relations disaster by NASA.

Jerrie Cobb, in particular, emerged as a highly qualified candidate and was an energetic advocate for the campaign to put women into space. The presence of qualified females presented a mild political dilemma for NASA officials. The Mercury astronauts were essentially passive occupants of the capsule and did not actually pilot the craft. Thus anyone physically and psychologically fit for space flight could have been sent into orbit. For agency officials the solution was to establish

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jet test pilot status as a fundamental criterion for astronaut status. This had the effect of ruling out women, and of assuring "prestige" and a heroic public image for the all-male astronaut corps. Cobb, Cochran, and the other women were patronized by agency officials, who threw them a few crumbs (status as "consultants") in the effort to prevent adverse publicity. The woman in space effort ended with a whimper rather than a blast-off.

Weitekamp gives us a well-researched but narrowly focused study of this pre-feminist-movement attempt to put women into outer space. I suspect that the book will appeal most to specialists in aerospace history. The analysis of culture and gender seems underdeveloped. The argument harkens back to an older model of "women's history" that rediscovers the early contributions of women who challenged traditional gender roles in the face of sexism. It is a perfectly valid approach but hardly pathbreaking today. The disadvantage is that it precludes a potentially interesting analysis of the gendered politics of sending men into orbit, and the ways in which doing so served a symbolic role in an assertion of militarized, nationalist masculinity entirely out of proportion to the scientific or technological significance of the program. Weitekamp never critically assesses the manned space program, which has always been a fabulously expensive heroic spectacle, essentially a series of stunts without much redeeming scientific value. Weitekamp tells us that the women pilots resented their exclusion from the advanced technology of jets and rockets, but she never fully analyzes the political necessity to exclude women from the heroic spectacle that generated public support for NASA.

ROBERT D. DEAN
Eastern Washington University

CHARLES MARSH. *The Beloved Community: How Faith Shapes Social Justice, from the Civil Rights Movement to Today*. New York: Basic Books. 2005. Pp. x, 292. $26.00.

In this book, Charles Marsh presents an impassioned plea for Christians to aid the world's poor and oppressed by working with the impoverished on their own terms. For inspiration, he maintains that religious faith motivated and sustained the civil rights movement, and those local groups that continued its struggle for the creation of a beloved community. Where the civil rights movement faltered, he contends, lay in not developing a clear vision of what racial reconciliation would entail after integration and legal equality, and as elements of the movement turned from a religiously inspired focus on helping local people toward a universal condemnation of whites, and revolutionary fantasies that rejected the need for local organizing. Marsh is overt about his agenda, and his desire to challenge advocacy by political conservatives of church-based social outreach programs to replace federal and state welfare provision. He states that his book "should be read first and foremost as an exercise in Christian apologetics" (p. 217). However, this review will focus on the book's utility to historians.

Marsh divides the book into three parts, concerned with the religious motivation of Martin Luther King, Jr., Clarence Jordan and Koinonia Farm in southwest Georgia, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); the limitations of the beloved community ideal pursued by many social activists in the 1960s; and advocacy of a more rounded and religiously grounded ideal for the future. Marsh draws on archival sources and a wealth of recent scholarship. His work fits within a developing historiographical trend that seeks to restore religion to the center of the civil rights movement. In so doing, the book has much in common with David L. Chappell's *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (2004). A burgeoning number of local and state studies of the movement have broadened our understanding of its roots, complexity, and longevity, but they have also diminished the significance of King and neglected what Marsh sees as the civil rights movement's theological underpinning. Marsh challenges another analytical trend, which argues that armed self-defense was a vital feature of the movement that proved essential to its success. For Marsh, what is noteworthy is that religion motivated many participants in the southern movement to practice nonviolent direct action, despite southern blacks' long tradition of self-defense.

Marsh argues that King's vision was rooted in the southern black church of his upbringing. The church's recognition of innate human sinfulness made King skeptical of liberalism's optimistic belief in inevitable human progress, but his faith enabled him to confront racism with nonviolent resistance and to envision the creation of a beloved community. Clarence Jordan, a white Georgian, complained that King's protests relied on eliciting white violence. By contrast, Jordan advocated "incarnational evangelism" (p. 56), by which Christians would build the beloved community by pooling their possessions and living and working according to Christ's ethic in communities that would be located among and would serve the poor.

Like Jordan, SNCC lived among and helped the impoverished, but it also practiced "incarnational organizing" (p. 94), directed at achieving social change. Marsh argues that historians have underestimated the religious impulse within early SNCC and the transformative influence on SNCC volunteers of local people's religious commitments. However, after 1964 "globalists" (p. 115) came to the fore in the group and rejected local organizing focused on creating the beloved community, for the dead end of rhetorical battles against whiteness and ill-defined oppressive forces.

Severed from its Christian underpinnings, its recognition that all were made in God's image, and the local communities among which it had once patiently worked, SNCC withered. "The civil rights movement," Marsh contends, "failed to reckon with the truth that personal salvation is the most enduring source of social engagement, care for the poor, costly forgiveness, and

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reparations for slavery" (pp. 176–177). As a model of engagement, Marsh describes the later Christian activism in Mississippi of John Perkins, who combined movement-style community mobilizing and organizing with a call for the redistribution of wealth, including reparations, in recognition that racial reconciliation is conditional upon first confronting and correcting the injustice of poverty and discrimination.

By focusing on radical Christianity, King, Jordan, and SNCC, Marsh ignores the role of other organizing agencies in the civil rights movement, such as labor unions and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. If religion was as deeply embedded and influential in early SNCC as Marsh claims, why did it recede so quickly? In Marsh's view, religion explains the organizing success of the movement, while a limited conception of the beloved community and the failure to sustain a religiously rooted commitment to community organizing explains its failings. All-encompassing, his religion thesis neglects other factors.

MARK NEWMAN
University of Edinburgh

JAMES LANDERS. *The Weekly War: Newsmagazines and Vietnam*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2004. Pp. 298. $34.95.

The growing body of literature analyzing the role of the American media during the Vietnam War gains another contribution with this volume. While network television news has garnered significant scholarly and colloquial attention, James Landers argues that the weekly newsmagazines—*Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*—played a crucial, and underrated, role. To correct the oversight, Landers examined almost nine hundred articles on Vietnam published in the three publications during the period of formal military intervention, conducted interviews with eight journalists and three of President Lyndon B. Johnson's staff, and perused papers in the Johnson and Nixon presidential holdings. Although he does not reference his background within the book, Landers's previous experiences as a newspaper reporter and as a member of the Air Force who served tours in Vietnam and Thailand doubtless informed his research. Landers's assessments frequently yield important insights; yet in the process the author often makes his readers work harder than they might wish.

In the introduction, Landers justifies the subject of the study, notes the particularities of newsmagazines, and touches on resources. Not until page 9 does he note that those nearly nine hundred articles were not a substantial sampling but the totality published on Vietnam; not until the final chapter does he share that his categories for evaluating those articles were "accuracy, impact, and tone" (p. 274). In between, despite intimations in the introduction, the chapters progress not chronologically but topically. Chapter one comprises the editorial perspectives and readership of each newsmagazine, their commitment to modernity theory, a minihistory of magazines, and an initial assessment of the newsmagazines' positions on Vietnam. Chapter two describes the journalistic process for newsmagazines and then examines bureaus in Saigon, Washington, D.C., and New York. Chapter three assesses the initially favorable coverage of American combat forces that admitted flaws only after news of the My Lai massacre, while chapter four focuses on debates over the strategies of attrition, counter-insurgency, and enclaves. Chapter five traces the evolution of the newsmagazines' perspectives on the military situation in Vietnam; chapter six investigates the initially scornful, eventually moderated coverage of those opposed to the war; and chapter seven examines the condescending characterizations of both southern and northern Vietnamese. Every single chapter offers valuable material; yet Landers's failure to explain his organizational schema at the outset, joined with his penchant for starting chapters with anecdotes, often leave the reader wondering just where the book is headed.

The result is particularly frustrating because Landers conducted substantial research that yielded a number of fascinating conclusions. The distinctive editorial perspectives of each of the three newsmagazines, tied to assessments of their audiences and the need for advertisers, often led the liberal *Newsweek*, the conservative *Time*, and the ultraconservative *U.S. News* to interpret the same situation in quite different ways. The descriptions of the process of creating the news reports elucidate the organizational patterns that further influenced coverage. The evolution of attitudes about the conflict, particularly by *Time*, proves instructive. Yet, to use *Time*'s evolution as an example, the intriguing discussions of the politics of a news organization—including differing points of view, manipulations of the chain of command, and judicious use of a colleague's absence to change policy—are strung out over many pages, and the reader is left to piece together the story. Similarly, Landers enticingly describes the "dramatic difference" in Ho Chi Minh's "transformation from the personification of communist evil to nationalist hero" in the pages of *Time* (p. 256), but no quotations illustrate the latter characterization, and those illustrating the former do not appear until pages 258 and 260 (and then without noting their connection to the previous assessment). Further complicating the reader's task is an index that is perfunctory at best, with odd exclusions (e.g. neither Peter Braestrup, modernity theory, nor Vietnamization appear, despite their prevalence within the text) and incomplete citations.

Landers has tackled an important topic, conducted substantial research, and proffered both statistical analyses and aptly chosen quotations to illustrate his arguments. A chronological development might have enabled a clearer delineation of those arguments; more careful editing surely would have.

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Davidson College

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DAVID FARBER. *Taken Hostage: The Iran Hostage Crisis and America's First Encounter with Radical Islam*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 212. $22.95.

David Farber's fascinating account of the Iranian hostage crisis joins other works that re-examine previous American encounters with the Middle East in light of the September 11, 2001, attacks. This literature includes books by Douglas Little and Stephen Kinzer as well as a volume edited by Joanne Meyerowitz. Farber's book is among the strongest contributions yet to this re-examination. As a seasoned historian of the modern United States, the author vividly describes not only the crisis but also the context in which Americans experienced it. While this book will be of interest to political and diplomatic historians, it could also help to familiarize undergraduates with 1970s America.

The blindfolded U.S. embassy staff seized in Tehran by radical Islamic students on November 4, 1979 and held for 444 days became for Americans the ultimate symbol of their country's decline. Farber contrasts the revolutionaries' view of America as the "Great Satan," which had overthrown Iran's government in the 1950s and imposed the autocratic shah, with Americans' own sense of their diminished influence. Coming at the end of the decade defined by Vietnam, Watergate, oil shocks, and what President Jimmy Carter termed "a crisis of confidence," the hostage ordeal suggested to many that the U.S. had become a "pitiful giant" (p. 2). Farber shows how through the media and pop culture, from the birth of *Nightline* to the proliferation of yellow ribbons, the hostages became "a vital part of how Americans looked at the fate of the nation" (p. 148). The crisis brought a genuine outpouring of patriotism, he observes, from a generation accused of languishing in narcissism. Ronald Reagan, who owed his 1980 political victory in large part to Carter's helplessness during the crisis, successfully tapped into such impulses.

Farber draws on the partially declassified records of the Carter Library to verify accounts published by statesmen, hostages, and even one of the Iranian students. He criticizes U.S. officials for accepting the reports of Iranian intelligence, which downplayed the extent of Islamic opposition to the shah. Farber also details how Henry Kissinger, the shah's twin sister Ashraf, and David Rockefeller lobbied Carter to grant the shah sanctuary. The book confirms existing portrayals of Carter's foreign policy team as deeply divided between National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. Brzezinski believed that to protect the Persian Gulf from the Soviets, the U.S. had to condone the shah's violent repression. Later, Brzezinski convinced Carter to launch the disastrous mission to rescue the hostages. Opposed to a military option and shut out of the debate, Vance resigned. While the failure of the mission helped to ensure Carter's political demise, Farber finds no hard evidence to support Gary Sick's "October Surprise" charge that Reagan operatives delayed the hostages' release to ensure their candidate's victory.

As for Carter himself, the president was "no genius" in terms of his political instincts (p. 11). Having campaigned against the Washington establishment in 1976, he was left with few friends, even among Congressional Democrats, during his darkest days. His focus on human rights in foreign policy gave Americans "an idealized, if inaccurate, vision of who they were as a people in the world" (p. 77). Most significantly, trapped in a Cold War paradigm, Carter was unable to appreciate Islam as a political force. He was quick to dismiss Ayatollah Khomeini, the spiritual father of the Iranian Revolution, as "nutty" rather than see him as representing a powerful alternative to secular modernity (p. 101). Farber regards the Iranian Revolution as a tragic missed opportunity, because the hostage crisis prevented Americans from engaging political Islam on the basis of shared values and instead fed their collective self-image as the righteous victims of terrorism.

Like the authors of other post-September 11 works, Farber does not always convincingly link his subject to the 2001 attacks. It remains unclear whether providing more aid to the Islamic world and addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would have prevented them, as he suggests. It is beyond the scope of his study to discuss factors in the rise of political Islam other than U.S. foreign policy, but in exploring how Americans experienced the hostage crisis and what it meant to them, Farber's book is a great success.

NATHAN J. CITINO
Colorado State University

WILLIAM G. ROBBINS. *Landscapes of Conflict: The Oregon Story, 1940–2000*. Foreword by WILLIAM CRONON. (Weyerhaeuser Environmental Books.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 414. $35.00.

Over the past thirty-five years, William G. Robbins has produced a mountain of scholarship that carefully explains the effect of capitalist enterprise on the landscapes and peoples of Oregon and the American West. A two-volume environmental history of his beloved home state now distills his accumulated knowledge. *Landscapes of Promise: The Oregon Story, 1800–1940* (1997), described how European Americans arrived in Oregon and transformed its environment through trapping, hunting, mining, farming, grazing, fishing, logging, and the development of hydroelectric power. The volume under review picks up where the first volume leaves off. The thesis of both works is substantially the same: emigrants, government officials, and developers, inspired by a myth of Oregon as a place of unparalleled opportunity, reorganized its landscapes for commercial, and especially corporate, enterprise. But instead of delivering the myth's grand promises, development disrupted the environment, eroded communities, and yielded political conflict.

Robbins organizes this book around the intensive resource development and optimism that accompanied

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the Allied war effort in World War II. Flush with victory, Oregonians and many other Americans believed that they stood on the doorstep of a bright future. Aided by advances in science and technology, and benefiting from large federal government dams on the Columbia River and its tributaries, Oregonians would realize the promise of their state's wondrous natural bounty. The construction of modern dams, the technological, organizational, and scientific modernization of agriculture, and the application of industrial management techniques to vast forests seemed to herald a new era of virtually unlimited prosperity.

Such development, however, yielded seemingly intractable problems. Dams intended to control floods and provide hydroelectric power ruined salmon runs. Grass seed production that rescued the Willamette Valley's agricultural fortunes required field burning, which clouded the air with hazardous smoke. Efforts to industrialize Oregon's forests necessitated the use of dangerous chemicals, contributed to soil erosion, and left timber communities vulnerable to market fluctuations. Each modernization project, furthermore, produced deep political conflicts. During the 1960s and 1970s, led by a crusading governor, Tom McCall, Oregon passed landmark environmental legislation designed to stop water pollution and minimize the urbanization of the countryside. But population growth and rising land values sparked a political reaction against growth controls and inspired the property-rights movement.

Although this book and its companion volume are state histories, potential readers should not assume that they present a narrow story of interest only to Oregonians and specialists in the environmental history of the American West. On the contrary, Robbins places the Oregon story in broad geographic and historical contexts. He points out that the development of Oregon landscapes was closely tied to the transformation of the Columbia River, which Oregon shares with Washington state; to California's booming economy and increasing population; and to environmental and economic shifts in other parts of the United States and the world. In this effort to situate a particular state and its localities in a larger political-economic framework, the book resembles the author's *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West* (1994). Thus, what emerges from Robbins's analysis is not an old-fashioned state history but rather a narrative that connects Oregon to economic and ecological processes that flowed through the United States and beyond.

To any scholar who has studied places where modern corporate enterprise has sought to transform animals, trees, soil, and water into wealth, Robbins might seem to offer yet another version of an old, familiar story. Once more we have an account of modern people who dreamed big, but whose exploitation of land and water undermined the very dream that inspired them in the first place. Once more we have such a story as it played out in a single American state. Yet there is merit to Robbins's approach. At a time when free-market fundamentalism dominates government, and at a time when official policies favor corporate enterprise and its effort to reorganize landscapes solely for the purpose of profits, the story that Robbins tells is more relevant than ever. Oregon and similar places around the planet already have experienced a version of the future that corporate chieftains and political leaders claim will ensure the people's security if not their dreams. We must have alternatives, Robbins says, and those alternatives ought to be founded on the hard lessons of places such as Oregon. What we need, he concludes, is nothing less than a commitment to "the influence of place as a moral force in shaping our social, civic, and environmental values" (p. 329). Interested in natural resources extraction and its consequences for regions and communities? Interested in the shape of the future? Go to Oregon. The place has something to teach you.

MARK FIEGE
Colorado State University

DOUGLAS CAZAUX SACKMAN. *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California. 2005. Pp. xv, 386. $45.00.

This is a splendid book. Douglas Cazaux Sackman is a gifted writer with a knack for telling imagery and productive metaphor. His book traces the rise of—and contradictions in—citrus farming in California from the arrival of the first Washington naval in Elizabeth Tibbets's Riverside garden in 1878 to the beginning of World War II. Along the way, Sackman traces how growers and others created an "Orange Empire" of myth and substance. He is astute to how orange growing, with its constant intervention into the processes of nature, its exploitative labor relations, its need to project access and openness while in fact creating a highly controlled and hierarchical society, and its desire to assure that markets are free only in ideology and not in practice, was always an *imperial* relationship. The book follows the paths of this relationship into the gardens and offices of plant hybridizers, along the banks of irrigation canals, into labor bureau camps, into the offices of the California Fruit Grower's Exchange (Sunkist) as it plans market dominance, and particularly into the studios of the image makers who try to get us all to see the Orange Empire as the Eden they know it is.

For students of the California agricultural landscape, much of Sackman's story is familiar: it is the story of how California became the leading U.S. grower of some seventy-nine crops and commercially competitive in 250 to 300. It is the story of an amazing transformation of nature and just as amazing a transformation of what we understand farming to be. But Sackman tells the story with flair, and his exploration of its contradictions and costs, as well as its benefits and beauty, is compelling and insightful. He draws on an amazing wealth of sources, frequently unearthing telling documents that show, for example, not just *that* Sunkist developed ingenious means to fight the "entropy of the orange" (pp. 151–153) as it made its way from tree to market but *how* it did so.

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And yet the book is something like a diet of fruit consisting only of oranges. Much as one might like oranges, one cannot help wondering if there is not something more, something different, to be had. The early part of the book does an excellent job of moving between the construction of the Orange Empire as myth and its material construction on the ground, and it shows how, through the negotiation of the contradictions between the two, the landscape as it was came to be. By the second half of the book, however, the dialectic of materiality and representation fades, and the focus turns almost exclusively to the struggle over representation. Curiously, this shift to representation firmly begins in the second section, "Work in the Garden," which focuses on labor. Following a keen examination of "scientific management" of the orange picking and packing process (pp. 135–153), Sackman turns his attention almost exclusively to how workers were represented by growers, state agents, and others with very little attention to how those representations were and were not related to transformations in the landscape. We learn that progressive reformers were concerned about labor camp sanitation, for example, but not whether that concern had any effect (pp. 168–171).

By part three, "Reclaiming Eden," the last section of the book, the focus is entirely on the struggle over representation. The three chapters in this section examine Upton Sinclair's EPIC campaign for governor in 1934, the documentary photography of Dorthea Lange and her colleagues, and "[John] Steinbeck's Case for Environmental Justice." Fascinating as each is, these chapters are also only at times directly connected by the author to the history of the Orange Empire. The first is the most strongly connected, since Sunkist was important in fighting Sinclair, but mostly (in all three chapters) the focus is on the larger battle of images going on in California in the 1930s. That it was a deadly battle, there is no doubt; how it transformed the empire and the landscape upon which it is built is not, by the end of the book, very clear.

There is room, in other words, for further exploration of this topic, exploration that will link the sorts of representational accounts that dominate the second and third parts of the book to the close analysis of the material practices and landscape morphologies that are more prominent in the first part. But it is entirely to Sackman's credit that, through his deep research, insightful analysis, and compelling story, the direction of that future research now seems so clear.

Don Mitchell
Syracuse University

Eric Avila. *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles*. (American Crossroads, number 13.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 308. $39.95.

In this study of metropolitan Los Angeles, Eric Avila explores the connections between the creation of new institutions of popular culture and the creation of a new suburban white identity. The idea that postwar popular culture reified the patriarchial and racial orders of a "traditional" America is by now a familiar one, but the author breathes life into this truism through his insistence on situating postwar cultural institutions on a spatial landscape. Recognizing that institutions of popular culture had physical dimensions that both reflected and reshaped political culture, this book does much to root traditionally detached discussions of popular culture in the quite literally contested terrain of postwar metropolitan America.

The author focuses on four sites of cultural production in particular: new film genres that portrayed the city as a dystopian nightmare; the cultural counterpoint of Disneyland, which constructed an elaborate fantasy world for suburbanites; the establishment of a "suburbanized" city center through the construction of Dodger Stadium and the attendant displacement of inner-city minorities; and the freeway system that likewise destroyed urban communities and made suburban life accessible. All four sites are compelling choices, but the persuasiveness of the author's argument varies. His treatment of Hollywood, for instance, is a bit uneven. While Avila offers compelling arguments about how film noir contributed to suburban conceptions of cities as dirty and dangerous places, his reading of "urban science fiction films" may strike readers not attuned to the cultural studies school as overly imaginative. His argument that films such as *War of the Worlds* (1953) offer allegories about the supposed threat of black migration to urban areas—with alien invaders representing "the racial Other"—rests less on contemporary reactions and more on the author's own interpretations.

Avila is on stronger ground in the other sites he explores. His discussion of Disneyland revisits familiar arguments about the self-conscious construction of a new social order in the theme park, one that valorized both the patriarchy and racial hierarchy of "traditional" America. Avila goes beyond those well-known themes, however, fleshing out such claims with detailed descriptions of the sexist and racist representations inherent in many of the park's attractions. The author's discussion of the Brooklyn Dodgers' relocation to Los Angeles, meanwhile, is perhaps the book's strongest point. Avila chronicles the ways in which the thriving Latino community in Chavez Ravine was destroyed to make room for the new Dodger Stadium, offering a close case study of a process that would be replicated across the nation as other cities used the recruitment of professional sports teams as a combined means of civic boosterism and urban renewal. Here, Avila complicates the standard story of minority displacement by surveying the ways in which the racially integrated Dodger team was embraced by Angelenos of all races. Finally, the author explores the freeway system. While this development seems to have little to do with popular culture, the author argues that its creation helped enable the rise of other sites under discussion and, moreover, that the freeway itself was "a defining cultural experience" of the postwar metropolis (p. 9).

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The book does contain some minor errors. Several direct quotations are repeated, often within pages of one another, and there are a few instances in which prominent individuals are misidentified. The name of legendary community organizer Saul Alinsky is misspelled as "Saul Alinski," for instance (p. 28), while financial giant Howard Ahmanson, a Christian, is implicitly misrepresented as Jewish (p. 159). More important, given the book's explicitly spatial analysis, the inclusion of maps would have strengthened the author's argument considerably.

While distracting, such errors do little to diminish the author's achievements. In chronicling the larger shift from an older urban mass culture to a new suburban one—a shift made manifest here by the transitions from Coney Island to Disneyland, from Ebbets Field to Dodger Stadium, and from the streetcar to the freeway system—this book ably demonstrates the ways in which popular culture affected, and was affected by, the redistribution of people and power across the metropolitan landscape in postwar America. Those interested in the history of popular culture or postwar suburbia should find it a welcome addition to the growing literature of both fields.

KEVIN M. KRUSE
Princeton University

CATHERINE GUDIS. *Buyways: Billboards, Automobiles, and the American Landscape*. (Cultural Spaces.) New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. viii, 333. $22.00.

In 1957, Roland Barthes observed that new, elaborate automobiles had become "almost the exact equivalent of the great Gothic cathedrals" of an earlier period. If cars were cathedrals, billboards were sermons. By midcentury they could be seen on roads across the United States, telling drivers to find satisfaction by chewing Wrigley's gum, drinking Pepsi Cola, or smoking Marlboro cigarettes. Catherine Gudis traces the history of billboards, beginning with stories of billposters, who by the time of the Civil War were already covering every available city surface with ads for circuses, tobacco products, polishes, soaps, and dyes. In the late nineteenth century, a new, more formal, method of outdoor advertising was born, as entrepreneurs constructed, and began renting out, boards specifically designed to carry their promotional messages. But most of Gudis's book covers the period from the end of World War I to the 1960s, when the billboard industry experienced tremendous growth and launched such famous advertisements as the one for Sinclair Oil, which featured a large, green dinosaur, and for Burma-Shave, which, by the mid-1930s, had enlisted some 42,000 signs. She ends her narrative with Lyndon B. Johnson's Highway Beautification Act, which inadvertently strengthened the billboard industry by designating it as a "legitimate business use of the land." A conclusion traces the "dissonance of signs" today, including not only billboards and neon signs but also advertisements on bus shelters, kiosks, subways, taxis, and "wrapped" vehicles.

Gudis is less concerned with promotional campaigns, however, than with the struggle between billboard advocates and their opponents for control of the natural environment. Since at least 1872, with the formation of the International Billposters' Association of North America, outdoor advertisers tried to project their work as a respectable profession, one that brought commerce to the countryside, kept drivers awake on long trips, and spurred commerce by turning byways into "buyways." This organization was followed by others, including the Associated Billposters' Association of the United States and Canada, in 1891, and the Outdoor Advertising Association of America (OAA), in 1925. The OAA now has over 1,100 members, controls over ninety percent of the industry, and is skilled at political lobbying.

For almost as long as these groups have been around, they have been opposed by critics, many of whom came from women's associations, garden clubs, or other civic groups. These reformers had an agenda literally to rid the roadside of the "signs" of commerce, and by the 1920s they were operating nationally. Their fight was about not only restoring natural beauty but also eliminating indecent language and imagery from billboards and protesting some of the products the signs endorsed, including alcohol and tobacco.

The debate between the "billboard barons" and the "scenic sisters" is important, Gudis argues, because it helps us understand the process through which the landscape itself became commercialized. The lines between the groups were often drawn according to gender, as some women considered themselves to be fulfilling a traditional role by "cleaning the face of the country." The debates also exposed the injuries of class and the exploitation of economic power, as billboards came to predominate in undesirable strips and in poor urban areas. But, as Gudis shows, the "billboard wars" were also complicated, bringing together unlikely partners, such as certain automobile manufacturers who, in an effort to preserve the purity of countryside drives, resisted the spread of roadside ads. Moreover, just as critics were launching their attacks, the owners of billboards began coopting the rhetoric of civic duty for self-serving purposes.

The author has found a creative way to discuss the course of American capitalism and its collision with the natural environment. This leaves little room, however, for understanding the function of the billboards themselves. Gudis announces, early on, "Whether the ads worked or not (i.e., whether people bought the products because of the billboards they saw) cannot be my concern" (p. 5). Why not? Surely this must be part of the story. There are many studies of the effectiveness of billboards, advertising, and other methods of marketing. Why do some industries use billboards while others do not? What constitutes an effective sign? Are billboards more prevalent in the United States than in other countries? These questions may seem mundane, but without addressing them, we cannot fully understand why billboards appear, persist, and look the way

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they do. If we had answers to these questions, we could gain a clearer picture of just who the "billboard barons" really were.

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ALFRED D. CHANDLER, JR. *Shaping the Industrial Century: The Remarkable Story of the Evolution of the Modern Chemical and Pharmaceutical Industries*. (Harvard Studies in Business History, number 46.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 366. $29.95.

The chemical industry seems to have evolved as a spiral structure, and pharmaceuticals emerged through a process of recombination. In this, Alfred D. Chandler, Jr.'s second book to explore the industries that came to define modern enterprise, we are left with a wide variety of impressions about the character of these critical industries and the overall conviction that the same kinds of insights that Chandler offered to make sense of the nineteenth century also apply to the twentieth.

What really characterized those companies that brought together physical, chemical, and biological sciences with modern management to form the huge, and hugely profitable, corporations of the industrial century? Chandler presents the story in terms of three basic themes: overcoming barriers to entry, defining strategic boundaries, and overcoming limits to growth in the 1970s. By categorizing firms into small groups that capture company formation and structures, he reviews all the major players in each subsector, pointing out in particular how they defined and exploited, or neglected, what he calls "paths of learning." This gives us insight into the manner in which each firm used its specific assets to determine areas of business in which to compete.

We see that the infrastructures of both industries were largely complete by the 1920s, after which new entrants were rare. Most successful first movers in any particular area made their bids for growth early in the industrial century, beyond that the ability to maintain profitability rested largely on how they negotiated their way through the difficult transitions of the 1970s.

Chandler is clear that technology is mainly endogenous to particular firms because it is firms that make it possible to conceive technology by hiring scientists and technologists, shape it for their commercial utility by applying it to their capabilities, and exploit it in a manner suited for their strategies. This alone is enough to mess up the cheerless and textureless models that industrial economists might wish to derive from this book, but historians of the industry might want to know even more about what is going on with one of the two pillars on which these new industries stand. The other pillar is the application of modern management in the form of methods to deliver, for example, strategies of diversification/specialization, product life-cycle exploitation, market intelligence, and strict financial controls. Again we might wish for more. We learn that chemical processes simply scale up on the "sixth tenths rule," leaving us wondering if there are any arcane insights left in chemical engineering beyond the presumption that sixty-six percent additional capital will usually yield a full increment of added product. Even if it were this simple from the engineering point of view, and the task of CEOs was merely to figure out how to husband this flock of geese that lays golden eggs ever more cheaply as it multiplies, we should be curious to know why markets might scale to accommodate all these novel products. Here we must read between the lines. What is more clear, however, is that scale and scope concepts can be applied even more effectively to technical expertise, research and development, and other aspects of learning, and that makes the difference between surviving the 1970s and being in position to respond to the newly applied sciences of biotechnology. This can also be applied to explain the failure of conglomerate organizations, as case after case in both industries demonstrates.

For the chemical industry in particular, the structure of markets is most transparently the key to rapid growth and even more rapid innovation. Not only do consumer markets for petrochemical products and oil additives, cleaning materials, and household goods define the buyers for simple consumables, but it is the intermediate chemicals whose buyers are other industrial firms that give meaning to scalability (as well as the concept of scope) for this industry. What explains the flexibility, adaptability, and innovativeness of this industry is that it emerged as much by the invisible hand that gave impetus to all sorts of niche producers for all sorts of niche markets as it did by the visible hand of managers and their strategies.

Readers may find this a more difficult book than others by Chandler; there are a minimum of tables and charts, few evocative images to help illustrate what is in parts a turgid compilation of company histories, and copyediting flaws. Some of its dryness comes from the lack of primary material that would bring us closer to the actors and ideas, designs, and formulae behind the brands and finances, but the final, synthetic chapter compensates. It also links the generalizations to Chandler's companion volume, *Inventing the Electronic Century: The Epic Story of the Consumer Electronics and Computer Industries* (2001), although some comparisons stretch our ability to synthesize the broader lessons.

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DAVID L. MASON. *From Buildings and Loans to Bail-Outs: A History of the American Savings and Loan Industry, 1831–1995*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 349. $50.00.

Savings and loans associations seemed a sleepy corner of the financial services world until a wave of failures in the 1980s rocked the industry and the nation. When the dust settled in the 1990s, almost 1,300 thrifts had closed their doors, and taxpayers were stuck with a bill for $160 billion. David L. Mason sets these events in a

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larger context. He provides a valuable, if narrowly focused, overview of the American thrift industry from its origins in 1831 to its recovery in the 1990s.

Mason's account begins with the establishment of building and loan associations (as thrifts initially were called) before the Civil War. Modeled after British building societies, these associations were cooperative ventures that allowed individuals to come together to earn a fair return on their savings and create a pool of funds for mortgages. During the first century of the industry, the typical thrift was small, with just a few hundred members, often drawn from a single ethnic group. African Americans established a number of thrifts, both in the South and the big cities of the North and West. Women played a more prominent role in these associations than their counterparts did in banks.

The story Mason tells becomes more detailed with the New Deal and the advent of federal regulation. In the 1930s, the government insured deposits but otherwise regulated thrifts less than banks. The industry weathered the Depression, growing little between 1930 and 1945, but it took off during the postwar decades. Deposits and market share soared; by 1965 thrifts provided almost half of all residential mortgages. While most thrifts remained small, a few expanded rapidly, with sizeable assets and multiple branches. Federal oversight increased during these years. Then came the 1980s. The combination of slow growth and inflation punished the savings and loans, which had to compete with banks for deposits but were locked into long-term low return investments. The solution, Republican administrations felt, was deregulation. Some thrifts were helped, but too many rushed into unwise, often fraudulent ventures. Full recovery came only after the mid-1990s. Mason concludes the book with two case studies. One examines a Texas thrift that failed, while the other focuses on a Massachusetts savings and loan that steered a more careful course.

This book has great strengths. Mason bases his account on extensive primary research including personal papers, reports of congressional committees, and proceedings of the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations—the powerful trade association that spoke for the thrifts. Interviews supplement these records. No other account, as the author points out, covers the history of the industry in such a comprehensive manner.

However, this study's utility is weakened by its narrow focus. Mason discusses an alphabet soup of programs and regulatory bodies and provides close descriptions of bills that were adopted or rejected, but he gives no sense of the divisions these measures provoked within Congress or in society. Hence the summaries of laws and committee debates shed little light on the questions scholars have raised about the nature of the New Deal or subsequent eras. Similarly, the book gives little indication of the impact thrifts had on society apart from the frequent refrain that savings and loans promoted home ownership. Just who came together to form the many small thrifts? Were those individuals members of the middle class or working class? Who benefited from the loans? Did the thrifts contribute to discriminatory patterns of housing? There are passing references to such issues but little sustained analysis. Moreover, no individuals come alive in this work, which resembles a business textbook structured by many summaries, conclusions, and subheadings.

Anyone studying the savings and loan industry in the United States will have to consult this book. Its lengthy footnotes, as well as its text, serve as a valuable guide for researchers. But while Mason sets forth a useful overview of the field, much of the terrain remains to be explored.

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DAVID LEVERENZ. *Paternalism Incorporated: Fables of American Fatherhood, 1865–1940*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 254. $39.95.

As the history of gender matures, historians' attempts to explain what happened to patriarchy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries become more sophisticated, yet definitive answers still remain illusive. David Leverenz steps into this debate with his second book on manhood and America literature. Where his first study, *Manhood and the American Renaissance* (1989) focused on antebellum American literature, this one examines the intersection of masculinity, patriarchy, and industrialization in literature between the Civil War and World War II. He includes not only the works of such canonical writers as Mark Twain, Theodore Dreiser, and F. Scott Fitzgerald but also Shirley Temple films, Horatio Alger novels, and Andrew Carnegie's apologetic essays.

A strength of Leverenz's work is his ability to weave together divergent threads of analysis in order to reveal the complexity of cultural tensions, and in paternalism he has an effective organizing concept. He sees primarily two umbrella themes in the paternalistic narratives from this period. The first explores the reality of declining male power in society, emphasizing an embattled, tottering paternalism beset by the changes accompanying industrialization. As "feminine" traits of subservience and corporate cooperation replaced more "manly" independence and initiative, success came to depend upon status in the corporation, not property, labor, or honor as in the past. Stories of "daddy's girls" and "daddy's boys" mentored by strong father figures appealed to men increasingly threatened by these shifting rules.

Paternalism was more than a balm to sooth the bruised manhood of the new businessman, however, it was also a tool of social control. Leverenz joins others in arguing that paternalism mystified structural inequalities by putting "a simple fatherly face" (p 7) on the harsh, impersonal practices of corporate capitalism. The philanthropy of men like Carnegie, for example, often obscured inequities and encouraged hegemonic compliance in those below. But more important to Le-

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verenz, paternalistic themes in literature illustrate that those in power felt threatened by competition from those below. In what he calls his most "implausible argument," Leverenz claims that "corporate work ultimately undermines hierarchies of gender, class, and race" (p. 12). In this he challenges feminists and others who believe that during the process of industrialization, mutable patriarchy retained much of its power by shifting its basis from the personal to the institutional. For Leverenz, the corporation was not a refuge for patriarchy but ultimately a direct challenge to it. How then did men fight off this threat to their position? Leverenz argues that it was done, at least temporarily, through "smoke and metaphors" (p. 125). White men (and writers), for example, constructed race in ways that prevented African American upward mobility.

In the "daddy's girl" figure that proliferated in the post-Civil War fiction, Leverenz finds an effective metaphor for these two competing paternalist themes: "a mediating cultural compromise" (p. 42) that illustrates both the weaknesses and strengths of men's place in industrializing America. "Daddy's girl" narratives of such writers as Twain, Dreiser, and Jean Webster articulated "instabilities in paternal roles" (p. 57) by portraying young women dependent on but not subservient to mentoring father figures. Similarly, Alger's *Ragged Dick* nostalgically hearkened to a time when fathering could make a difference in the social mobility of a young man, while at the same time attempting to allay the fears of middle-class men threatened by upwardly mobile men below them. Leverenz's reading of Alger demonstrates that Dick's "upward mobility . . . depends less on his work ethic than on being a fun-house mirror for genteel 'custom' and desires" (p. 110).

In the end, according to Leverenz, the powers undermining patriarchy won and the complex corporate egalitarianism presaged in literature began its ascendance. Many will find this underlying argument less compelling than his insightful exegesis of gender themes in these texts. Indeed, here is where the reader cannot help but wonder if Leverenz is using the wrong tool for the job. He claims that literature "offers intimate access to shareable public meanings of private experiences" (p. 2), but the private experiences shaping these narratives—the experiences of mostly white, male authors—are, for the most part, only indirectly tied to corporate capitalism. Leverenz effectively shows status anxiety in the writings of these men, but he is on shakier ground when explaining what this anxiety means to the larger history of patriarchy, masculinity, and corporate capitalism. The historian will want a better accounting of historical antecedents than Leverenz's literary criticism is willing to give.

This is not a book for undergraduate classes. The author's use of dialectical constructions and occasional chiasmic organization, and his tendency to ask a great deal from each sentence, make for rigorous reading. Also, many readers will chafe at the literary critic's tendency to sexualize every aspect of human relations. To be fair, at times Leverenz pokes fun at the very tools he uses, but to see all mentoring relationships as fundamentally incestuous and pederastic probably tells us more about presentist academic trends than it does about beleaguered patriarchs in the past.

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GARY CROSS. *The Cute and the Cool: Wondrous Innocence and Modern American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. 259. $29.95.

Gary Cross argues that society and culture in the United States idolize children because we need them as symbols of innocence. But innocence can be a difficult and contradictory concept. Even as Americans seek to delight innocent and pure children, they cooperate in their exploitation as commercial and sexual objects.

Sheltering innocent children from the vagaries and threats of modern life became possible as American society became more affluent. By the turn of the twentieth century, the idea of sheltering children and helping them develop along rational or scientific lines became the goal of emerging professionals and experts. At the same time the idea justified the efforts of advocates for playgrounds, public schools, juvenile justice, and the elimination of child labor, all of whom claimed to be working on behalf of real children who lacked a sheltered childhood. Ultimately, Cross argues, the well-meaning child protectionists were undermined if not defeated by the rise of the consumer market. Advertisers penetrated the homes of sheltered children and lured them into the world of consumption by appealing to their childish desires and the suppressed desires of their parents.

The entering wedge of this process was the image of the "cute" kid or the iconic "New Kid" of the early twentieth century. Advertisers used these images as a means of stimulating consumption while appealing to the ideal of sheltered childhood. The images encouraged parents to indulge their children and thus helped inaugurate permissiveness long before Benjamin Spock published *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (1946).

Another development that supported the rise of the consumer market and its focus on children was the rise of holiday and special occasion gift giving, Christmas and birthdays being the obvious examples. Unusual and particularly significant in Cross's view is Halloween. Originally a time for mummery and disorder, by the late twentieth century it had become largely a time for childish begging and costumed adult revelry. Not only holidays but also amusement parks were infantilized in the same fashion. Typical of this transformation was the rise of Disneyland, a place that appealed to children's imaginations and adult nostalgia.

As long as the images of children and the appeals to children were based in the idea of childhood innocence, the consumer market did not appeal directly to the children themselves. But with the rise of a children's

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counter culture in movies, radio serials, comic books, and television, the market now had an alternative. The development of the concept of "cool" gave advertisers and merchants a means of marketing directly to children. While the concept of "cool" resists clear definition, it encompasses activities, images, clothing, dress and behavior signifying a youthful rejection of the adult world and its values. The best example of the new cool approach may well be the ubiquitous Barbie doll. According to Cross, Barbie was cool because "she access to money and status; she had beauty and clothes; and she was not 'supervised'" (p. 155).

In concluding chapters Cross traces the efforts of adults to regulate and control the emerging culture of cool as depicted in comic books, television, and movies. The effort usually resulted in industry self-regulation. Obscenity and sexuality were easily censored, but appeals to materialism and consumption remained. One other notable success came in the long-running effort to curb advertising by tobacco companies to young people. Eventually the R. J. Reynolds tobacco company agreed to cancel its popular and "cool" Joe Camel campaign.

This book is an example of social commentary reminiscent of Christopher Lasch's *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged* (1977). The strengths of Cross's work are his extended analysis of the rise of the consumer market and his thorough grounding in the details of children's popular culture in the United States since the late nineteenth century. His argument is repeated so often that it tends to become tedious and, save for a few images, actual children and parents are not a part of his analysis. On balance, however, this is a lively, provocative, and very readable analysis of a persistent social concern about children and youth.

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David Serlin. *Replaceable You: Engineering the Body in Postwar America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. 244. $25.00.

David Serlin's book is a stimulating reflection on the cultural implications of modifications to the human body made possible by medical developments after World War II. Synthesizing an impressive array of secondary commentary and drawing on media, popular sources, and some institutional documentation, Serlin parses understandings of gender, class, normalcy, disability, and patriotism in four distinct essays or "allegories." Together they suggest that, ultimately, technologies offered to liberate bodies from disabilities both physical and psychological—part of the perquisites of the postwar liberal society—supported conformities idiomatic of the era. An epilogue reflects on an Andy Warhol exhibit presaging an era of new norms for engineering the body.

Serlin's essay, "The Other Arms Race," considers new prosthetic designs rising concomitantly with technologies developed to protect and defend national interests. He concludes that heterosexual masculinity and "citizenship" were operative concepts in rehabilitation paradigms targeting amputee veterans. Prosthetic rehabilitation promotion reflecting white-collar instead of working-class male values of the prewar era constitute the "other arms race."

"Reconstructing the Hiroshima Maidens" retells the story of twenty-five women deformed by the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima who came to the United States in 1955 for reconstructive surgery—a "medicalized version of the Marshall Plan" meant to repair trauma as well as erase cultural memory. Physicians would later export the surgical techniques used therapeutically on the Maidens. Adaptation of these techniques to help Asians look more "Anglo" suggests how the Maidens were unwitting participants in a medicalized Cold War legacy of cultural imperialism.

"Gladys Bentley and the Cadillac of Hormones" focuses on the pianist Gladys Bentley, an African American and a lesbian, who in 1952 made public her claims that estrogen therapy had "corrected" her sexual orientation and transformed her into a heterosexual. Bentley's choice to "erase" her counter-normative past as an independent lesbian woman suggests, for Serlin, how a black woman seeking to function in a pre-Civil Rights milieu could yearn for the ennui of the (white) "feminine mystique" in order to achieve a black middle-class status previously closed to her.

"Christine Jorgensen and the Cold War Closet" relates how early media accounts of Jorgensen's male-to-female transsexual transformation, emphasizing her "American girl" and feminine qualities, resonated with postwar national pride and dominant attitudes toward heterosexual gender identification. Later, Christine's physicians reveal publicly that she was not an (anatomically functioning) female but an "altered male." Public scorn she received as a result of the disclosure confirms, for Serlin, that the early acceptance based on incomplete disclosure had been tacit approval of medical science's (believed) ability to transform bodies in ways consonant with dominant gender norms.

Serlin's "meditations" offer creative insights into how even those whose lives are off the arc of typical experiences affirmed cultural conformity when they undertook to "make their private bodies match their public selves" (p. 145). Even those reflections that are not clearly supported by explicit evidence remain thought provoking. Such cases, however, leave Serlin's narratives open to alternative interpretations. One small example is his analysis of a photograph of the Hiroshima Maidens describing how two of them smiled obligingly while others looked contemptuous, resentful, or humiliated. The countervailing nature of information later put forth—that some of the women suffered facial deformities preventing them from smiling—challenges Serlin's analysis and reminds us that short of clear evidence, cultural interpretations are sustained precariously.

Similarly, there are hypotheses or conclusions left unsupported by the methodological consideration of

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bodies of evidence necessary to derive them. Speculating credibly, for example, about "how . . . normative models of masculinity affect(ed) disabled veterans" (p. 24), or that *Ebony's* readers may have viewed Bentley's story as a "barometer of the changing conditions of African American political progress" (p. 146), requires more than pondering photos, cartoons, or other sources that offer no access to the thoughts or experiences of amputees or magazine subscribers. In such cases the reader is awkwardly left to toggle between suggestions of how historical subjects and their contemporaries understood medical choices, on the one hand, and how these choices may be understood generally as abstract cultural dynamics, on the other.

Still, the essays largely succeed in suggesting that postwar Americans utilized medical options for reengineering the body in ways that validated the dominant social order. This important insight is only the most ubiquitous of the many to take away from this valuable consideration of American culture.

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Marc Shell. *Polio and Its Aftermath: The Paralysis of Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 324. $35.00.

It is remarkable how much contemporary American culture has been shaped by the polio epidemic that gripped the United States from 1885 until 1955, whether through the artistic gifts of so-called "polios" with their unique perspectives on the various forms of denial and management that spurred our culture of wellness, or through the institutional and technical means adapted to handle large numbers of people in the face of what was understood to be a contagious disease. It is even more remarkable how quickly polio has been "forgotten" in the wake of the Salk vaccine. Marc Shell's book addresses both sides of the polio coin.

Shell analyzes what he calls the vast field of "polio literature," namely published and unpublished works of poetry and prose, fiction and nonfiction, children's and adult literature that addresses polio either overtly or implicitly. Most of this literature remains uncollected and uncataloged, a symptom of the drive to forget and one that makes the process of remembering polio all the more difficult. Shell examines, too, a plethora of visual images, most notably dozens of films. Interspersed with his discussion of these cultural artifacts and technical developments is his personal account of contracting polio in Canada at the age of six. Shell moves easily between his own painful recollections and a dazzling array of texts, including *The Velveteen Rabbit* (1922), the paintings of Andrew Wyeth, and the film version of *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), to name just a few. As might be expected, ample space is awarded to Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Of all the literary and visual texts that Shell examines, he devotes the most attention to Alfred Hitchcock's already much analyzed film *Rear Window*, released just prior to the widespread introduction of the polio vaccine. Shell points to all the ways in which the film engages popular beliefs about polio in 1954. The film's main character, L. B. Jefferies, called "Jeff" and played by Jimmy Stewart, is a former wartime journalist who has become a magazine photographer. When the film opens, we learn from a phone conversation between Jeff and his boss that Jeff has broken his leg photographing a car race. On Jeff's cast, someone has penned the words "Here lie the broken bones of L. B. Jefferies." Shell reads this as a pun. That Jeff has broken bones is a "lie," a lie meant to cover up the fact that Jeff is suffering from something else. Jeff's cast was a common enough sight on polios, who often needed casts to keep their bones, muscles, and tendons straight. The other aspects of Jeff's treatment were also standard for polios. He receives daily massages from an insurance company nurse who diligently checks his temperature. As Shell notes, "Broken bones . . . rarely make for high fever of the sort Jeff suffers after his accident Polio does, of course" (p. 161). Most importantly, the pivotal plot point of the film, Jeff's lack of sexual interest in his girlfriend Lisa, played by the stunning Grace Kelly, is polio related. As Shell notes, "One of the common myths about polios is that poliomyelitic paralysis leaves them without sexual capacity" (p. 162). Awake throughout much of the night and clearly concerned that Lisa wants more than he can give her, Jeff becomes interested in investigating the disappearance of another bedridden person who lives across the courtyard from him. The film thus asks the question "What am I supposed to do with a disabled person who makes me uncomfortable?" (p. 149). The answer is twofold: murder her, in the case of the neighbor, or cure him, as Lisa aims to do for Jeff by entering the apartment across the courtyard and thereby forcing her voyeur boyfriend to become interested in her. And yet, insofar as the film never directly addresses the polio epidemic, *Rear Window* was very much in keeping with the rest of mainstream American culture. Polio was a disease that nonpolios were highly anxious about, even as they tried to hide it from view. Or as Shell puts it, *Rear Window* "is about polio, which was a concern central to its time, but it appears not to be about polio, an avoidance that was also central to its time" (p. 12).

This book will be useful to anyone interested in the history and psychology of epidemics, in childhood in the first half of the twentieth century, and/or in disability studies.

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Joan Rothschild. *The Dream of the Perfect Child*. (Bioethics and the Humanities.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 343. $24.95.

This is a provocative, historically informed inquiry into the effects of prenatal testing on pregnancy and public attitudes toward disability. Joan Rothschild argues that,

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beginning in the 1970s, women's experience of pregnancy underwent far-reaching transformations as a result of the expanded use of ultrasound, amniocentesis, and genetic testing. Prenatal testing held out to women the prospect of bearing children free from inheritable and congenital diseases, defects, and deformities. Yet far from providing reassurance and increasing maternal control over the birth process, prenatal diagnostic practices had the unintended effect of intensifying pregnant women's anxieties and making the fetus, rather than the mother, the focus of medical attention. Testing fostered the illusion of control, while, generally, the only options parents had were to continue or to terminate a pregnancy. Prenatal testing also carried profound implications for thinking about disabilities and physical imperfections. It inspired efforts to screen not only "at-risk" mothers (usually defined as those over the age of thirty-five or those who had given birth to a child with a disability) but all pregnant women, and it encouraged an attitude among some physicians, genetic counselors, and parents that disabilities, far from being a natural part of human difference, should be avoided at all costs and that imperfect pregnancies should be terminated.

The book argues that the contemporary quest for the defect-free child can only be properly understood in light of past discourses of human perfectibility, which, Janus-like, sought to improve the human condition yet also tended to label and stigmatize the imperfect. Thus, the Enlightenment emphasis on the perfectibility of man was accompanied by a heightened interest in the grotesque and the monstrous, and many Enlightenment thinkers embraced pre-Darwinian assumptions about intraspecies hierarchy. Rothschild offers a fascinating discussion of eighteenth-century ideas about aesthetics and physiognomy, which linked facial features with individual character and mental ability. Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century eugenics drew selectively on evolutionary and positivist ideas to formulate a discourse that made a sharp distinction between the fit and the unfit. While the professed goal of eugenics was to improve humanity through selective procreation, eugenicist policies focused on the imperfect, seeking to sterilize or institutionalize those considered mentally or physically defective or deficient.

In the wake of the Holocaust, the discourse of human perfectibility was recast and redirected. The coercive elements central to eugenics were repudiated, to be replaced by new ideas about bettering the gene pool through medical genetics, genetic counseling, and prenatal testing. Evolutionary biologists and medical geneticists sought to educate physicians and the public about the role of hereditary factors in disease and physical and mental defect, but in the process, argues Rothschild, developed a discourse that identified certain inheritable or congenital diseases and defects as problems that were to be avoided at all costs.

This book offers highly accessible histories of the tools of prenatal testing, including amniocentesis, maternal serum alphafetoprotein screening, the triple screen, ultrasound, chorionic villus sampling, analysis of fetal cells from maternal blood, and preimplantation genetic diagnosis, and provides a balanced assessment of the ability of these tests to identify birth defects. The book also provides succinct and nuanced discussions of contemporary discourses of disability and of bioethics, and draws on the work of feminist philosophers to articulate alternate ways of thinking about prenatal testing and screening.

The book's greatest strength is its deconstruction of the way that discussions of birth defects have been framed. In recent years, the number and kinds of conditions diagnosable with prenatal testing has increased substantially (reaching 940 in 1999), intensifying the anxiety that parents feel about having a diseased or deformed child. The results, Rothschild argues, have been to expand and reinforce the concept of defect and abnormality, and to label many conditions and characteristics that do not directly impair a baby's health or that are treatable as undesirable. Ironically, as Rothschild points out, the causes of seventy percent of serious birth defects are unknown, but many appear to be social rather than simply genetic. One striking example involves the number of children with birth defects who are born to very young mothers who lacked proper prenatal care. By concentrating so heavily on the genetic causes of birth defects, the author concludes, our society downplays socioeconomic causes and fails to support the parents of children with disabilities or congenital or chronic health conditions.

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Carol Padden and Tom Humphries. *Inside Deaf Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 208. $22.95.

Carol Padden and Tom Humphries have done it again—and readers everywhere should be grateful. Almost twenty years ago, Padden and Humphries helped transform the nascent and promising field of deaf history with their path-breaking and still relevant book, *Deaf in America: Voices From a Culture* (1988). Their influential work challenged the medical-based paradigm that for much of the preceding century had been employed by hearing professionals and scholars to reduce deafness to little more than a troubling medical ailment or lifelong auditory deficiency. In contrast, they demonstrated that the nation's deaf citizens, by virtue of their shared language (American Sign Language or ASL), education, and experiences, were best understood as a unique, active, and vibrant culture. Through this integrative lens, the authors sketched the "arc of dialogue" (p. 4) that defined and animated the dispersed but coherent national deaf community.

In their current work, Padden and Humphries further explore formative "cultural moments" in the deaf community—what they describe as the generative ideas and influences that shape how deaf people identify themselves. Like other linguistic and cultural minority groups, deaf individuals, the authors note in their in-

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troduction, have long been "objects" of experimentation and control; only rarely have they been authors of their own history. This account helps redress that ongoing imbalance. In school, the workplace, and society at large, deaf individuals, they advance, have been "besieged, controlled and patronized" by the hearing public, while ASL, their treasured language, is "celebrated and admired" (p. 7). Despite this deep and defining tension, the deaf community, the authors note, is distinguished by a tradition of independent self-activity that has only recently become a part of our national historical narrative. At once an overview of the rich cultural heritage and "promise" (p. 5) of the deaf community, as well as an intimate interpretation of its apprehensions and divisions, this accessible, personal, and balanced account will be respected by scholars and appreciated by the general public.

In their representative, exemplary first chapter, "Silenced Bodies," the authors shed new light on the contradictory educational experiences of deaf youngsters over the past century. Over the past fifteen years, a growing body of scholars has examined both the limits of teaching articulation and "lip reading" efforts as well as the educational and cultural benefits of promoting ASL—itself often banned or marginalized at the nation's residential and "mainstream" day schools. These authors also documented the ways schooling and ASL combined to generate a shared deaf identity among students. Drawing on Michel Foucault, David Rothman, and others, the authors remind us that, for all their benefits, schools were also powerful venues of "dominance and control" (p. 6). One illustration of this is the nineteenth-century account of a male superintendent accused of sexual abuse of female students in the Pennsylvania-based residential school he oversaw.

Later chapters—the book is a brief 180 pages in length—synthesize recent scholarship in deaf as well as disability history to bring more focused insights to the identity and collective activities of deaf individuals across the twentieth century. Their interpretation of the experiences of deaf individuals from the 1960s forward is likely one of their most noteworthy contributions. Inspired by the efforts of women and communities of color, as well as their own venerable history of self activity (deaf adults formed the National Association of the Deaf as early as 1880), deaf individuals, in collaboration with hearing colleagues, continued their longstanding commitment to support the educational needs of deaf children. In these efforts they helped envision, design, and build a remarkable array of institutions that include an internationally acclaimed national theater group as well as colleges that attract students from across the globe.

Padden and Humphries consider current issues confronting deaf individuals. The ongoing "medicalization" of deafness, for example, draws their careful scrutiny. Scientific procedures recently considered experimental are now commonplace. Hearing parents continue to provide cochlear implants to their deaf children. The authors discuss how these implants, as well as efforts in genetic engineering, imperil the standing of the deaf community as a cultural minority group.

This book is a valuable exploration of the deaf community. At the same time, it also reveals how the seemingly altruistic tenets of mainstream hearing society have become tools to limit the rights and freedoms of those they seek to help. In this way, the experiences of deaf women and men have much to teach individuals and communities of all backgrounds and identities.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

JAY KINSBRUNER. *The Colonial Spanish-American City: Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 182. Cloth $40.00, paper $18.95.

In the last decade or so, colonial Spanish American urban history has featured highly focused studies of civic culture and rituals. We now know a great deal about the ceremonies that celebrated the power of the king, the viceroy, and the church and how different social groups participated in and even questioned these events. For both the colonial and republican eras, we have a deeper understanding of different facets of public life in specific cities, particularly in regard to social control and crime. The broad search for synthesis and comparison that characterized the work of Richard M. Morse, Jorge E. Hardoy, and Angel Rama, whose analysis moved across the centuries, the continents, and the Atlantic Ocean, has been less common in more recent studies. Jay Kinsbruner's short, highly readable book returns to this expansive vision, reviewing urban life and structures in colonial Spanish America. Building on the recent spate of social and cultural history as well as previous generations of urban historians, it offers a wealth of anecdotes and insights. Readers learn about the Renaissance roots of Hispanic urbanism, particularly Leon Battista Alberti's use of Vitruvius, and the ideology and practicalities behind the layout of sixteenth-century cities. Different chapters examine the organization of merchants, family and administrative structures, race, and other topics. Kinsbruner also presents a nine-page summary of preconquest cities. In each case, he provides a useful synthesis, graciously citing recent and not-so-recent works and elaborating on his previous work on several of these topics. In this regard, the sections on the organization of merchants and their place in the economy are particularly noteworthy. Historians working on colonial Spanish America will find valuable information and insights.

The book suffers, however, from the absence of a guiding argument. The statement in the second paragraph of the introduction—"[T]his book has a central theme, which is that the colonial Spanish-America city evolved during the age of Atlantic capitalism and was itself a circumstance of that capitalism" (p. xi)—is not developed in the ensuing chapters. Its implications for

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Kinsbruner's understanding of Spanish America are never clarified. To do so would have required addressing transatlantic capitalism, a weighty task, yet the analysis rarely moves back to Spain and Europe after the 1540s. Furthermore, few authors would disagree with Kinsbruner's statement. The author seems to take a historiographical stance when he confronts, in various sections, the caste versus class debate. In particular, he questions the validity of the term "plebe" in reference to the lower classes. Unfortunately, beyond showing that the vast majority of urban people were poor and that classes existed in the colonial period, he does not pursue the argument. The absence of a unifying thesis means that some of the shorter chapters seem isolated or disconnected from the rest of the book.

Perhaps it is excessive or petty to question an engaging, broad study of centuries of urban life (in a book of 182 pages) for its lack of an overarching argument. The richness of the material and the author's knowledge of the structures of Hispanic urbanism and social life, however, made me want to demand more. Jay Kinsbruner has produced a useful overview. I believe that he could have used that material to develop more thoroughly his own ideas about urban societies.

CHARLES F. WALKER
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LYMAN L. JOHNSON, editor. *Death, Dismemberment, and Memory: Body Politics in Latin America*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 354. Cloth $45.00, paper $22.95.

We can not replicate the richness of history in our classrooms. Yet, the contrast feels particularly stark between the vitality and vivacity of so many Latin Americans as they have gone about their daily lives, and what I am able to convey to students in the United States. The people "down there" come up short, lacking in what Americans think they ought to expect to find in human beings. It is difficult for students here to imagine regular people there as men, women, and children with hopes and aspirations, as human beings who search for order and legitimate authority, who have a sense that their lives are improving, that they are accomplishing something not only for themselves but for their society.

So it was that a strange feeling came over me as I read the essays in this book, imagining myself as one of my students. I was connecting to many of the individuals in these pages, to how they might be feeling, what they were thinking. It took me a while to figure out why. In these nicely crafted essays we encounter elite, middle-class, and plebeian Latin Americans who take their lives, their society, and their past seriously. Here are people who seek meaning in the ways they think about their former leaders, and in how they commemorate them. Traditions have value. Memories live. History matters. This volume will be an excellent companion reader for a wide array of courses on Latin America.

Nine essays cover the colonial period to the second half of the twentieth century, from Ward Stavig's elegant account of Inca ideals of social justice across centuries, to a stunning essay by Paul Dosal on the fears of Americans and also Bolivians that a dead Ernesto Che Guevara would rally followers into the future, perhaps as much as did Túpac Amaru in 1572, Túpac Amaru in 1781, and Túpac Catari (Julián Apasa) in 1783. (Indeed, a former intellectual leader of the contemporary Túpac Katari Guerrilla Army has become Bolivia's elected vice-president.) These essays either start or end with the living present. Editor Lyman L. Johnson ably locates them within the broader theoretical and empirical literature. Four are on Mexico: on Cuauhtémoc, the heroes of independence, Emiliano Zapata, and Alvaro Obregón. Two deal with Argentina, with Juan Manuel de Rosas and with Juan Domingo Perón and Eva Duarte de Perón. Another revolves around the public suicide of Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas.

Three of the remembered leaders died of natural causes: Rosas and the Peróns. Together with Obregón and Vargas, they are the civilian leaders in this collection. The other remembered dead bodies are those of insurgent or military leaders. Obregón was both an insurgent and a civilian leader who was assassinated during his second term as president, on July 17, 1928. His arm seems to be remembered more than his body, for he lost the limb while fighting in the Mexican Revolution, with aspirations still glowing, whereas his body became lifeless when he was already the established caudillo of an institutionalizing revolution that has long been remembered less fondly.

Juan Domingo Perón's posthumous life seems to run in inverse direction. Donna Guy argues that he lost his symbolic access to authority after petty criminals who climbed into his tomb in 1987 sawed off his hands. Perhaps. But Perón lives on today in Argentina in ways that Evita, his former wife, who in power traveled to Europe and in death became the subject of silly musicals and films in the United States, does not. Once she was remembered with a popular adulation that is difficult to comprehend.

Arguably Latin America's saddest death overcame Simón Bolívar, sick and melancholy, no longer a military man, and desperate at what history might hold for his republics. Germán Carrera Damas's *El Culto de Bolivar* offers a magisterial example of how a study of the reverence for and the manipulation of a once powerful leader offers an enlightening history of a nation across time. It can inform us even today about how Venezuela's currently elected president uses and understands the image of the liberator's long-empty chair.

Indeed, the manipulation of these dead bodies is easier to understand than is the depth of popular emotion followers felt and feel for them. This is understandable, for the broader cultural contexts, the historical hopes, and the popular religiosity to which these essays point can hardly be well elicited in a few pages. This collection points tantalizingly to future scholarship.

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IRVING W. LEVINSON. *Wars within Wars: Mexican Guerrillas, Domestic Elites, and the United States of America, 1846–1848*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 173. $29.95.

The U.S.-Mexican War exercised an enormous impact on the later development of both belligerent states. The U.S. invasion and occupation of northern Mexico and Mexico City forced the weaker nation to cede half of its expanse and left its political classes demoralized and badly fractured, so much so that they fought their own extended civil war in the 1860s. The United States became a transcontinental behemoth, but victory brought its own costs: a decade later, the question of slavery's extension into its vast new territory tore the nation apart.

Neither Mexican nor U.S. historians have given the U.S.-Mexican War—or the "North American Invasion," as it is known in Mexico—the attention that it deserves, perhaps because the conflicts of the 1860s were even more important to national identities and historiographical traditions alike. In this context, Irving W. Levinson's focused study of division and conflict within Mexico during the war raises important questions to which all scholars of Mexico and the United States in this period should pay attention.

Levinson's central argument is that the one war between Mexico and the United States was joined by several other wars within Mexico, including the resumption of an "older struggle between a predominantly *criollo* elite . . . and the majority of the population that was forcibly excluded from meaningful participation in the nation's political and economic life" (p. xiii). These internal struggles, particularly uprisings against the Mexican government in southwestern Mexico and in the Yucatán peninsula and a diffuse guerilla resistance against U.S. forces, profoundly shaped Mexico's response to the U.S. invasion and the ultimate settlement that was reached with the occupation forces.

The outcome of the larger U.S.-Mexican War was by no means clear at its inception. A deeply divided United States might well have failed in its invasion had the Mexican government's resistance proved more effective and sustained. Levinson's description of class and ethnic conflicts during the war goes a long way to explaining why such resistance did not materialize. Simply put, Mexico's elites were often more afraid of their own lower orders than they were of a U.S. victory, and thus declined to arm and support what could have become a much more broad-based opposition to the invasion. Indeed, by the end of 1848, mere months after the withdrawal of the U.S. Army, Mexico's government was fielding more soldiers against domestic unrest than it ever had against its northern neighbor's army.

The most effective opposition to U.S. forces, Levinson argues, came not from the regular armies of the Mexican central government, or even from its state militias, but rather from guerrilla resistance in northern and central Mexico. By late 1847, this resistance, though uncoordinated, forced U.S. generals to devote nearly a quarter of their forces to what would today be called "counterinsurgency" operations. General-in-Chief Winfield Scott warned U.S. authorities of the dangers of a prolonged occupation, while General Zachary Taylor "acknowledged his own failure to destroy the partisan forces in northern México and concluded that a unilateral withdrawal to the Rio Grande-Alta California boundary would be the wisest course" (p. 114).

Levinson asks important questions in this book, but his answers to them are often frustratingly underdeveloped. With a scant 120 pages of large text, this book reads more like a provocative but barely revised dissertation than the influential study that it might have become. Levinson never tackles the question of the contingency of the war's larger outcome, although much of his information speaks directly to that critical question. The factional struggles of Mexico's political elites, studied in great detail by previous scholars, are mentioned but not analyzed; as a result, readers are left unsure as to how the popular mobilizations whose importance Levinson stresses impacted high politics. Finally, and perhaps most regrettably, Levinson offers summaries of the actions of guerrillas and rebels but almost no explanation of them. While he gives us the actual words of generals and politicians, readers are never introduced to a single guerrilla or rebel. Why they fought and what legacies their struggles left for the politics and economic struggles of Mexico over the next generation are questions left almost entirely unasked. Similar questions are at the heart of the extensive and important scholarship on peasant political consciousness, Latin American liberalism, and the interaction of national, local, and ethnic identities that has been produced over the last generation in both the United States and Latin America. It is regrettable that Levinson refuses to engage with this body of scholarship or its findings.

BENJAMIN HEBER JOHNSON
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DANIEL WILKINSON. *Silence on the Mountain: Stories of Terror, Betrayal, and Forgetting in Guatemala*. (American Encounters/Global Interaction.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. 375. $19.95.

With the words "All I knew when I began was that a house had burned down" (p. 3), Daniel Wilkinson opens this beautifully crafted account of his journey to find out why the house, which belonged to a planter and sat in the midst of a lush coffee plantation called La Patria, was burned in 1983, a year of military massacres and guerilla defeats. To figure out this one fire, Wilkinson needed to understand the local history of the soil-rich department of San Marcos and, as it turned out, decades of Guatemalan history.

In 1993, ten years after the fire and three years before the Peace Accords, Wilkinson set out to interview La Patria's owner and its workers. Wilkinson had befriended the *patrona* and she was forthcoming, but to

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Wilkinson's surprise, the plantation workers were silent. The son of La Patria's bookkeeper suggested that what first needed to be unearthed was information about the years preceding and following Jacobo Arbenz's 1952 land reform. Heeding this advice, Wilkinson bought a used motorcycle, dubbed it *La Poderosa*, and went off to interview an older generation scattered throughout San Marcos. He did find out that a union existed in La Patria between 1944 and 1954, but generally his questions were, again, met with silence.

A historian directed Wilkinson to the archives of the Instituto Nacional de Transformación Agraria (INTA), where he discovered a letter dated January 1, 1953, from the workers' union at La Patria to President Arbenz. Requesting that the government intervene to stop the owners of La Patria from parceling out their unused land to "anticommunist reactionaries," the union demanded that the government instead give this land to the workers and halt the suspension of their employment (p. 159). This level of engagement with the Arbenz reforms is also documented in Cindy Forster's well-researched study of San Marcos from 1944 until 1954, *The Time of Freedom: Campesino Workers in Guatemala's October Revolution* (2001).

For Wilkinson, the document constituted a denouement. Looking over the letter's many signatures, he recognized the names of the same people who had responded with silence to his questions. With this material evidence in hand, Wilkinson found it easier to go back and speak with ex-union members. They told him how the union, which was led by the patron's illegitimate son, took the land, started a cooperative, and lost everything when the United States placed dictator Carlos Castillo Armas in power in 1954. A few years after the 1954 coup, military officers "upset when their government gave the United States permission to train for the Bay of Pigs invasion on Guatemalan soil" (p. 222) initiated a guerrilla group that became four different ones by the 1970s. These combined with mass struggle in Guatemala City, towns, and the countryside to yield a national, broad-based popular movement for revolutionary social change. By the late 1970s, a civil war had broken out that lasted until the 1996 Peace Accords. Was there a relationship in San Marcos between the 1944–1954 activists and the guerrillas in the 1970s and 1980s? Did the workers, peasants, and especially the Mayans of San Marcos support the guerilla movement that had operated in that area, La Organización del Pueblo en Armas (ORPA)? Wilkinson found evidence to answer the first question in the affirmative; in fact, the first guerrilla leader in San Marcos was the son of the well-known founder of the 1944–1954 national peasant organization. Wilkinson's investigation of the second question led him high up in the mountains to the Mam-speaking town of Sacuchum.

Here the silence shattered. The people of Sacuchum gathered to tell Wilkinson in great detail and grief how, after coming into the area in January 1982, soldiers ordered everyone into the town plaza, where they raped twenty women and mutilated and killed forty-seven people. Yes, the villagers had willfully supported and supplied the guerrillas, and several young men had joined them. But the campaign of military repression eventually turned the villagers against ORPA. It turns out that the answer to the book's opening question is that after having found safe harbor on La Patria land for years, ORPA burnt the house out of desperation, and the workers who once befriended the guerrillas tried to protect the house.

This book is a traveler's account, a journalist's report, and a coming-of-age story. It takes the reader from one rich family's well-constructed house and history to the small, crowded homes of poor people and their collective and unfinished history. It is a timely book: in recent years, poor people in all parts of Guatemala, but especially in the coffee growing areas of San Marcos, have seized unused lands titled to landowners, and the government has been sending the police or military to kick them off and kill a few.

From my perspective as a historian of modern Guatemala, nothing that Wilkinson writes is false, but at times the book is not true enough. He interviewed men who had been guerillas but not their wives or other women. At a time when Evangelicals were taking over the area, the only coverage religion gets centers on *brujeria*, which fascinates Wilkinson. The most egregious example of giving a partial truth as if it were the entire one is to be found in Wilkinson's treatment of the guerrilla movement. He cuts the revolutionary movement down to U.S. size and indulges in an ill-conceived and trouble-making anticommunism. The guerrilla movement was not as Cuban inspired, or armed, as he claims. Several Guatemalan left-wing leaders went to Cuba, but who did not go to Cuba? And what exactly did that mean? Anti-imperialist nationalists who wanted the reformist national capitalism that Arbenz advocated started the guerrilla movement. Marxists as well as ex-Christian Democrats, professionals, students, workers, peasants, pobladores, Mayans, and ladinos, young and old joined it in the mountains, in Guatemala City, and in villages. Probably the theology of liberation influenced it more than Marxism did. A history of the revolutionary movement has yet to be written, but everything we know suggests that it was a complex one that embraced many views, including some that were original to Guatemala.

All the same, we are very fortunate to have this book. As Wilkinson makes clear, the United States funded the 1954 coup and it has funded the Guatemalan military from that time on. The United States had a hand in what the United Nations determined was genocide in the 1980s. As the book points out, the greatest "silence" has been in the United States. Genocide in Guatemala has been noteworthy for its absence in "popular" studies of the United States and modern violence, such as Samantha Power's *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide* (2002). Wilkinson shows how violence in Guatemala happened in the context of the Cold War and the growth of U.S. power. The guerrillas isolated themselves for many reasons. However, it was mil-

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itary terrorism, not left-wing terrorism, that won the war. The guerrillas burned a landowner's house in 1983; how many thousands did the military burn down that year?

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THOMAS J. DODD. *Tiburcio Carías: Portrait of a Honduran Political Leader.* (Eisenhower Center Studies on War and Peace.) Foreword by DOUGLAS BRINKLEY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 268. Cloth $56.95.

Both professional and casual observers of Latin America have long reflected on the persistence and prevalence of the *caudillo* in its history. These charismatic strongmen, who embody the personalist and authoritarian elements embedded within Hispanic political culture, have cast a shadow over Spanish America from the time of Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro to Fidel Castro and Hugo Chávez. That these figures have left a legacy over the course of five centuries is undeniable; *caudillos* in one form or another have appeared in every country in the region and, in most cases, have played a critical role in the development of the modern Latin American state. However, the nature of this legacy remains a topic of intense debate and frequent analysis by scholars. Many have seen and continue to see the *caudillo* as a destabilizing and ultimately destructive phenomenon, a force that has stunted the region's political maturation through the establishment of decades-long dictatorships (e.g. Rafael Trujillo), the repeated overthrow of elected governments (e.g. Antonio de Santa Anna), or the institutionalization of violence as a political tool (e.g. Augusto Pinochet). At the same time, some historians have argued that the lives of certain *caudillos* (e.g. Juan Manuel de Rosas or Rafael Carrera) reveal positive elements as well. Such works credit the *caudillo* with preserving order, building national identities, and establishing functioning governments, especially in the often chaotic years after independence. Thomas J. Dodd, a former U.S. ambassador to Uruguay and Costa Rica, makes a compelling case for this constructive side of *caudillismo* in his biography of Tiburcio Carías Andino, the Honduran president (1933–1949) whose administration he credits with ending a century of political and national fragmentation in that Central American country.

This work is less concerned with Carías the man than with Carías the nation builder. Here the *caudillo* remains somewhat in the shadows, intangible and inscrutable. Dodd draws a portrait of an imposing physical presence, but also of someone without a driving ideology, a leader who rarely traveled, who was a poor speaker, and who had a somewhat bland personality. He defines Carías by what he was not. In explicit contrast to his many contemporaries, Carías appears here not as a tyrant but as a "benevolent dictator" (p. 5). He was pragmatic and paternal, obsessed with bringing order and progress to Honduras, conscious of the need to centralize power, but surprisingly immune to the temptations of repression and corruption that absolute authority brings. In the end, unlike so many *caudillos*, Carías achieved the impossible: he gave up his office voluntarily, spent his retirement at home, and died a respected elder statesman.

Considering his political importance, Carías has received much scholarly attention over the years, and this biography does not break new interpretive ground. However, Dodd's study is satisfying in a number of ways. Through a careful review of local sources, including the use of extensive personal interviews, contemporary periodicals, and other documents, Dodd meticulously records the institutional transformation that Carías set in motion in Honduras. Although he was raised in the tradition of *caudillo* politics and its incessant wars, once in office Carías wasted little time in creating the foundations for a true state. By institutionalizing his National Party, centralizing authority in the presidency, coopting local and regional strongmen, creating national security forces (including an air force), developing a viable transportation and communications infrastructure, and demanding a fiscal policy of balanced budgets, Carías finally fulfilled the promises of the nineteenth-century Liberal Reform model. Of course, as Dodd notes, these transformations still left Honduras poorly prepared to address the growing social pressures of the twentieth-century, mass-based movements that brought the regime to an end in 1949 and made the *caudillo* a largely irrelevant political figure for the remaining twenty years of his life. In words that could be the epitaph for most *caudillos,* Dodd concludes that "Carías gave Honduras order but not progress" (p. 239).

Scholars of Central America have often raised the concept of Honduran exceptionalism as a means to explain the often striking differences between that country and its neighbors. Examples include Honduras's delayed political and economic development, its intense localism, and its domination by foreign multinationals and close allegiance to the United States. Many of these issues appear central to the rise to power of Carías, who is, in this account, quite exceptional, especially when compared to his brutal contemporaries Maximiliano Hernández Martínez of El Salvador and Jorge Ubico of Guatemala. Whether one is drawn to the issue of *caudillo* politics, state building in Latin America, or the unique history of Honduras, this biography will engage a wide readership, provide much material for reflection, and inspire further study.

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MARCELO BUCHELI. *Bananas and Business: The United Fruit Company in Colombia, 1899–2000.* New York University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 241. $45.00.

Marcelo Bucheli has crafted an excellent study of the United Fruit Company (UFC) in Colombia. Utilizing local UFC archives, and employing business theories

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such as the internalization of markets, the author offers an insightful exploration of how the company achieved a dominant position in Colombia, and its subsequent shift from the production to the marketing of bananas. Along the way, Bucheli examines UFC's relationship with the Colombian government, labor, and entrepreneurs. The one misstep in this fine performance comes when the author attempts to expand his study into a critique of dependency theory.

In exploring the UFC's development in Colombia, Bucheli offers a tale of two regions, Magdalena and Urabá. The company's Magdalena operations typified its activities during the first half of the twentieth century as an expanding U.S. consumer market for off-season fruit, and the highly perishable quality of bananas, drove a vertical integration process in which the company invested directly in the shipping and production of the fruit.

United Fruit's vertical integration allowed it to establish a virtual monopoly in the banana trade and a powerful position within producing nations including Colombia. As Bucheli points out, however, that exceptional position could not be maintained during the second half of the twentieth century. Among the factors eroding the UFC monopoly was post-World War II competition from frozen and canned fruit in the U.S. market. More important, the company faced an ever more challenging environment in Latin America. No later than the 1930s, labor movements and populist political parties demanded higher wages and improved living conditions for workers, as well as increased taxation and regulation by national governments. In Colombia these challenges emerged in graphic form when soldiers massacred striking Magdalena workers in 1928. Bucheli argues that the violence eventually contributed to pro-labor legislation from the Colombian government, and he points to these developments as typical of the increasingly risky environment that the company faced in Central and South America. The growing challenges prompted changes in the company's investment strategy.

By 1960, UFC was shifting its investments out of direct production to reduce the risks it faced from labor actions and state regulation. In Colombia that change in strategy caused UFC to shift its operations to the new Urabá banana district, where it relied on a subcontracting system with local growers. The company remained a locally powerful economic force even under these new arrangements. It provided essential loans, as well as fertilizers and technical assistance, but only to growers who signed production contracts that still allowed UFC to reject any fruit it did not find suitable. The company thus retained considerable control over the growing process while insulating itself from many of the problems arising from direct control of production. This arrangement hardly eliminated challenges to UFC's position. When the company slashed the price it was paying for Urabá bananas, the growers broke away from UFC to form their own marketing firm. Nor were the Colombian growers the most serious challenge UFC would face. In 1974, the Central American governments established an export consortium that raised taxes on banana multinationals, and during the 1990s the European Union set up a quota system that disadvantaged Latin American producers. As Bucheli clearly documents, UFC's once dominant position in the banana business had been seriously eroded.

The author offers a dispassionate analysis of the operations of a major U.S. multinational, but his study falters when he attempts to project his findings into a critique of dependency theory. Bucheli's view of dependency as a rigid construct characterized by total foreign corporate domination leads him to conclude that the eventual decline of UFC raises questions about dependency analysis. In fact, dependency relations involve the articulation of interests between local elites and foreign corporations that evolve over time to accommodate the priorities of both groups. UFC's mid-century decline was part of a larger process that included agricultural multinationals as well as foreign mining companies and utilities in Latin America. Yet during that same period, the growth of petroleum interests remained robust, and more importantly manufacturing multinationals rapidly became the cutting edge of a new and more complex dependency described in Peter Evans's classic *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State and Local Capital in Brazil* (1979). Over the past quarter-century, that relationship has further evolved and intensified as multilateral agencies such as the International Monetary Fund have ensured the adoption of policies that dramatically enhanced the dominance of multinational corporations in the region.

The fact that the broad theoretical critique falls short does not detract from a fine corporate history of a major multinational. That aspect of the book will make it must reading for business historians and those scholars concerned with larger issues such as globalization.

THOMAS O'BRIEN
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RICHARD J. WALTER. *Politics and Urban Growth in Santiago, Chile, 1891–1941*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 319. $65.00.

Richard J. Walter's *Politics and Urban Growth in Buenos Aires, 1910–1942* (1993) provided readers with an interesting examination of nitty gritty local politics and administration as well as an insightful description of that burgeoning and complex metropolis's demographic and spatial dynamics. Walter has now crossed the Andes to delve into these same general areas—local politics, municipal government, and urban transformation—in Santiago de Chile during the period spanning the fall and untimely death of President José Manuel Balmaceda in 1891 to the death (also untimely) of President Pedro Aguirre Cerda in 1941.

Accounts of modern Chilean political history tend be national in scope, with most attention paid to the many goings on in the capital. There are, of course, notable exceptions to this generalization. What is key here is

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that while Santiago has often been at the center of Chilean political history, historians have known relatively little about what transpired politically on the municipal level in the capital during most of the postindependence era. Walter's book focuses on the municipal council of Santiago, whose workings, internal conflicts, and relations with the national government give us considerable insight regarding broader national problems and circumstances. As was the case with his study of Buenos Aires, Walter enters the complicated world of municipal politics—contested by Conservatives, Liberals, Radicals, Democrats, Balmacedists, and others—by examining, to a certain extent, the relationship between local government and the development, financing, and operation of the city's foreign-owned electric streetcar company.

This book is about what today is "downtown" Santiago, or Santiago Centro; it is not a study of municipal politics and urban change in the surrounding suburbs of greater Santiago. Upon making this clarification, Walter brings to bear an array of sources, including travel accounts, newspapers, magazines, census figures, correspondence, and government publications to create a vivid description of local politics, warts and all, and urban transformation.

In the capital, where the streetcar system ferried people, in cars of and for different classes, beginning in 1900, elected municipal government appeared, as it did elsewhere in the country, when the smoke cleared from the Civil War of 1891, which toppled Balmaceda. The war inaugurated a period known as the Parliamentary Republic (1891–1925), which saw executive power at the national level greatly reduced, resulting in a much more powerful legislative branch. Consequences of this shift were incessant bickering in the Congress, ongoing and irresolvable conflicts between entrenched political parties, and a general political malaise that bogged down decision-making processes at a critical time of socioeconomic change. While most historians have understood what Chileans called *parlamentarismo* as a phenomenon that developed at the national level, Walter's excavation of municipal-level politics reveals that *parlamentarismo* had very deep roots and local manifestations in the body politic, as did corruption and other questionable activities of one kind or another.

Subsequent political turmoil, including more than one military intervention between 1924 and 1931, brought difficult times to local government in Santiago. A succession of mayors and local governing juntas struggled to address the needs of a municipality that was bulging at its seams, with new suburban development and expanding working and middle classes reshaping greater Santiago as well. Stability and democracy returned in 1932, signaling yet another transition for local government, and municipal elections were reestablished in 1935 after nearly a decade of local government controlled by officials hand-picked by national leaders.

Meanwhile, as Walter shows, the streetcar company in question and power generation facilities were sold to the U.S.-based American Foreign Power Company (AFP), reflecting a broader shift toward North American capital investment. With the onslaught of the Great Depression and the crippling of the Chilean economy, the newly elected municipal government of the mid-1930s not only had to deal with a financial crunch but also was under pressure from constituents to address the AFP's skyrocketing electricity rates.

Walter then moves on to the very interesting story of municipal government in the era of the Popular Front—a story that includes the fortunes of Santiago's (and Chile's) first female mayor, Graciela Contreras de Schnake, a Socialist, who assumed the important position in January 1939. Aguirre Cerda's Popular Front government allowed the municipal government to flex some muscle, as Contreras proposed new plans for further urban development. Among other things, Walter also shows how the Popular Front coalition's quick decay created significant political and administrative problems at the local level.

Concluding the book is a thoughtful comparison of Santiago and Buenos Aires, which, at least in terms of local politics and administration, makes the very different capitals seem more alike. The author also briefly takes the stories of Santiago and Buenos Aires into the 1990s, drawing attention to important issues facing municipal governments amid a continent-wide process of democratization.

Historians, urban geographers, political scientists, and many others will find great value in Walter's very detailed, informative, and well-written study. For too long, historians of Chile have failed to stop and investigate the intricacies of local government, and this book goes a long way in helping scholars piece together a political history of modern Chile from the bottom up.

PATRICK BARR-MELEJ
Iowa State University

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

B. M. LAVELLE. *Fame, Money, and Power: The Rise of Peisistratos and "Democratic" Tyranny at Athens*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 370. $65.00.

The three previously existing major studies specifically about Peisistratus were parts of general works: Fritz Schachermeyr's "Peisistratos" in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertums-wissenschaft* 19.1 (1937): 156–191; Antony Andrewes's "The Tyranny of Pisistratus" in the second edition of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 3, part 3 (1982): 392–470, and Loretana De Libero's excursus in *Die archaische Tyrannis* (1996): 50–116. Therefore, the first and so far the only scholarly book exclusively on Peisistratus and his tyranny in Athens should be welcome. But this is not the only merit of B. M. Lavelle's monograph.

Lavelle changes the question of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, in *Peisistratos and the Tyranny: A Reappraisal of the Evidence* (2000), from "Where did Pei-

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sistratos get his power?" into "How did Peisistratus manage to establish and, even more important, maintain his rule until his death in 527?" To answer the latter question, he departs from the traditional rationalizing of Peisistratus's tyranny as a form of aristocratic infighting. Lavelle's detailed examination of the surviving evidence about cultural, legal, religious, economic, military, ideological, and other aspects of Peisistratus's tyranny treats them as the ways in which Peisistratus built up popular support. The author's main thesis about Peisistratus's "democratic tyranny" might look surprising. But once "democratic" is understood as referring not to *demokratia* as a political system with its specific institutions and principles but to the support of the people (*demos*), Lavelle's approach becomes clear. From this point of view, his idea that the *demos* was a "partner" in the tyranny of Peisistratus (p. vii) follows naturally.

By emphasizing the importance of popular support for Peisistratus's tyranny, Lavelle does not argue against the idea about the political insignificance of the *demos*. Just the other way around: focusing on public support allows Lavelle to expose the regimes of Solon, Peisistratus, and Cleisthenes as representing a certain continuum. Whereas the idea about the continuity of public politics in Athens throughout the sixth century is not new, it has been rationalized in political terms: A. J. White spoke of Athenian politicians entreating the *demos*, irrespective of political regime, and Michael T. W. Arnheim, in *Aristocracy in Greek Society* (1977), while presenting Solon, Peisistratus, and Cleisthenes as a series of aristocratic "champions of the people," stressed the mutual dependence of the *demos* and such "champions." It is from this political perspective that Antony Andrewes, in *The Greek Tyrants* (1963), described the tyranny of Peisistratus as "preparing ground for democracy." Accentuating Peisistratus's social politics, Lavelle offers a more nuanced approach to the ways that allowed Peisistratus to largely preserve the Solonian "constitution" and which, in Lavelle's opinion, Cleisthenes would also use to secure social support for his own political reforms; the tyrant Peisistratus thus served as the model and "the prototype for later democratic leaders" (pp. 163, 166).

Whereas the intended readership is nowhere clearly indicated, explanations in passing, such as those for *metic* (p. 201: "a non-Athenian"), *mētroxenoi* (p. 321: "mother-foreignness" [sic]), or *klērouchoi* ("colonists"), suggest a general audience as well as college and graduate students. The extensive bibliography comprises mostly "mainstream" publications, leaving out, for example, Dimitris Paleothodoros, "Pisistrate et Dionysos: Mythes et réalités de l'érudition moderne," *Les Études classiques* 67 (1999): 321–340, and Harijs Tumans, "Ideological Aspects of the Authority of Peisistratus," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* 239 (2001): 12–45. The index, detailed as it is, would have benefited from avoiding repetition, as well as from paying more attention to non-English words and phrases. Further uniformity could be extended to transliteration and the use of italicized words. These and a few other minor slips, which are oversights of the press, cannot prevent this book, with its clear style, innovative approach, use of numerous sources of different kinds, and impressive bibliography, from gaining a well-deserved place on required reading lists in general surveys as well as upper-level classes and undergraduate and graduate seminars in history, political sciences, and sociology.

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ELKE STEIN-HÖLKESKAMP. *Das Römische Gastmahl: Eine Kulturgeschichte*. Munich: C. H. Beck. 2005. Pp. 364. €29.90.

The past two decades have seen an impressive amount of research on ancient convivial institutions, but this research has focused more on the archaic Greek symposium than on the Roman banquet (*convivium*). Rome is not altogether neglected, as, most recently, Catherine Dunbabin's splendid *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (2004) and Konrad Vössing's *Mensa regia: Das Bankett beim hellenistischen König und beim römischen Princeps* (2004) demonstrated. But the Roman banquet has never received the general overview that Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp presents in this book, which is aimed equally at the specialist scholar and the more general reader. The book covers the *convivium* in the period between Cicero and Pliny the Younger, and it gives an account of the basic stability as well as the developments and changes in this central institution of Roman aristocratic society. Unlike the antiquarians of a century ago, Stein-Hölkeskamp keeps carefully away from constructing an immutable ideal type. After all, for the Roman elite the banquet was the main space of communication and a major tool of self-representation (not only in the period on which this book focuses); and, at the same time, the discourses about the banquet that we receive from ancient authors give insight into the norms, ideals, and expectations of this same elite. The changes in the *convivium* mirror the considerable changes in Roman society between the time of Cicero and that of Trajan.

After a short introduction on method, with an amazing amount of name-dropping (from Max Weber to Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu), the author systematically leads the reader through all the aspects of the banquet as the central institution of Rome's elite. The first chapter explores the ubiquity of the banquet and its key role in the daily routine of a member of Rome's upper class (and those, like the rich freedmen, who imitated them). The following chapters present all relevant aspects along the sequencing of the event itself: the invitation, a surprisingly complex social ritual; the participants, from Cicero to the emperors, poets, and women, who had to be seated in hierarchically correct positions; the highly standardized time and the physical space of the *convivium*, its precious furniture and furnishings; the food, the wine, and the moralistic rejection of contemporary dining habits by the Stoic

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philosophers of the first century C.E.; the entertainment during the meal, from Cicero's serious recitations (often from his own writings) to the equally serious entertainment of Pliny the Younger, with the frivolities and, sometimes, obscenities of the Julio-Claudian aristocracy and the "new frugality of the Flavians" in between; and, finally, the end of the banquet and the moralists' discourse on late-night drinking. A short summary, maps, notes, an ample bibliography, and a prosopographical index, decidedly aimed at the general reader, conclude the book.

Stein-Hölkeskamp reaches her goal in a rich and impressive way: the book is a mine of sometimes rare and sometimes amusing information. The evidence she uses is mostly literary; only rarely does she look at archeological or epigraphical material. The author is well aware of the drawback of such an approach, as her introduction shows. Literary texts can rarely be used as simple sources for social practices; but Stein-Hölkeskamp insists, against Jacques Derrida, that "*le hors-texte, il existe*" (p. 10). That might well be true, but it is also true that different literary genres have their own ways of interacting with reality. The author succeeds unequally in her dealing with the various genres: she is successful when dealing with prose texts, satire, and Martial's epigrams: here, the distance between textual representation and reality is either short or the rules of transformation are easily understood. She is less convincing with other poetic texts, especially Roman elegy: her tendency to read Catullus, Tibullus ("a studiously frivolous young man"; p. 236), and Propertius in a rather simplistic and autobiographical way leads to strange distortions. Similarly, she is not always aware of the ways that the dominance of certain genres in a specific epoch distorts her picture, most blatantly perhaps in her overview of entertainment during the *convivium*. Her focus on Cicero for the late republic makes her overlook the very different picture presented in Catullus, or the possibility that already in the late second century senators might have produced quite lascivious "Hellenizing" epigrams for their banquets.

Still, Stein-Hölkeskamp has produced a highly informative cultural history that most of the time leaves antiquarian positivism resolutely behind. She is strongest when dealing with texts that are straightforward, and with the material things of the banquet, and her book should be consulted by anyone—scholar and general reader alike—who is interested in the details of this most Roman of institutions, and its marked difference from the Greek symposium.

FRITZ GRAF
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FLORIN CURTA, editor. *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 391. $75.00.

This excellent anthology on East Central and Eastern Europe *ca*. 500–1000 consists of eleven essays by scholars from eight countries. Half are expanded versions of papers delivered at three sessions of the 2000 and 2001 International Congresses on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Michigan, and the remainder were solicited by editor Florin Curta. The book is organized in three parts. Part one, "Economic and Social Structures," contains four essays. Joachim Henning uses comparative archaeological analysis of settlement patterns, agricultural structures, and tools from Pliska in Bulgaria and Büraburg-Fritzlar in north Hesse, Germany, to conclude that an economic boundary underlay the contrast between decentralized West and centralized East European political systems. Farmsteads or "true" villages, which appeared in the West in the fourth and fifth centuries, permitted landlords to reap greater agricultural surpluses in the manorial system, whereas the central government in the East could collect rent directly from more dispersed farms. Ironically, the "normal" East European system, found almost everywhere along the Mediterranean, was displaced by force after 1000 when new states imposed the manorial system. Thus the "abnormal" Western system became the "normal" system for the East. This highly compressed essay is the most challenging in the volume. Paul M. Barford analyses Polabian (former East German) and Polish archaeology to consider the significance of "strongholds" and situate the northwest Slavs in European history. Alexandru Madgearu relies on finds of spurs, never used by nomads, to postulate the existence of Slavic and Romanian military organizations in Transylvania, whose salt mines were controlled in absentia by nomadic powers. Nikolai I. Petrov examines the archaeological evidence of Ladoga, Ryurik's stronghold [*Riurikovo gorodishche*], and Novgorod to discuss Scandinavian-Russian interaction and early Rus' political history; his article is marred by the quaint assumption that Ryurik existed and the "tale of the summoning of the Varangians" is reliable.

Part two, "The Rise of the State," comprises three essays. Przemyslaw Urbańczyk presents a "sweeping survey" of early Slavic economic, social, and political history and early state formation in which he combines previously contradictory continuity and migration models of early Slavic social history by positing continental continuity and regional migration, emphasizes the importance of the Avars in "promoting" the Slavs, suggests that peoples "became Slavic" by adopting the Slavs' culture and language, and accentuates the contingent role of elite political leadership over "national" and social and economic formation interpretations in state formation. This breathtakingly revisionist overview is the broadest and most conceptually exciting article in the book. Tsvetelin Stepanov fruitfully compares Bulgar-Byzantine and Uighur-T'ang Chinese relations, highlighting the "steppe reflexes" of the Bulgars and adding an Inner Asian, Eurasian perspective to the anthology. Andrzej Buko employs archaeology to propose a new scenario for the rise of the Piast Polish state as a rapid, violent, not natural or organic, development. (Unfortunately, his old-fashioned contrast between Poland and Rus' as "two distinct worlds sepa-

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rated by different cultural and religious options" [p. 171] is belied by Jonathon Shepard's article in part three.)

Part three, "Conversion," presents four essays. Curta contests the archaeological evidence that supposedly corroborated the spread of Christianity north of the Danube during the sixth and seventh centuries; since Justinian's political priorities lay elsewhere, he argues, there was no incentive for missionary activity. Roman K. Kovalev employs numismatic evidence to resolve, perhaps decisively, the controversy over the date of the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism. Three new issues of coins in 837–838 propagated a new Khazar identity via Khazar, Jewish (Moses), and Turkic (the tamgha) symbolism, which failed because the coins were all immediately exported to Rus' and the Baltic and did not reach their intended audience, Arabic-reading Muslims. Shepard presents the "parallel courses" of Boleslav the Brave in Poland and Vladimir Sviatoslavich of Rus' in utilizing religious sacral space to offset weak dynastic legitimacy, suggesting "mutual emulation" may underline the Gniezno events of 1000, a superior approach to Buko's obiter dictum. Márta Font surveys the interaction of missionary activity and power legitimization in East Central Europe within the context of both Ottonian and Byzantine imperial influence, in the process providing an explanation for the absence of coronation in Kievan Rus': Byzantium was so far away that Rus' did not need to validate its political independence ceremonially.

In his preface, Curta lays out the ambitious scholarly agenda motivating this project, which is nothing less than the integration of East Central and Eastern Europe into medieval continental European history. As if eleven high-quality essays, enhanced by numerous illustrations of archaeological evidence, were not fulfillment enough, Curta has also written an extensive introduction defining terms (and insisting on the inclusion of Kievan Rus' within the frame of reference), evaluating "national" schools of archaeology, and providing his own commentary on each article, and prepared an eighty-four-page bibliography, with general and thematic sections, of English-language works, many in inaccessible Eastern European journals and anthologies. Curta's preface, introduction, essay, and bibliography account for over forty percent of the pages of this volume.

The essays, despite a handful of typographical and editorial errors, are all well written, for which the editor deserves major credit. It is odd that entries in the bibliography include publishers omitted in the chapter endnotes, and that the bibliography contains a citation in German. There is one egregious bibliographic error: the Armenian, not American, History attributed to Sebeos (p. 299).

This volume constitutes a persuasive argument in favor of treating East Central European and Balkan history together. Curta has thus more than adequately followed up his award-winning *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, ca. 500–700* (2001); his and the other contributors' forthcoming publications will further advance the laudable goals of this anthology.

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ROBERT F. BERKHOFER III. *Day of Reckoning: Power and Accountability in Medieval France*. (The Middle Ages.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 270.

In this strongly structured, beautifully written, and thoughtfully argued book, Robert F. Berkhofer III shows a welcome generosity of spirit, acknowledging and accommodating many scholars' work and straddling a vexatious chronological divide. His focus is on evolving forms of monastic property management in the twelfth century, but he begins with a fine chapter on the ninth. What drove change? Once upon a time, readers might have expected a nuts-and-bolts "It's the economy!" This book gives and elicits more complicated responses. The first part, drawing on material from five judiciously chosen northern French monasteries, shows textual genres (charters, lists of properties, "deeds of abbots," cartularies) being employed, refurbished, spliced, and caulked by memory to fill a variety of uses, including the managerial, by *ca.*1000. Ninth-century Carolingian policies of "divide-and-rule" were embodied in charters earmarking lands to sustain the monks or canons (the *mensa*), a distinct "patrimony," while other monastic lands controlled by abbot and/or king were devoted to securing lay patronage and service. A "tradition of patrimonial management" conserved rights by performing duties: the aim of Folquin of St. Bertin, assiduously selecting and editing his monastery's documents *ca.* 962, and grouping estates to provide the *ministerium* of alms-giving, "was not 'administrative' in any managerial sense, but concerned 'ministering' in a broader sense" (p. 39). Documentary elaboration before 1000, Berkhofer thinks, had more to do with monastic identities than with economics.

The rest of the book traces the monasteries' "increasing written comprehension" (p. 72) of their property rights and a growing concern to maximize profits. From the eleventh century onward, papal privileges exempting monasteries from episcopal control included enumerations of estates supplied by the monks themselves. Berkhofer sees not only such documents, and episcopal and comital confirmations thereof, but lists of renders and rents, and cartularies, too, as "signs of an administrative mentality," though he admits that cartularies could evince such "traditional impulses" as organization by rank of donor. Threats posed to monastic property by powerful laymen (the counts of Flanders to St. Bertin and St. Vaast, for instance), could spur abbots and their agents to such defense-by-administration as the creation of lists of rents and renders; other spurs were the arbitrary "reforming" papal interventions into monastic management that were sometimes the downside (from the monks' standpoint) of exemption. More

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fundamental than documentary forms in the turn to administration was a "psychological acceptance of change" (p. 88) and manifest intent to increase return on landed capital. Unsurprisingly, the archexemplar of such "economic reform" was Suger of St. Denis (pp. 98–99, 104–108). Even here, where there was growing income from "miscellaneous ... rents and rights," Berkhofer acknowledges much that was "traditional" and "borrowed from Carolingian models" (pp. 101, 103). Further, unlike lay princes, abbots had not taken to keeping annual accounts of income (pp. 160–161): it might be difficult, then, to accept an often-voiced argument that ecclesiastical administrators were trailblazers for the laity. Berkhofer has found evidence for abbots' occasional success in demanding good performance from their monastic officers and also from such lay agents as mayors and bailiffs, whose marriages were carefully monitored by the abbot's provost and who also had to make and periodically renew oaths to carry out their *ministerium* as required. Here again, however, Berkhofer acknowledges that the threat of nonheritability for these offices (as indeed for those at higher levels) was "a useful negotiating strategy for abbots" rather than a regularly imposed sanction (pp. 138, 146, 156). Although the " 'audit' slowly developed" (p. 147), Berkhofer admits that little written evidence survives. When a monastic administrator wrote, *ca.*1170, that he had in front of him a polyptych of 866, and there are in fact evident similarities between the rights and renders specified in the ninth century and the twelfth, it is hard to escape continuity. "An on-site audit" conducted by Guimann of St. Vaast in 1169 is unlikely to have differed much from similar encounters several hundred years earlier, when Carolingian polyptychs (and before them, Merovingian estate documents from Tours) imply that they occurred.

Were the "new techniques" of the twelfth century so new, then? Were "cartularies as expressions of power" twelfth-century discoveries? Were "days of reckoning" any less real events in the imaginations of ninth-century holders of local *ministeria* than they were for twelfth-century mayors who treated their offices as "minor quasi-lordships" and "proto-lordships"? Was there indeed a "new culture of power"? The first part of Berkhofer's book, and his own repeated recognition of continuities both in recording techniques and in the conditions of monastic existence, suggest that the signs of the new have been a self-fulfilling prophecy for modern specialists in the history of the twelfth century. Not the least strength of Berkhofer's book is that it supplies evidence on which a reader can make up his or her own mind. In twelfth-century Europe, northern France and Flanders present, if not a typical region, then an exceptionally interesting and dynamic one—which just happens to lie within the heart of former Carolingian Francia. Change occurred all right, and not just quantitative but qualitative. In explaining it, psychology, or mentalities of accountability, will only take us so far. Berkhofer recognizes this in an all-too-fleeting paragraph on the twelfth-century boom as context for monastic thinking (p. 92). It may be time to revisit Marc Bloch's good old triad of changes—demography, money, and communications—in light of recent work on the material culture of the ninth and tenth centuries. It is the economy that points to Berkhofer's evolution rather than revolution.

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DAMIEN COULON. *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient au Moyen Âge*. Un siècle de relations avec l'Égypte et la Syrie–Palestine (*ca.* 1330–*ca.* 1430.) Madrid: Casa de Velazquez. 2004. Pp. xiii, 933.

The aim of this work by Damien Coulon is to enhance the role of the port of Barcelona as the head of the crown of Aragon's Mediterranean trade, comparing it to the importance of Venice and Genoa. The book follows the path of previous works such as Charles E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne et le Magrib aux XIII^e^ et XIV^e^ siècles* (1966), and María Dolores López Pérez, *La Corona de Aragón y el Magreb en el siglo XIV* (1995), which begins where Dufourcq stopped. What is new about Coulon's argument is his focus on the eastern Mediterranean, and the fact that no general synthesis has yet been written about this particular commercial destination, although partial studies on diplomacy or certain types of trade already exist.

Several of Coulon's arguments challenge existing historiography on the subject. First, he stresses the Levant trade to Syria and Egypt, instead of the one to North Africa. Second, he emphasizes the importance of Barcelona, as opposed to other ports like Valencia or Mallorca, due to a specialization in their destinations. Finally, Coulon's narrative begins with the influence of papal policies and crusade and the diplomatic activity of the crown of Aragon as the main elements conditioning the development of trading activities, instead of these being relegated to the last part of the work. Several types of sources are used to build up a comprehensive view of Aragonese commerce along the Rhodes-Cyprus-Beirut/Damascus-Alexandria-Cairo axes, from diplomatic treaties, papal and royal trading licenses, royal registers, oaths of ship patrons kept in the Cathedral of Barcelona's registers, to account books of traders and bankers, and insurance letters. All are carefully cited at the end of the study (pp. 623–642).

The book is divided into three parts. In the first one, Coulon analyzes not only papal restrictions and licenses in the context of economic profit and secular interests but also the evolution of Aragon's relations with the Mamluk sultans from James II to Alfonso V. The latter's change of focus in Mediterranean diplomacy, conditioned by his ambitions in Naples and his alliance with the Knights Hospitaller in Rhodes, involved a vital change to the trading routes, encouraged by changes in the capacity of the merchant fleet and the conditions of navigation. Mamluk taxation policies are also discussed, showing the contrasting interests of the Islamic powers involved, both the sultan himself and his subordinate officers. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and trade be-

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came intertwined, as happened in the traffic between England and Flanders and the crown of Castile via the road to Santiago.

The second part of the book deals with commerce itself, first analyzing the trading techniques used and their difference from Italian trends. Coulon concludes that the considerable investments made in Syrian and Egyptian trade following the break-up of the Mongol Empire (*ca.*1340) fell sharply as a result of the plague, the wars with Castile, and the raid on Alexandria by the king of Cyprus in 1365. Recovery can be seen after the 1370s, with a peak during the 1430s. Based on *commenda* contracts, the next chapters are devoted to products of commerce, divided into exports (textiles; precious materials such as silver, coral, or amber; saffron, metals, leather, and food) and imports (spices, especially ginger from Syria and pepper from Alexandria; rubber and resins, cotton and linen fibers, sugar, tissues, and slaves).

The third part of the book focuses on the human element. Although merchants were not the only individuals involved in trade (courtiers, bankers, drapers, apothecaries, and others were also interested in it), a slow trend toward professionalization occurred as investments increased. The richest businessmen belonged to the economic elite of Barcelona (*Consell de Cent*), who had broad capacities to manage Levant trade but were not the ruling oligarchy of the city. Geographical origins of merchants, the role of women and minorities such as Jews and, later, *conversos*, and the involvement of Egyptian and Syrian merchants are also assessed.

Probably one of the strongest aspects of this book is the enormous attention given to charts, tables, and graphics as means to condense a great deal of information. Unfortunately, graphics only make their appearance in the third part of the book; one would assume that they would have been very useful in showing, for instance, seasonal variations of traffic (pp. 184–185) or the percentages of *commendas* to different destinations (p. 227), which are difficult to understand in table form.

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Fernando Serrano Larráyoz. *Medicina y enfermedad en la corte de Carlos III* El Noble *de Navarra (1387–1425)*. (Temas de Historia de la Medicina, number 2.) Pamplona, Spain: Gobierno de Navarra. 2004. Pp. 289. €7.00.

In this book Fernando Serrano Larráyoz responds to Luis García Ballester's 1977 call to elucidate medical practice in medieval Spain. Serrano Larráyoz's main objective is simply to place medical practice at Navarra's court in the wider context of European medicine of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Making many comparisons to the courts of France, Aragon, and Castile, he finds little unique or lacking among the doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries of Navarra. Serrano Larráyoz uses contracts, correspondence, and other royal documents held at the Archivo General de Navarra to piece together the careers of dozens of medical professionals employed by the king and his entourage. Although the author never explains if the reign of Charles III is particularly illustrative of the epoch, it becomes clear that medical practice at the end of the fourteenth century was deeply affected by the lingering effects of the Black Death and the growth of medieval universities. This is not to say that this book makes any wider claims about broad European trends; the author sticks closely to the specific medical activities of the royal court in Navarra and assumes that readers have a clear understanding of developments in medicine in Spain and Western Europe. Serrano Larráyoz does pay special attention to Spain's "three civilizations"—Jews, Christians, and Muslims—and their contributions to medicine at court. The book may therefore be especially useful for scholars interested in medieval Judaism and Islam.

Serrano Larráyoz organizes his study by medical profession, beginning with the doctors and surgeons at court, and works his way down the pay scale to apothecaries, midwives, wet-nurses, healers, astrologers, and veterinarians. He highlights the strong Jewish presence among the doctors at court: sixty percent of court physicians were Jews. He also focuses on the difference in education among physicians. Christian doctors benefited from attending universities in Salamanca, Paris, and Bologna, whereas Jews and all other medical practitioners (women, surgeons, Muslims) learned their trades through the tutelage of parents or members of their immediate communities. The fact that Navarra did not have a university meant that its native Christian doctors had traveled elsewhere for an education or, more often, that the court recruited its physicians from other parts of Europe.

Fewer surgeons and barber-surgeons than doctors at court were Jewish; Christians and Muslims tended to dominate the less elevated medical professions. Muslims very often served as astrologers to the court, for instance. The author pays particular attention to the presence of women serving in several medical professions. Women with the proper training were sought after as midwives, although their expertise extended to all aspects of women's health. A few women earned reputations independently as surgeons and healers, while others worked under the aegis of a father or husband. Serrano Larráyoz is also clearly interested in the practice of medicine throughout society but hindered by the sparse documentation. He concludes that the medical practitioners he examines were monopolized by the court elite, leaving much of the rest of medieval Navarrese society without such access to medical practitioners. Consequently, the regulation of medical experts in Navarra was in its infancy.

Serrano Larráyoz argues, then, that Navarra was typical rather than unique among the courts of Iberia and France in its medical culture. His particular interest in

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Jewish doctors and Islamic medical knowledge at court, however, raises the question of the Basques. Basque, it seems, is subsumed in the author's use of the term *Navarro*. Was there any peculiar Basque—or Navarrese—folk medicine used in the towns of Navarra? Serrano Larráyoz does not raise the question. It is likely that the author's interests and the available documentation concern the three most developed medical traditions: Jewish, Muslim, and Christian. Considering the similarities in the court at Pamplona to other courts in Aragon, Castile, and France, this book demonstrates, much like Renato Barahona's recent *Sex Crimes, Honour, and Law in Early Modern Spain: Vizcaya 1528–1735* (2003), that the Basque country of northern Spain is more representative of other parts of Western Europe than distinctive.

This book documents the minutiae of the medical events and practice in Charles III's court. It will serve historians of science and medicine well, therefore, as a discrete example of the practicalities of medicine in an elite setting. Historians of medieval Judaism will also find evidence of the importance of Jews serving an exemplary Iberian royal court. The detailed appendixes containing dozens of remedies (herbs, unguents, etc.), their uses, and their prices will be of particular use to historians researching medieval medicine. However, questions and arguments regarding larger trends and developments in European medical history are only discursively introduced and are sacrificed to chronicling medical careers at court.

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Piers D. Mitchell. *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 293. $75.00.

Every crusader took huge risks. Battle wounds, accidents, disease, malnutrition, and sometimes complete collapse were integral parts of the crusade experience. Death rates were high, even among the nobility, who were better fed and protected than the foot soldiers and ordinary pilgrims. In any expedition that lasted two to three years Piers D. Mitchell suggests a mortality rate of twenty-five to thirty-five percent for the upper classes, divided almost equally between deaths from injuries and deaths from malnutrition and disease. Although armor improved over the two centuries covered by this book, weaponry remained fearfully effective. The mace, for example, could crush bones and soft tissue beneath the hauberk without actually penetrating the mail, and even if the blows did not kill, they rendered the recipient incapable of resisting a following thrust with a sword or spear. (In this context, the survival of an overweight knight whose abundant flesh had protected his vital organs from a blow by a lance provides one of the few recent examples of a good press for obesity.) As well as battle injuries, accidents were frequent: Godfrey of Bouillon nearly bled to death when he severed an artery in his leg with his own sword; Fulk of Anjou was killed by his saddle after he had been pitched off his horse; John Comnenus caught his hand on the head of an arrow he was about to fire; Henry of Champagne fell out of a window. Moreover, there is no knowing how many survived yet suffered the effects for the rest of their lives. Kicks from horses or domestic animals often led to osteomyelitis as a result of the introduction of bacteria into the bone marrow. Richard de Templo's bitter denunciation of the critics of the participants in the Third Crusade rings true, for they gave no thought to those who returned to England crippled or debilitated for life.

The themes of this book are therefore central to the history of the crusades, yet this is the first systematic, full-length study of crusade medicine. Given the skills needed, this is hardly surprising; the usual approach is for a historian and a doctor to work together in the manner of Urban T. Holmes, Jr. and Frederick R. Weedon in their article on the diagnostic skills of Peter of Blois (*Speculum*, 1962). Mitchell is, however, a practicing surgeon, who has made a specialist study of crusader medicine, and the result is a fascinating account that both tests the assertions of the past and brings to bear the new techniques of the present. Among the latter, probably the most important is palaeopathology, a science that is advancing all the time, and that enables the researcher to seek answers beyond the reach of those who rely only on contemporary written texts. The author shows that much was learned in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, arguing that the major contribution of the crusades and the crusader states was in the development of practical medicine rather than in the translation of texts, which was more characteristic of Toledo and Sicily. Thus, the study of skeletal remains shows that a serious wound, although a high possibility, was not invariably a death sentence; many men recovered as a result of the skills developed by doctors over the period. Much thought was applied to the provision of field hospitals for immediate aid, to the surgical treatment of injuries, to the provision of analgesics for operations, and to the furthering of knowledge through autopsies. This was underpinned by the practice of licensing medical practitioners, possibly the earliest system of this kind in the Latin world, and by the expansion of the services available in hospitals, such as those of the Order of St. John, which began to provide medical treatment as well as shelter and care.

Nevertheless, Mitchell does not seek to exaggerate the advances. Many men were still lost, especially to disease, while most surgeons were careful to undertake only those operations that they knew had a good chance of success, an understandable attitude given the penalties for medical negligence, real or alleged. It was not until Arnold of Villanova's 1310 treatise that a proper series of recommendations on the medical care of an army on the move appeared, knowledge that would have saved many lives in earlier crusades.

This is an excellent book, enlightening on several areas of medieval life beyond its specific subject. Most importantly, Mitchell shows that, although authority

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and academic training remained important, the pressures of life in the crusader states equally encouraged a search for empirical knowledge that could be applied in a practical way to the immediate problems of a frontier society.

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LINDA OLSON and KATHRYN KERBY-FULTON, editors. *Voices in Dialogue: Reading Women in the Middle Ages*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 508. $50.00.

The "Voices in Dialogue" of the title are those of medieval women and men who collaborated in the production of texts. But the title also refers to modern scholars in dialogue. In an innovative arrangement, the book is arranged as a set of discussions in which one scholar comments on another's article. The structure works effectively and lends the volume a greater focus than many traditional collections of essays.

Editors Linda Olson and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton did not provide a set format for the dialogues, and various authors interpret in different ways their assignment to comment on colleagues' articles. In some instances, the respondent provides a counterpoint. For example, to Alfred Thomas's contribution on a Czech text satirizing Wycliffite women, Dyan Elliott turns to contemporary anti-Lollard texts and asks why the amorous female teacher is more important in one set of representations than the other. Elizabeth Schirmer discusses the way nuns at Syon Abbey read texts of vernacular theology, focusing especially on the *Myrour of Oure Ladye*, and Steven Justice responds by taking up some of the same issues with regard to a different text, *The Chastising of God's Children*. These pairs of contributions highlight the importance of comparative study: across cultures, genres, or simply different texts.

In other pairs, the respondent provides a broad context for the original article. Alison I. Beach discusses the role of twelfth-century nuns at Admont in editing the sermons preached to them, and John Van Engen widens the discussion to twelfth-century women writers (not just nuns) across Europe, arguing that we need to see outstanding women like Hildegard against a background of more numerous but less well-known writers. Mark Vessey responds to Catherine Conybeare's close analysis of particular letters of Augustine to women with a more general discussion of different types of women's literacy in the late antique world. In a scholarly world that includes people whose strength lies in close analysis of sources and those whose strength lies in seeing the big picture, pairings like these might be the best way to present both. There is no inherent reason why such a combination of approaches needs to involve two scholars. Beach, for example, has elsewhere demonstrated her ability to see the big picture, and Van Engen has published extensively on manuscripts and source analysis. These juxtapositions work, not because they allow both contributors to play to their strengths, but because they make particularly vivid these two different tasks of the scholar and the value to be found in each.

These pairings would be useful jumping-off points for teachers wishing to illustrate the value of comparative study, or of integrating the particular detail and the general overview. Another type of pairing—articles that take opposite stands on an issue—is also useful for its pedagogical value, reminiscent of the readers focused around "problems" that many historians of a certain age remember from their college days. Stephen Jaeger and Giles Constable, for example, disagree on the attribution of the "Epistolae duorum amantium" to Abelard and Heloise (Constable arguing that the attribution is not sufficiently proven). Constable suggests that the difference between their views stems from their different disciplinary approaches: as a historian, Constable wants confirmation of historical details, rather than stylistic analysis. He would like to see the woman refer to their love being thwarted by her uncle, but it is hard to see why this would be any more convincing than the references already in the letters themselves. Many women in medieval Europe had uncles, and there were possibly even more women with uncles named Fulbert than women who could be described as unique and universally admired for their abilities in philosophy. Stylistic analysis seems to me the only way to shed new light on the attribution of these texts. That does not mean that Jaeger is right; the discussion continues in the pages of European and North American journals, and is not likely to be resolved soon. But literature and history are not separate magisteria, and they need to use many of the same tools.

The question of methodological difference also arises in the exchange between Nicholas Watson and Felicity Riddy on Margery Kempe as author of her *Book*. Watson disagrees with some earlier scholarship in focusing on a real woman's account of her experiences rather than a fictionalization either by the female author or a male scribe, whereas Riddy thinks that the question of whether Margery or her scribe was the author is pointless. This difference is not one between disciplines: both scholars are in the field of literature, and Riddy's work here and elsewhere is hardly that of an ahistorical New Critic. Rather, the debate is in part about different visions of what it means to write or author a text.

Indeed, if such a rich and diverse book can be said to have a focus, this is it: what does it mean to write a text? Whose text is it anyway? A reader who is implicit in a letter, a religious community for whom a devotional text is written (as in Mary Jane Morrow's article on Anselm and the Shaftesbury Psalter, with David N. Bell's response) or who chant a liturgy (as in Katherine Zieman's article on the Bridgettines and Margot Fassler's response), a copyist who is also an editor and makes major changes to a text can all be said to have some share in authorship, or at least a voice. Tied to the question of authorship is that of authorization. While Olson's introductory essay focuses on the complexities

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of the concepts of literacy and of authorship, arguing that writing was in many ways a collective process, Kerby-Fulton discusses the space for expression of women's voices in medieval religion, not just nuns and mystics writing for other women but a variety of women speaking and writing to mixed audiences (orthodox as well as heretical). Articles by Fiona Somerset, Zieman, Watson, and Genelle Gertz-Robinson (with responses by Kerby-Fulton, Fassler, Riddy, and David Wallace) take up the theme and discuss ways in which women could, and could not, teach and preach.

If one thing is missing in this book it is women's voices (and men's voices discussing women) outside the realm of religion: a realm central to medieval culture, of course, but not coextensive with it. Abelard and Heloise fall at least partly outside the bounds of religious thought, as does Christine de Pisan, discussed by Alcuin Blamires and Barbara Newman along with a variety of other secular (and religious) writers. But, as Newman argues, many women did not claim creativity for themselves (nor did men claim it for them) because they were authorized to speak only if inspired by God, who provided their creative intelligence.

The articles as a whole make clear that women were central to medieval writing: they wrote, they collaborated, they constituted an audience. And they were central to medieval religion as well, not just as an audience but also as shapers of the tradition. This shaping, of course, was possible at some moments more than others. It is the juxtaposition of the study of certain moments with the overview of women's literary activity that makes this collection so worthwhile.

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ELIZABETH MAKOWSKI. *"A Pernicious Sort of Woman": Quasi-Religious Women and Canon Lawyers in the Later Middle Ages*. (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, number 6.) Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xxxiii, 170. $44.95.

This thoughtful, competent, and original study succeeds mainly as a contribution to the understanding of ideals and realities of late medieval canon law. Elizabeth Makowski employs the subject of the legal status of "quasi-religious women" (primarily secular canonesses, beguines, and tertiaries) to demonstrate the existence of three levels of relevant evidence: papal legislation, canonistic glossing of papal legislation, and practical rulings arising from case law. Her most impressive findings are twofold. First, the respected canonists who commented on papal legislation were almost universally hostile to quasi-religious women. (The most authoritative of them, Johannes Andreae, equated beguinages with whorehouses.) Yet, secondly, in the instances Makowski adduces, practicing canon lawyers paid very little attention to the glossators. Despite the contemporary maxim that "the court accepts an argument only if it can be found in the gloss," Makowski shows that the legal experts who issued specific judgments "violated that dictum time and again" (p. 141). The result was that they were often more favorable to quasi-religious women than they should have been had they abided by the glossators. In her most eloquent example, such independent-minded lawyers rescued the Sisters of the Common Life in 1397–1398 from the onslaught of inquisitors. Throughout Makowski excels in close readings. For example, the central papal decree against the beguines, *Cum de quibusdam mulieribus*, contains a saving clause that countenances the continued existence of faithful women living "*in suis hospitiis*," evidently meaning some form of communal living. But a glossator undermined this, distorting the term *hospitium* to mean *domus* (home) and thereby deciding that the pope meant to excuse only those women who lived privately.

Valuable as it is as a contribution to understanding the texts and workings of late medieval canon law, this study is less valuable as a means for appraising the actual fortunes of late medieval quasi-religious women. Makowski would like to endow us with the happy thought that varieties of informal women's religious groups proliferated in the later Middle Ages because practicing lawyers had a tendency to intervene for them. But one fact is certain regarding at least the history of German beguines: after the papacy and glossators struck out against them in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, they were continually on the defensive. Indeed, "free beguines" who lived without the oversight of the mendicant orders virtually disappeared. Moreover at the start of the fifteenth century even beguines who had accepted mendicant (primarily Franciscan) oversight—so-called "tertiaries"—were driven out of many cities of southwest Germany and the Rhineland: Basel, Bern, Freiburg/Switzerland, Constance, Strassburg, Mainz. As a chronicler of Basel stated with apparent glee, new rulings brought fear to the "entire rabble." And unfortunately for Makowski's thesis, these new rulings were formulated or upheld by legal experts entirely parallel to those who defended the Sisters of the Common Life. In 1404, the town council of Strassburg ordered that all beguines, including tertiaries, abandon their way of life on the basis of a determination of local canon lawyers; in 1411 Basel expropriated all its beguines and tertiaries with the support of rulings by canonists of Heidelberg. Thus the example of lawyers rescuing the Sisters of the Common Life cannot stand without qualification as representative. Makowski's title, "A Pernicious Sort of Woman" (quoted from the authoritative canonist Hostiensis) does not really fit her book, which ultimately argues that "the [closer] we inspect the writings of the men whose job it was to interpret ecclesiastical enactments impinging upon quasi-religious women, the more that work sometimes surprises us by its failure to conform to preconceived ideas and traditions" (p. 148). But perhaps for Germany it is the right title after all.

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NANCY BRADLEY WARREN. *Women of God and Arms: Female Spirituality and Political Conflict, 1380–1600.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. 264. $55.00.

In 1532, Henry VIII, king of England, traveled across the Channel to meet with Francis I of France and secure an alliance between the two countries. Henry, fully cognizant of the opposition at home and abroad to the Act of Supremacy, his divorce from Catherine of Aragon, and his plans to wed Anne Boleyn, desperately needed to strengthen his position both nationally and internationally. Following his return to England, however, seditious rumors began to spread about a divine vision received by the English Benedictine nun Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent. Barton claimed to have been invisibly present when Henry attended Mass in Calais, having been miraculously transported there from her Canterbury convent. As a sign of God's displeasure, the king was denied the consecrated host by an angel, who removed it from the hands of the priest and offered it to Barton instead. This revelation is less well-known today than Barton's often-cited prophecy that Henry would lose his kingdom within a month, if he proceeded with the divorce and remarried. Nevertheless, in an excellent example of detailed and nuanced historical reconstruction, Nancy Bradley Warren reveals how it illustrates the struggle for ideological control between the king and his opponents. Warren demonstrates that the vision countered Henry's own use of religious ceremony. She further argues that it "struck at the heart of Henry VIII's foreign policy and, perhaps even more significantly, at the heart of his representation of the English monarchy" (p. 9). Barton's revelation made it clear that Henry was no longer part of the community of Christians. It represented a fundamental challenge to Henry's self-declared identity as supreme head of the English church.

The Holy Maid of Kent's eucharistic vision provides just one example of the sort of international activity that Warren convincingly shows to have been closely tied to a range of manifestations of women's piety in the late medieval and early modern periods. The central argument of her book is straightforward: "female spirituality is an arena in which women can themselves engage, and can be engaged by others, in political actions" (p. 10). While this claim, of itself, is neither particularly new nor contentious, the volume does important work in examining the complex and sometimes contradictory nature of women's interventions in public life. The scope of this lucid and scholarly study is impressive. Warren discusses England, continental Europe, and the New World; and she spans the two hundred years from the late fourteenth century to the end of the sixteenth century. She examines a range of women: Catholics and Protestants, nuns and laywomen, queens and prophets. Alongside Barton, her subjects are St. Colette of Corbie, Margaret of York, Anne d'Orléans, Christine de Pisan, and Margaret of Anjou (especially in relation to the legacy of that woman of God and arms *par excellence*, Joan of Arc), Isabel of Castile, Elizabeth I, and Marie Champney and Elizabeth Sanders, two Brigittine nuns in exile. The only possible weakness of this volume is the implication that it is only when female spirituality develops a political dimension that it has real cultural significance, that, in order to count, pious women have to pass from the private into the public sphere. Nevertheless, Warren is careful not to subordinate women's religious practices entirely to political motivations.

One of the great strengths of Warren's study is the extent to which she actively resists traditional boundaries. Warren's study is primarily historical rather than literary. In this respect (as in many others), it is akin to Warren's previous monograph: the deservedly well-received *Spiritual Economies: Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England* (2001). Her sources include monastic records, state papers, and military manuals as well as saints' lives and devotional works. Nevertheless, Warren brings to her reading of history a sophisticated theoretical edge more often associated with contemporary textual analysis. By not limiting herself to a study of either Catholic or Protestant female piety, Warren is able to identify some of the crossovers between the two. At the same time, she highlights the intriguing continuities between the late medieval and early modern periods. In fact, as a second thesis of this book, Warren goes so far as to challenge the very existence of the so-called "great divide" between these eras. Warren meets Joan Kelly-Gadol's famous question (first asked in the late 1970s) "did women have a Renaissance?" with the riposte that this may not be "quite the right question to ask" (p.180). Female spirituality and women's religious practices were valuable symbolic capital in the medieval political arena. With the Reformation, their worth did not simply disappear.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

A. S. Q. VISSER. *Johannes Sambucus and the Learned Image: The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism.* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, number 128.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xxx, 296. $129.00.

A. S. Q. Visser's aim, as his title suggests, is to focus especially on Johannes Sambucus's *Emblemata* in their humanist context, on their creation more than their reception. He sees both Sambucus and his publisher Christophe Plantin as members of the late Renaissance humanist Republic of Letters. Thus his book starts with chapters devoted to the worlds of the author (pp. 1–48) and the publisher (pp. 49–83), respectively. Sambucus in general and his emblems in particular need to be seen in the context of his search for patronage within the Habsburg court; his aim—not to be realized—was to become librarian, but he had to be satisfied with a modest medical role and his position as historiographer. Sambucus's sympathy for Lutheranism, while relatively

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unimportant in the emblems, perhaps played a part in his being passed over for the post of librarian, given the growing Counter-Reformation climate. Visser examines the claims made for Plantin as a conciliator in a religious context and potentially a member of the Family of Love, but he concludes that the evidence points rather at the commercial interests of a businessman. His emblematic works served as a social instrument (p. 78) more than a financial investment, and it can be argued that his association with Sambucus helped his drive to gain imperial printing licenses. Visser charts the role played by the publisher in the production of the *Emblemata*, in particular his rejection of certain of the designs prepared by Lucas d'Heere and the commission of new ones. In the latter stages of the volume's preparation, Sambucus was not even in the Low Countries.

Chapters follow on the celebrated preface to the *Emblemata* (pp. 85–109) and on the dedications for individual emblems (pp. 111–132). The preface in Visser's view reflects not a theorizing aim but rather a rhetorical one, with an emphasis on the reception of the book within learned circles. These are the circles that dominate among Sambucus's dedicatees: fellow members of the scholarly community, the Republic of Letters, with whom Sambucus seeks to network.

The final three main chapters are devoted to a study of the emblems themselves, but with the stress on the historical creative process rather than how they may be read. This may come as a disappointment to some readers, for guidance in reading some of Sambucus's often complex emblems would be welcome; a critical edition would be much appreciated. But that is not what Visser set out to give us: thus he turns first to a consideration of the subject matter, structure, and style of the epigram (pp. 133–162), the starting point as far as Sambucus was concerned. Visser sees no overriding macrostructure for the work as a whole, but, at the level of each epigram, the rhetorical aim is to present his readers with a convincing argument (p. 140). Sambucus's work follows in the tradition of Achille Bocchi more than Andrea Alciato in producing a reasoned argument leading to a moral conclusion. The following chapter concentrates on one particular aspect of Sambucus's epigrams, his use of classical sources (pp. 163–214). It is here, in Visser's analysis of Sambucus's methods, his selection and transformation of material, and the degree to which we can be aware of conscious, sophisticated intertextual allusions, that the modern reader may long for a different and more systematic approach. Few will have the kind of familiarity with the ancients that was expected within the scholarly community for which Sambucus was writing. Visser's treatment gives us tantalizing glimpses of what we may be missing.

Readers may be surprised too that it is only in chapter seven that Visser discusses the *picturae*, and even then emphasizing their construction, for many of which Sambucus had no input, rather than their reception. After a brief theoretical discussion, Visser concludes that in Sambucus's *Emblemata* we must recognize the *ideelle Priorität* of the text, both in terms of invention and communication. Few epigrams refer explicitly to a visual element, and most *picturae* must be regarded as mere illustrations of the text. While this is doubtless true, it is not how the reader experiences the emblems, and I regret that more attention is not paid to the latter aspect.

Concerning the illustrations in Visser's own book, I have a minor criticism, perhaps more rightly leveled at the publisher: pages from the *Emblemata* are reproduced at different scales without comment. Overall, however, the book is excellently produced and a major contribution to our understanding of Renaissance humanism.

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Pamela H. Smith. *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. x, 367. $35.00.

Who has the right to interpret nature? Although the recent conflicts over intelligent design show that this question is still an open one in some quarters, the disciplinary structure of modern knowledge gives the right overwhelmingly to science. For the past generation, historians of science have wondered how, precisely, science came to possess this right. Pamela H. Smith's new book is less an effort to provide an answer than to pose the problem even more forcefully.

From roughly 1450 to 1650, Smith argues, the exploration and experience of nature was dominated by what she calls the "artisanal epistemology," the conviction that practice, not theory, was the primary mode of engagement with the world (p. 59). Particularly in northern Europe, a congery of painters, sculptors, alchemists, apothecaries, doctors, and humanists embraced the idea that to know nature was to engage with it through the body. In the workshops of fifteenth-century Nuremberg, in the print shops of Martin Schongauer and Albrecht Dürer, and in the panel paintings of Jan van Eyck, Smith discovers a world of practical knowledge aimed not at describing nature in any theoretical terms but rather at generating it anew in a work of art. "Bodily labor and experience"—the endless grinding of paints, the detailed secrets of glazes, the complex techniques of metal casting—was the foundation of this epistemology, whose treatises read more like cookbooks than theoretical descriptions of nature's secrets (p. 96). The ceramic artist Bernard Palissy (*ca.* 1510–1590), for example, conducted more than 300 experiments in hot kilns, burning not only his entire supply of wood but even "the tables and the floor of [his] house" before he found a white enamel that pleased him (p. 104). Palissy's struggles with heat and stone were mirrored by the struggles of alchemists like Paracelsus to transfigure nature in their laboratories and painters like Michelangelo to recreate the human form on paper. Together these figures—rarely associated in conventional histories of science—created what Smith calls a "vernacular science of matter," an immensely powerful and broad reaching engagement with nature rooted in

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the conviction that "knowledge is active and knowing is doing" (p. 149).

The historical trajectory of the book takes its reader from the Flemish naturalist painters of the fifteenth century, to the German cities of the sixteenth, and finally to the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth, where Smith's story intersects with more familiar ones of the rise of commerce and modern natural philosophy. In the Dutch Republic, what was always implicit in earlier times—namely, the connection between artisanship and the market, between natural and economic systems—became explicit and, in consequence, shameful. Thus an alchemist like Johann Rudolf Glauber (1604–1670) would disavow his mercantile interests, insisting that his motives were "purely philosophical" (p. 173). Panel painters pursued similar strategies of disavowal, building their new professional identities on distinctions between themselves and the house painters, jewelers, and weavers who had long coexisted in single guilds. So, too, did natural philosophers. Here Smith uses the physician and connoisseur Franciscus dele Boë, Sylvius (1614–1672) to show how the artisanal approach to nature was appropriated by a new Baconian science even as the body of the artisan was excised from the picture. Like many of the new philosophers of nature, Sylvius embraced the need for the "*active* work of the senses" on nature, collecting art that venerated the manual engagement with nature and doing science that performed this engagement on the materials of nature itself (p. 220). At the same time, Sylvius strove to distinguish his practice from the commercial work of artisans, turning to mathematics to purify his science of any perceived sensualism or profit. The artisan became the polite gentleman of science.

Smith's book is wonderful to read, very easy on the eye, and marvelous in its facility with the registers of art history, the history of technology, and the history of science. Most striking, in my mind, are her discoveries of the amazing breadth and power of the artisanal epistemology in early modern Europe. This epistemology seems so powerful, in fact, that it makes me wonder how natural philosophy was able successfully to arrogate for itself the exclusive right to speak for nature. Fear of commerce was certainly an incentive for the efforts at demarcation, but I am uncertain whether it is an adequate explanation for its success. After all, why should artisans agree to their own silence? In part, I think, Smith believes that they did so for their own reasons: as the fine arts were delimited as spheres of professional competence, artisans became artists, and thus increasingly chary of the associations with the crude works of the body. But partly, as Smith herself shows, artisans never really did allow their own exclusion: she quotes, for instance, a number of modern artisans who insist on the integrity of their vernacular knowledge of the natural world (e.g. p. 99). Ultimately, then, Smith's story is less about the institutional origins of the new philosophy, which would come to depend on a self-legitimating set of practices, from print to academies to polite culture, developed over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rather, it is a brilliant account of how the heterogeneous workshops of early modern artisans forged a new ideal: that of the active and experimental scientist. This ideal, in turn, was made the very foundation of the practice called modern science.

JONATHAN SHEEHAN
University of Michigan

JONATHAN SHEEHAN. *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 273. $35.00.

Challenging Peter Gay's influential conception of the Enlightenment as "the rise of modern paganism" has become a thriving industry in eighteenth-century studies. Jonathan Sheehan's well-researched volume contributes significantly to this task by showing the enormous interest in biblical translation and scholarship in Germany and England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The author's arguments suggest, however, that he might be more within Gay's orbit than he would seem to think.

The book's general thrust might be summarized as follows. In the post-Reformation era, the Bible was primarily a theological document, one that illuminated the path to eternal felicity. The Protestant principle of *sola scriptura* contained within it, however, an impulse for scholars to continually seek out more accurate understandings of the biblical text and to render it comprehensible to nonscholarly audiences. At first, this produced stable and influential vernacular translations, notably the Luther Bible (1522) and the King James Bible (1611). But in an age of enlightenment and pietism, this impulse (especially in Germany) gave rise to more questionable literalistic translations and a tidal wave of exegetical scholarship and biblical commentary, which, although putatively seeking ever clearer meanings, led to polemics, confusion, and uncertainty. Access to the Bible's meaning became the laborious task of philology, moral pedagogy, poetry, and history—and not of theology as such. "Perpetually in translation," the Bible was exiled from the edifying precincts of theology into "a variety of scholarly, generic, and disciplinary domains whose expansion in the eighteenth century compensated for the loss of definite centers of meaning, political or religious" (p. 217).

However, absent agreed-upon creedal verities, a new "post-theological" center was eventually arrived at: culture. "[T]he concept of culture took over all . . . aspects of the Enlightenment Bible . . . and unified them beneath a single enormous banner, collapsing the diverse Bible of the Enlightenment into a single cultural Bible" (p. 220). The exact origins of the more unified "cultural Bible," in contradistinction to "the Enlightenment Bible," are not entirely clear. In one sense, the cultural Bible developed out of Enlightenment-era scholarship itself, especially from the work of figures such as Johann Eichhorn, J. D. Michaelis, and J. G. Herder. Yet the cultural Bible also represents a backlash against the excesses of Enlightenment translation and scholarship, as

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seen, for instance in the (nationalistic) nostalgia for the Luther Bible evident in the early nineteenth century. What is more, Friedrich Schleiermacher's influential liberal theological project is interpreted as an attempt to separate the Bible from theological certitudes and place it in the more abstract realm of culture. The "cultural Protestantism" (*Kulturprotestantismus*) that took its cue from Schleiermacher in the nineteenth century "installed this separation into [its] heart" (p. 229).

Efforts to wrap "the post-theological Bible" in the mantle of culture crossed the English Channel and, despite opposition and hesitations, found a home in England too. Sheehan makes this point in discussions of, *inter alia*, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, John Henry Newman, and especially Matthew Arnold. Arnold appears to represent the apotheosis of Sheehan's argument, for he "made culture [including, presumably, the Bible], and the appreciation of the ideals of culture into the commonplaces they are today." Thus, when we think of the Bible as a pillar of Western civilization, a must read in any Great Books course—and not as the gateway to heaven—we bear witness to the transformation recounted by Sheehan.

Sheehan's narrative is engaging and replete with fascinating detail, but the thesis informing it overreaches. While he commendably insists that his tale is not one of "secularization," this contention sits uneasily with his claim that the Bible has passed from "theological" to "cultural" conceptualization. This is not the case. Intelligent and influential, and, indeed, distinctly theological readings of Scripture were legion in the nineteenth century, and they persist until the present. Scripture plays a foundational—indeed eschatological—role in Lutheran neoconfessionalism, modern Anglicanism, Barthian dialectical theology, Kuyperian Calvinism, modern evangelicalism, Pentecostalism, postliberal theology, the radical orthodoxy movement, and more. With the globalization of Christianity in the twentieth century, the Bible is arguably read theologically today by more Protestants than in the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, combined.

To be sure, if one is strictly trying to explain the origins of an outlook among a certain sector of the liberally educated in Western countries, Sheehan's claims might hold true. But even then it would be more historically accurate to say that the cultural Bible became a major competitor with the theological Bible without wholly supplanting it; for a purely cultural Bible exists today alongside both more devout readings and more critical ones, ones that still see the biblical texts as reflective of creedal, salvific truths and others that see nothing but a confused jumble of myths and stories.

Sheehan's scholarship is praiseworthy, his erudition impressive, and his writing often elegant. This book represents a welcome contribution to modern European intellectual history and the history of biblical scholarship. But the rumors of theology's death have, once again, been greatly exaggerated.

THOMAS ALBERT HOWARD
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PETER HANNS REILL. *Vitalizing Nature in the Enlightenment*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. x, 388. $55.00.

Peter Hanns Reill's book is a significant reinterpretation of the history of the life sciences in the eighteenth century that also aims to reshape scholars' understanding of the Enlightenment as a whole. In a work of intellectual history that ranges widely and probes deeply, Reill affirms the importance of a scientific philosophy he labels "Enlightenment vitalism." He traces the emergence of this theoretical outlook to the 1740s, interpreting it as a reaction against the previously dominant mechanical philosophy. Vitalists regarded matter as containing its own internal causes of activity rather than being inert and activated only by mental or spiritual influences. This ontological principle, according to Reill, informed scientific inquiry in such fields as chemistry and physiology, and led to new thinking about the development and reproduction of living things. At the end of the eighteenth century, Enlightenment vitalism gave way to the new *Naturphilosophie* associated with the Romantic movement—an approach that Reill considers quite distinct from the earlier one, although it has tended to overshadow its precursor in the retrospective view of historians. His ambition is to rescue vitalism from the condescension of posterity and thereby to encourage a reappraisal of the Enlightenment's characteristic mode of understanding living things, including human beings.

Reill accords a critically important role to Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, whose monumental work of natural history began to appear in 1749. Buffon scornfully dismissed attempts, by followers of René Descartes and Isaac Newton, to analyze living things as mechanical systems of inert matter. Instead, the French naturalist insisted that organic matter was animated by inherent specific powers, thereby giving vitalism a new plausibility within his comprehensive vision of the sciences of life. Buffon's influence on the life sciences has been widely acknowledged by historians, but Reill's account next takes an unexpected turn to chemistry. In this field, the new ideas of organic matter were complemented by those of the German physician Georg Ernst Stahl. Like the naturalists, chemists were beginning to think in terms of the powers of matter, such as the affinities that attracted specific substances to one another. Reill shows how this outlook persisted through the "chemical revolution" initiated by Antoine Lavoisier in the 1780s. Although he gives an admittedly partial account of the development of chemical theory in the period, he succeeds in indicating its deep connections with the ideas about living things that are his central concern.

The following chapters resume the theme of the life sciences, focusing particularly on contributions from the German-speaking lands. In physiology, Reill demonstrates how vitalist ideas were put to work in studies of the nervous system. He reinterprets the familiar debate between "preformation" and "epigenesis" (alter-

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native theories of biological reproduction in this period). Pointing particularly to the work of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Reill argues that the shift of opinion toward the latter theory in the 1770s was bound up with acceptance of the idea that developmental forces were active within organic matter. He then shows how new ideas about the processes of life had implications for the understanding of death, leading to the belief that the boundary between living and dead matter might not be categorically distinct, and hence that apparent death might not be as final as it seemed. Theoretical debates thus had practical consequences in campaigns to resuscitate victims of drowning and precautions to guard against premature burial.

There is much else of value in Reill's book. He traces the roots of the idea of transmutation of species to the vitalist tradition. He shows how the subsequent rise of *Naturphilosophie* subsumed empirical studies of living things within a metaphysical framework that was alien to the Enlightenment approach. He also provides a reinterpretation of the work of Alexander von Humboldt, whom he views as the last and perhaps the most perfect representative of Enlightenment vitalism. In these ways, Reill succeeds in demonstrating how important vitalist thought was in the second half of the eighteenth century. He has taken what has often been seen as an underground tradition—the preserve of a few atheistic materialists—and placed it in the mainstream of the history of science.

In other respects, however, Reill gestures toward an even more ambitious agenda that is not entirely fulfilled. His comments on the metaphysical and semiotic underpinnings of the vitalist outlook remain undeveloped and occasionally obscure. The connection between this philosophy and the growth of the human sciences in the period also deserves further study. Reill makes the case for the importance of Enlightenment vitalism in part by emphasizing its influence on the way human beings were understood; but there are many aspects of the study of human nature in the period that he does not explore. What he has accomplished is an excellent synthesis of eighteenth-century reflections on living things, and a testament to the value of taking the Enlightenment seriously as the workshop in which much of the intellectual toolkit of the modern world was forged.

JAN GOLINSKI
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BRUCE T. MORAN. *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution*. (New Histories of Science, Technology, and Medicine.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 210. $24.95.

I used to direct students looking for an introduction to the history of alchemy to Betty J. Teeter Dobbs's *The Foundations of Newton's Alchemy: Or, "The Hunting of the Greene Lyon"* (1975). This recommendation came with qualifications: do not be scared of the title, read only chapters two and three, disregard her endorsement of the historical use of Jungian archetypes, and do not assume that the history of alchemy needs to have anything to do with Isaac Newton or the Scientific Revolution. The alternative was to direct an eager student to the increasingly robust group of monographs and articles on the history of alchemy that has been written since Dobbs's book, again with qualifications about the plurality of alchemical traditions and the distortions created by printed evidence or a focus on great men. Now I will direct my students, and anyone else who asks me what alchemy is, to Bruce T. Moran's book. This compact volume provides a full and nuanced account of the history of alchemy from the medieval traditions of distillation to the Enlightenment definition of the discipline of chemistry. That is, as the subtitle says, it is about alchemy, chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution.

Moran uses these terms not to reinforce a conventional story of scientific progress but to confront the problem of how the history of alchemy fits within the history of science directly. He takes it as given that alchemical operations influenced the work of people who would later call themselves chemists, and that major figures in the history of science took alchemy seriously. A framework of chronological change underpins the book. Familiar figures in the history of science—Robert Boyle, Newton, Antoine Lavoisier—populate its pages. But in synthesizing the current state of scholarship on the history of alchemy, Moran also proposes a method for addressing the "animated muddle of belief, disillusion, and reinterpretation" that constitutes this subject. For Moran, the knowledge of the artisan—knowledge enacted in practice—is the key to understanding the place of alchemy in the history of science; it is also central to understanding the changes that the Scientific Revolution, however problematic this term, designates.

The book brings together the ideas and practices that comprise the history of alchemy in six thematic chapters with a chronological thrust. Chapter one introduces what it meant to do alchemy, beginning with the robust traditions of distillation dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, stressing the medicinal applications of the resulting products and identifying a shift in the mid-fourteenth century to the possibility of using alchemical elixirs not only to make medicine but to create a philosophers' stone that could transmute base metals into gold. Various theories of matter explained these processes. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the crises in political economy that led to the employment of alchemists in many royal courts and patrician households throughout Europe. These three themes—the medicinal and transmutational virtues of alchemical processes, matter theory, and the institutions in which alchemists worked and by which they were authorized or outlawed—feature throughout the book. Chapter two considers alchemy as a practical activity. Like other artisanal pursuits, Moran argues, alchemical processes and procedures need to be considered as historical artifacts, albeit artifacts preserved in the texts. Whether practiced by a craftsman, a woman,

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or an experimental philosopher, alchemy and its kindred arts were secret. This was the paradox of books of secrets, texts that, for a price, disclosed arcane knowledge. In chapter three, artisans are joined by scholars in an elegant exposition of the teachings of Paracelsus and a clear account of the tangled web of authors, texts, ideas, and academic politics that constituted Paracelsianism through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here Moran reminds us that vitalism and mechanism were two sides of the same coin. Chapter four charts the institutional history of how alchemy became chemistry. Formerly alchemists occupied castle turrets and dark basements; now they worked in university and public laboratories. How the subject was taught and how it was defined as a discipline are central to this ambitious chapter. As Libavius, Moran's hero, explained, chemists were frauds and alchemists were philosophers, although their subject needed to be reformed according to the systematic, physical, and philosophical investigation of nature that he outlined. Moran uses the notion of "sites of learning" to ground this chapter, but once we get beyond the image of Marburg professor Johannes Hartmann requiring his students to swear an oath and wear an apron, the account becomes increasingly reified. Chapters five and six explore the histories of alchemy and chemistry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but similarly fall subject to creeping abstraction.

Messiness, inconsistencies, disputes, and religion feature in this story, but by the end of the book dusty chemistry texts—despite Moran's engaging prose—have extinguished the vivid characters tending their furnaces. Matter theory had become really important, and it is hard to make academic chemistry exciting. Moran has written the history of alchemy afresh. This is not a story about the triumph of rational chemists over superstitious alchemists. It is an account of alchemy and chemistry, and their redefinitions, as a set of pursuits and practices for understanding and controlling the natural world. Precise, but never narrow, its scope includes artisanal knowledge and matter theory, and also encompasses medical and magical ideas and practices. This book is indispensable for anyone who studies or teaches the histories of early modern science and medicine.

LAUREN KASSELL
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MARY SPONBERG PEDLEY. *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England.* (The Kenneth Nebenzahl, Jr., Lectures in the History of Cartography.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 345. $40.00.

This tight and succinct book is divided into six chapters describing the stages in the preparation of printed maps in France and England during the eighteenth century. It begins with surveyors in the field and then passes on to the production of printed maps and to their dissemination, with a particularly revealing chapter on this process as it affected the mapping of Narragansett Bay. Mary Sponberg Pedley concentrates on France and England but does not hesitate to refer to other countries—Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands—when this seems appropriate.

As chapter one points out, there are only two ways of making a map: by going outside, and by staying inside. This is a contrast that will be found throughout the book. Going outside meant surveying the land with techniques well known since the sixteenth century, and although the author does not mention this point, the English were particularly precocious in their production of the large-scale manuscript surveys known as "estate maps," designed to help farmers make more effective use of their lands and to levy rents more rigorously. Maps of this kind did not emerge in France until quite late in the eighteenth century, as part of the Physiocratic urge to take the land in hand.

If the English were thus precocious in their production of actual surveys, the French were much more advanced in developing the theoretical underpinnings of cartography. Here they could rely on the remarkable education offered by the Jesuits, with its emphasis on mathematics and geography. Since a high proportion of seventeenth-century French cartographers had attended Jesuit schools, they had often had a sound training in the basic principles of mapmaking. For this reason, their work was characterized by the compilation of *mémoires* setting out the theoretical basis of their maps; their English counterparts were much more pragmatic in their approach.

Chapter two considers the production of printed maps. Pedley emphasizes the remarkable time and labor needed to engrave the copper plate from which maps could be printed, noting that as many as 20,000 impressions might be made. She mentions in passing the existence of maps in the many eighteenth-century periodicals, though she does not explain how these maps could be produced so rapidly in response to current events; it would have been good to have learned how the publishers of such literature as *The Gentleman's Magazine* produced maps in a week or so.

Chapters three and four concern "getting and spending" and "plagiarism and protection." We are reminded of the way in which the relative indifference of the English toward accuracy on a national level meant that the basic cartography of the sixteenth-century mapmaker Christopher Saxton survived into the eighteenth century, whereas from the first years of the reign of Louis XIV in France, the monarchy encouraged a radical reassessment of the cartography of that country. Of course, "being on the government payroll was no guarantee of being paid" (p. 94), as many French cartographers knew to their cost. As is appropriate for such a book, the explanatory maps are particularly well done, including figures 24 and 25, which use contemporary maps to show where the major cartographers were in Paris and London.

Chapter five takes the example of maps of Narragansett Bay to show how a map generated by an English

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cartographer and printed in England might be copied in France and then recopied in England. The number of copies of maps that were printed ensured that no policy of secrecy could be enforced, in sharp contrast to those earlier days when English captains greatly prized manuscript charts captured from Spanish ships.

As time went by, there was a reaction against the work of what the French called *cartographes de cabinet*—those who did not go outside but tried at their desks to reconcile often conflicting reports from the field. By chapter six we learn of cartographers who felt that "geography must not be turned over to those who traffic in imagery" (p. 192), and this would certainly be the attitude of cartographers in succeeding decades.

Pedley maintains the Anglo-French comparison well and has only one apparently contradictory pair of passages, concerning the relative cost of surveying and then of printing (pp. 129, 201). As historians from J. U. Nef onward have shown, comparative narratives of this kind are a powerful means of identifying the central characteristics of a pair of countries, and so it is in this case. If the French had few market-oriented farmers, and indeed nothing to compare with the commerce of London, they did have cartographically conscious monarchs and map-enthusiastic Jesuits. Small wonder that mapmaking in the two countries was for so long so different.

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ELI ZARETSKY. *Secrets of the Soul: A Social and Cultural History of Psychoanalysis*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2004. Pp. xv, 429. $30.00.

In the introduction, Eli Zaretsky describes his study as the exploration of a paradox: on the one hand, psychoanalysis has represented a "great force for human emancipation"; on the other, it has been a fount of "antipolitical, antifeminist, and homophobic prejudice" (p. 3). It is not Zaretsky's aim to resolve this paradox. Instead, he is interested in explaining how deeply enmeshed psychoanalysis was in the transformations of capitalism and the emergence of mass media and consumer culture in the twentieth century. Insisting that Sigmund Freud's idea of the unconscious was no retreat from Enlightenment ideals, he suggests that histories of psychoanalysis have yet adequately to explain the enormous appeal and breadth of Freudian influence. He views psychoanalysis as being insufficiently historicized because we still lack the social, cultural, and intellectual framework necessary to understand its pervasive and lasting influence.

In an attempt to provide such a framework, Zaretsky argues that in the early twentieth century a "second modernity" emerged, in which self, subjectivity, and "personal life" were central. This second modernity held out an emancipatory "threefold promise" of personal autonomy, women's equality, and democracy. The book devotes considerable space to these themes and together they provide it with the bulk of its content. Although clearly sympathetic to Freudian theories, Zaretsky's framework does not rely on them; his study does not apply Freud's theories of the personal life or the idea that culture is founded on the sublimation of instinctual drives. Instead, the book's framework emphasizes the transformations wrought by capitalism on family structures and the individual psyche. Strong Weberian echoes reverberate throughout. Twentieth-century psychoanalysis is interpreted as playing a role "analogous" to that of seventeenth-century Calvinism. Just as Calvinism served as a charismatic, moral facilitator of capitalist expansion in the first industrial revolution, Zaretsky sees psychoanalysis as contributing in essential ways to the inner, psychological motivations that enabled the second. Throughout the narrative, the second industrial revolution is deployed as a kind of generic explanation: it becomes the *fons et origo* for all manner of historical transformations, trumped only by the charismatic personalities of Freud and other psychoanalysts. Indeed, much of the book's dynamic is attributable to the juxtaposition of the long-term impacts of the second industrial revolution on the one hand, and the "matrix of Freudian charisma" (p. 277) on the other.

In some respects, Zaretsky is telling a classic three-part story of the rise and fall of psychoanalysis: it emerges from the collapse of the Victorian family system and the charismatic personality of Freud; its zenith is reached in the age of the welfare state and Fordist mass production, leading to both its professionalization and ossification; and finally, its fall is ushered in by transformations to a service economy and the expansion of the women's liberation movement, identity politics, and more generally postmodernism. Yet Zaretsky's story is far more subtle than this. The "paradoxical fate of Freudianism" (p. 308) is one of both mass diffusion and precipitous decline. Zaretsky concludes that the historical legacy of psychoanalysis lies not so much in its ideas or therapeutic techniques, but rather in the "range of experiences" (p. 62) it made available and a "set of understandings" (p. 342) about personal life to which it contributed.

Zaretsky's account is especially strong when delineating the confusing web of psychoanalytic theories and mapping them onto broader twentieth-century developments. He has a knack for locating and summarizing the essential differences among the heterogeneous schools of psychoanalytic thought and practice. He also exercises the strict discipline that narrators need to avoid losing themselves—and their readers—in the arcane labyrinths of psychoanalytic schoolmen. At the same time, however, these talents expose Zaretsky to charges of oversimplification and sweeping generalization. And indeed, real problems arise in dovetailing psychoanalysis to larger twentieth-century developments. For example, in trying to link psychoanalysis to broader sensibilities, Zaretsky suggests that there was an "insistence on clarity, directness, and honesty" (p. 62) in Freud's Vienna. No doubt Freud's Vienna was many things, but historians have not generally ascribed

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these attributes to the Habsburg capital. And in discussing psychoanalysis and Marxism, Zaretsky argues that psychoanalysis was "profoundly anti-utopian" (p. 132); yet when he turns to Fordism a few pages later, we find psychoanalysis contributing to the "utopian idea that human life need no longer be subordinated to the imperatives of production" (p. 140). Too often, such contradictions are resolved through recourse to paradoxical tropes and a spate of dualisms (charisma/rationalization, utopianism/realism, social control/social critique). As a result, readers risk finding themselves both everywhere and nowhere, adrift in a history of seemingly ubiquitous transitions and diversities. Hence, although perhaps inevitable given the breadth of historical coverage to which this study aspires, Zaretsky's broad-brush narrative strategies occasionally obscure more than they reveal.

Nevertheless, this is a rich and impressive work of historical synthesis and readers willing to engage it on these terms will be duly rewarded for their efforts.

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Pierre Purseigle, editor. *Warfare and Belligerence: Perspectives in First World War Studies*. (History of Warfare, Volume 30.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xiv, 418. $184.00.

It almost goes without saying that an edited collection of papers from an international conference will prove to be somewhat lacking in coherence and focus. A skillful editor, however, can meld the work of up and coming researchers on relatively obscure aspects of the conference's theme with the work of more established scholars, thus producing a synoptic impression of research activity in the field. A theme as wide-ranging as World War I sets the editor a serious challenge. Pierre Purseigle's excellent historiographical introduction ably outlines the development of alternative paradigms in World War I studies. Oddly, though, he ignores the ground-breaking *Authority, Identity and the Social History of the Great War* (1995), edited by Frans Coetzee and Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee, in his account of the irresistible rise of the cultural approach to the war.

Purseigle valiantly attempts to find common themes among the diverse essays presented, but the anodyne title of the collection reveals the editor's difficulties. Perhaps the book would have been better had it been a true cultural study, reserving the military and political focus of the first seven chapters for a future volume, or even more daringly, only including those that employ the comparative method championed by Jay Winter and Jean-Lois Robert in *Capital Cities at War: London, Paris, Berlin 1914–1919* (1997). This collection seems to have missed the opportunity to summarize the current state of research by attempting to include a much more eclectic array of essays.

A comparative approach *is* taken by the most successful cultural essays in this collection, such as those of Elise Julien on the lack of municipal memorials in Paris and Berlin, which offers a vital comparison to Mark Connelly's local study, *The Great War, Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and the East End 1916–1939* (2002). Nicholas Beaupré's essay on the emergence of new genres of fiction and poetry in Germany and France is valuable but seems a little out of place, and the author should have acknowledged Brian Bond's *The Unquiet Western Front: Britain's Role in Literature and History* (2002). The most original and most accomplished of all the essays in the collection, by Elizabeth Fordham, offers a comparison of how the contemporary academics of London and Paris responded to the war. This study, which must now form the basis of a monograph to include the experiences of provincial institutions as well as those of the Central Powers and Russia, indicates a far more nuanced and sophisticated academic response to the conflict than Andrew Green found in *Writing the Great War: Sir James Edwards and the Official Histories* (2003).

Other essays tend toward the parochial, such as Keith Grieves's investigation of the significance of the Village Hut movement in rural England after the war. It is well written and of some interest, but as a study of postwar Britain its presence here betrays the lack of unity of the studies as a whole. Some essays could be best described as apocryphal, such as the eleven pages on letters from women readers to Henri Barbusse, which is not much more than a coda to Leonard Smith's "Masculinity, Memory, and the French World War I Novel: Henri Barbusse and Roland Dorgeles" in Coetzee and Shevin-Coetzee's collection. The most esoteric of all is surely Leen Engelen's account of representation of the enemy in Belgian film. While fascinating, it does not make much attempt to draw comparison with the larger and more significant film industries of the other powers and, tellingly, fails to take account of the findings of the most important recent study of film propaganda, Ulrike Oppelt's *Film und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg: Propaganda als Medienrealitat in Aktuealitaten und Dokumentarfilm* (2002). In some ways this is a pity, as Oppelt's study concentrated on Germany, with the Belgian film industry scarcely rating a mention, but Engelen leaves it to the reader to detect similar trends between the media of the different powers.

Among the military studies, Denis Showalter produces an interesting account of British, French, and German tactical planning in the opening phase of the war, but there is, surprisingly, no reference to Matthew Hughes and Matthew Seligmann's collection, *Leadership in Conflict* (2000), which includes two important studies of strategic innovation by Peter Simkins and Annika Mombauer. Similarly Heather Jones's piece on the initial experiences of prisoners of war makes no mention of Robert Jackson's *The Prisoners: 1914–1918* (1989) and Michael Moynihan's *Black Bread and Barbed Wire* (1978), both of which focus on the crucial issue suggested by the latter's title, which Jones almost wholly ignores, of food supplies and their varied quality. In many ways, Jones's study of the experiences of sol-

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diers being transported to imprisonment stands for the whole collection. It is well researched, draws valid conclusions, and suggests interesting areas for research, but it simply does not present many really significant new findings. The contributors choose to focus on the tributaries of the war, rather than what Edmund Blunden called "its full and awful flood."

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TILL GEIGER and MICHAEL KENNEDY, editors. *Ireland, Europe and the Marshall Plan*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2004. pp. 240. $65.00.

This book had its origins in a January 1999 conference in Dublin on Ireland and the Marshall Plan. Editor Till Geiger, in the volume's introduction, notes that most writing on Ireland's experience with the Marshall Plan, or European Recovery Program (ERP), has focused on the country's bilateral relationship with the United States and the contribution of American aid to Irish economic development in the early postwar era. According to Geiger, the contributions here (nine essays, including the introduction) seek to go beyond that narrow focus to set Ireland's participation in the ERP in a wider European context. The goal of the book, then, is to compare Ireland's experience with that of other ERP participants. That is a commendable aim, and several of the book's essays meet it. As with most works built around conference proceedings, however, the individual contributions vary in quality. More significantly, not all focus on the book's comparative theme.

Among the initial offerings, Geiger's introduction stands out. It effectively encapsulates much of the existing historiography on Ireland and the Marshall Plan and summarizes the volume's own contributions to the literature. The three essays immediately following the introduction, however—by Denise Dunne, Daniel Davies, and Gary Murphy—are somewhat disappointing. While all three are competently argued, they do not fully relate to the book's stated purpose. Indeed, Dunne's chapter, which focuses on British responses to the ERP's integrationist agenda, is distinguished primarily by the fact that it never mentions Ireland. The inclusion of such an essay in a volume with this book's ostensible objective is difficult to understand. Davies's and Murphy's entries are well written, but both focus more on Irish-American relations and Irish bureaucratic wrangling than they do on the themes highlighted in Geiger's introduction. (These shortcomings, of course, are due to the choices of the book's editors and do not reflect on the competence of the essays' authors.)

After these early departures from the book's stated methodology, the volume finds its footing. Co-editor Michael Kennedy's essay on the Marshall Plan and the expansion of the Irish diplomatic service is engagingly written, and its thesis—that it was Ireland's participation in the ERP that led to the notable growth and "Europeanization" of the Irish Department of External Affairs after World War II—is well supported. Kennedy recognizes that Ireland resisted European integration during the Marshall years, but he asserts that through its involvement in the ERP, the state became engaged in multilateral diplomacy, which would help convert it to at least some measure of support for integration by the 1960s. (Kennedy also provides, at the end of the book, a concise and helpful guide to sources on the Marshall Plan in the National Archives of Ireland.)

Bernadette Whelan adheres to the comparative theme of the book in her essay contrasting Marshall Plan propaganda efforts in Italy to those in Ireland. Whelan finds that the propaganda campaign carried on by Marshall Planners in Italy was the most highly developed in any European country. By contrast, there was not even a separate information division in the Dublin mission of the Economic Cooperation Administration, the U.S. agency that administered the ERP. Whelan attributes the difference between the two countries' experiences to the fact that there was virtually no prospect of communism gaining ground in postwar Ireland, whereas the communist movement's position in Italy was quite strong.

Geiger makes another contribution in chapter seven, in which he recounts a debate between Seán O'Faolain and a number of left-wing intellectuals in the pages of the Irish literary magazine *The Bell*. The exchange was sparked by a January 1951 letter from an Irish trade unionist to Irish newspapers, questioning American motives behind an ERP-sponsored industrial development program in Ireland. In answer to that letter, O'Faolain criticized what he termed the "autoantiamericanism" of Irish left-wing intellectuals. O'Faolain's broadside was then followed in subsequent issues by responses from four left-wing critics of O'Faolain's article and a final rebuttal from O'Faolain himself. Geiger's synopsis of this forgotten debate is elegantly recounted, and he argues that it is significant as part of a wider debate among Western Europeans about Marshall aid. Geiger concludes that O'Faolain's opponents saw the international cooperation promoted by the ERP as a threat to national independence, whereas O'Faolain saw it as a liberating phenomenon, opening Ireland up to broader European influences.

Geiger's entry is followed by the most rigorously analytical essay in the collection, Brian Girvin's exploration of whether Ireland benefited from the Marshall Plan. Girvin's approach is a thoroughly comparative one, contrasting Irish economic growth in the postwar period to that of other ERP participants. He uses a number of statistical analyses to suggest that Ireland's economy performed well between 1913 and 1950 (relative to other European states) but that it lost ground between 1950 and 1987, failing to keep pace with economic growth in the rest of Western Europe. Girvin attributes the sluggish performance to the Irish government's unimaginative early response to initiatives such as the ERP, with their emphasis on European cooperation. Girvin argues that the Irish lack of enthusiasm

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for such multilateral cooperation was due to the traditional nationalism and protectionism of Irish leaders and those leaders' inability to see Irish international trade in any context other than the Anglo-Irish framework. Girvin's essay stands in contrast to the book's other offerings, as it emphasizes the degree to which the Marshall Plan failed to change Irish policy in fundamental ways. Girvin contends that Irish strategy in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation and other European organizations in the late 1940s and 1950s was geared toward defending Ireland's bilateral trade relationship with the United Kingdom and was not based on any genuine commitment to multilateralism.

In his introduction, Geiger expresses his hope that the differences in interpretation set forth in the volume will "spark some debate among historians and . . . encourage future research on Ireland, Europe, and the Marshall Plan" (p. 33). On balance, the book fulfills that aspiration, with Girvin's essay doing so most successfully.

Troy D. Davis
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Diana Newton. *The Making of the Jacobean Regime: James VI and I and the Government of England, 1603–1605.* (Studies in History New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press for the Royal Historical Society. 2005. Pp. x, 164. $80.00.

Positive revaluations of King James VI and I are common these days, and here is another. In this short book, Diana Newton offers a "holistic view" (p. 146) of James Stuart as he settles into his new English kingdom in 1603. She takes the story to the end of 1605, thus encompassing a number of memorable episodes. James makes peace with Spain, ending two decades of gruelling warfare under Elizabeth. He holds his first parliament, moving toward his project of Anglo-Scottish union. He presides learnedly over the Hampton Court conference, attempting to reconcile his subjects' religious difficulties and commissioning what would become the "King James" translation of the Bible. Finally, unreconciled Catholics try to kill him in the Gunpowder Plot.

However, these are just action highlights, and together they occupy only a small proportion of the book; Newton's "holistic view" extends more widely. James is presented throughout as "energetic, vigorous, intelligent and flexible" (p. 146), governing with skill, tact, and determination. Even his few mistakes, the result of ignorance or overconfidence, are corrected or learned from. It is a remarkable change from the shambling, ineffective pedant depicted by David Harris Willson in his 1956 biography, still the most recent full-length academic study of James.

It was historians of Scotland who began the revaluation of James's reputation, culminating in Jenny Wormald's trenchant article "James VI and I: Two Kings or One?" (*History* 68 [1983]). Wormald argued that that James was an outstanding king of Scotland and that he brought many positive qualities south in 1603. This is in effect Newton's line also. She makes less of the fact that several recent writers on James's Scottish reign, while still regarding him highly, have been rather more critical (including Keith Brown, Michael Lynch, Alan MacDonald, and myself). This may be because Scottish criticism has tended to focus on James's later years. Surprisingly, James's own writings are neglected, although works like *Basilicon Doron* (1599) have enhanced his modern reputation and were devoured by his new subjects in 1603.

The book is influenced by the "new British history"—the history of the interaction among the three kingdoms (or four nations) of the British Isles. Newton is alert to the way in which issues arising in Scotland could have repercussions in England. She does not attempt to compete with the numerous existing studies of Anglo-Scottish union, merely noting James's early efforts at union. Wales and Ireland receive less attention, although the accession of a Scottish king was surely important in Ireland at the end of the Nine Years' War.

Where the book really scores is in English local history. It is one of Newton's key arguments that James took an informed interest in the localities and had a positive effect on local issues. She has visited a dozen or so local record offices and provides detailed information on royal involvement with a number of episodes. These mainly involved religious conformity and recusancy (over one-eighth of the entire book concerns a single petition from Northamptonshire Puritans, which is surely disproportionate), while touching on other matters such as alehouse licensing and military demobilization. Assize judges are shown to be important, and there is argued to have been a "characteristically Jacobean chain of command, stretching from the king to the parish constable" (p. 60). This book should be read by those interested in the works of Michael J. Braddick and Steve Hindle.

The book has two significant weaknesses. The first concerns the parliament of 1604, the first set-piece meeting of the new king and the political nation. This would have been an ideal point on which a "holistic" study could concentrate, but instead the book deals with the parliament in a brief, fragmented, and confusing way. The *Goodwin v. Fortescue* election dispute receives half a paragraph, and the famous "Apology" of the Commons is not even mentioned.

The other weakness concerns James himself and his advisers. The book's key argument is that James was active and effective in all branches of government; but in a monarchical age, it was natural to ascribe decisions to the monarch. Could it be that James was *advised* to take these decisions? Here the spotlight should fall on Sir Robert Cecil, yet Cecil is only a shadowy figure in this book. He writes and receives letters, but is not treated as a royal adviser in the sense of having an impact on governmental decisions ascribed to the king. When Pauline Croft's long-awaited monograph on Cecil appears, we may be in a better position to under-

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stand James's own role. In the meantime, Newton's book represents a useful addition to the literature on the government and politics of early modern England.

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MARJORIE KENISTON MCINTOSH. *Working Women in English Society, 1300–1620*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 291. Cloth $75.00, paper $32.99.

The subject of English women's work during the Middle Ages has generated some excellent scholarship and lively debate over the past two decades. Marjorie Keniston McIntosh's entry into the field provides us with some new insights and supports some of the previous findings of historians. What is novel about McIntosh's book is that she is interested in women's economic activity writ large. She not only discusses women as producers, providers of services, and retailers, but she also chronicles their activities as landlords, rentiers, and moneylenders. McIntosh also takes advantage of a little-used source for the history of working women: petitions to the equity courts. These records flesh out and enliven the quantitative evidence available on women workers by providing details about and context for their economic lives. They also offer a window into the economic activity of married women, which is often obscured by their lack of a separate legal identity from their husbands.

McIntosh divides her book into three sections. Part one situates women's work within the larger social, economic, and political setting of the later Middle Ages. Here McIntosh also nicely summarizes the historiographical context for the study of medieval women's work. Following in the steps of Judith Bennett, McIntosh has decided to bridge the late medieval/early modern periodization by focusing on the period from 1300 to 1600. But McIntosh differentiates herself from Bennett by focusing on the changes that occurred in women's work over these centuries and not just the continuities. Like P. J. P. Goldberg, McIntosh sees the 150 years after the plague of 1348 as years of expanded economic opportunity for women. Nevertheless, she is careful not to label this era a "Golden Age" (as previous scholars have done), since there was no permanent improvement in the status of women or their work. McIntosh also differs from Bennett in that she does not attribute women's economic inequality to the patriarchal ideology of the time; instead she focuses on women's lack of access to capital. Nevertheless, McIntosh does not analyze why men had more access to capital than women did.

In part two, McIntosh begins her examination of women's economic activity. She creatively conceptualizes servants, boarding housekeepers, prostitutes, and health care workers as providers of domestic services. McIntosh shows just how significant boarding was for medieval women, although we know little about it. Fully eight to thirteen percent of equity cases in the period 1470–1619 had to do with disputes over sums owed a woman for room and board. While domestic service has been well researched, McIntosh reminds us that the conditions of being a servant and an apprentice changed dramatically during the period 1300–1600. It was not always the same job.

The most significant and original part of McIntosh's book is her discussion of medieval women's involvement in the market and credit relations. She characterizes female rentiers and moneylenders as suppliers of financial services. McIntosh provides evidence for and joins a growing number of English women's historians who argue that women's reputation (or credit) was not just based on their sexuality but also had an economic component. One of the major themes of McIntosh's book is that women's limited access to capital hurt their economic activity. In this section she shows us how women's lack of access to land or money, as well as female illiteracy, hindered their involvement in credit relations. Women's inability to read bonds (formal instruments of credit) made them more likely to lend money by oral contract. This kept women from higher levels of money lending and hurt them when trying to recover money they had lent if they had no written proof.

Part three of the book examines women as producers, sellers, and consumers of goods. By concentrating so much on the production and sale of ale and beer, McIntosh goes over territory well covered by Bennett. Her discussion of food and cloth production as well as other craft activity is also largely a synthesis of previous scholarship. McIntosh makes an important point when she asks whether we should examine medieval working women as individuals or as members of families and households. Scholars have emphasized the negative consequences for women who had to support themselves on lower wages than men and whose work was characterized as part-time or secondary. Viewed through a household or familial context, however, women's work made a significant contribution that often resulted in a higher household standard of living. What McIntosh shows is that the marital and familial status of a woman varied the experience of her wages and work. Also intriguing is McIntosh's brief examination of women as consumers of goods, a topic worthy of more lengthy discussion.

McIntosh has produced a book that will be of interest to specialists but that is appropriate for an undergraduate audience. Historians of women's work will benefit from McIntosh's more holistic conceptualization of women's economic activity. And generalists will benefit from a book that is clearly and accessibly written and provides a good overview of the historiography.

AMY M. FROIDE
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WHITNEY R. D. JONES. *Thomas Rainborowe (c. 1610–1648): Civil War Seaman, Siegemaster and Radical*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. x, 154. $80.00.

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Colonel Thomas Rainborowe (as he usually spelled it, although the world more commonly called him "Rainsborough") is perhaps the ultimate antithesis of Warholian man. Just one remark, discovered nearly 250 years after its utterance, was enough to give him a place among seventeenth-century "immortals" like Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke. At the Putney Debates of 1647, he blurted out his baseline argument for universal manhood suffrage: "the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the greatest he." His outburst, first printed by Sir Charles Firth in 1891, brought what is now more than a century of often-anthologized fame.

Rainborowe was the highest ranking of the Leveller sympathizers at Putney. Whitney R. D. Jones's brief study of the man brings out forcefully the considerable rivalry and personal tension between him and Cromwell. Both men were darlings of the religious radicals; both had their wartime successes, Cromwell with the glory-grabbing cavalry, Rainborowe as a specialist in unglamorous siege warfare. If in 1647 Cromwell's star was appreciably higher, Rainborowe's was still rising, so much so that Cromwell had attempted to block Rainborowe's appointment as vice-admiral. The appointment did go through, however, and ironically it made Rainborowe's standing at Putney tenuous, since his link with his own (former) regiment and the army altogether was at the least questionable. Rainborowe himself wondered if he would be "kicked out." Exactly, a year later, on the night of October 29, 1648, he was murdered by royalist agents at Pontefract Castle.

Doubtless because his life ended so suddenly after his rapid rise to military and political prominence, Rainborowe's footprint in the archives is relatively modest. Apparently he wrote nothing that has survived. His personality seems to have been difficult, and his reported or recorded opinions outside of Putney are not entirely consistent. We are forced to know him by inference, in good part through his associations; Jones does well to bring out the depth of his New England connections. But Rainborowe remains a shadowy figure, or, better, perhaps, he steps briefly in the floodlights in the summer and fall of 1647, only to retreat again into relative obscurity. Brought in the summer of 1647 into the group that sought to negotiate with Charles into acceptance of the *Heads of the Proposals*, Rainborowe was the first to lose patience with the king, and then with Cromwell and Henry Ireton, who continued to pursue the chimera of a settlement. Apart from his anger at Charles for his own intransigence, it would seem that Rainborowe was most alarmed by the *Heads of the Proposals'* tolerance of an eviscerated, noncompulsory episcopal church. This led him to make common cause with another of Cromwell's enemies, John Lilburne, and that is perhaps how Rainborowe came to marry his considerable ego to the Leveller cause at Putney.

But the union was not to last. As Jones admirably shows, Rainborowe showed up at Corkbush Field near Ware with a Leveller delegation (not as head of his now former regiment) but promptly left the field when rebuked by Colonel Thomas Fairfax. He was not present for the mutiny or near-mutiny of the day; most likely he was cleared from the field to eliminate all prospect of a possible conflict between him and Cromwell and Fairfax. Later he recanted his conduct (presumably including fractious display of his political opinions) before an army council, which was a precondition of his "rehabilitation" (p. 92) to his naval command, which had been held in abeyance after the events at Putney and Ware. Although Leveller writers would later bemoan his death, surely there must have been private thoughts among the knowledgeable about his defection from their cause and some sardonic reflection upon how it did him little good with the royalists. Jones also examines carefully the accounts of Rainborowe's death. Levellers would later charge that the army leadership was somehow responsible. Jones goes further than other scholars (for example, Ian Gentles in his article on Rainborowe in the new *Dictionary of National Biography*) in refusing to absolve local parliamentarian officers of the "miasma of complicity" (p. 125).

This is a work of fine, careful, traditional scholarship. There are few lapses and only a couple of omissions. Gentles, in his article and in an essay on "Political Funerals in the English Revolution" (in Stephen Porter, ed., *London and the Civil War* [1996]), adds a few pertinent materials. The siege of Colchester, in which Rainborowe played a role and which added to the already great royalist animus against him, has been discussed in several contexts by Barbara Donagan (who finds his role rather more peripheral than does Jones); she also has had pertinent things to say about Rainborowe's death at Pontefract. But Jones clearly has done just about as much with his subject as the scattered sources will allow, and if Rainborowe remains not fully fathomed, it is not for any failure on Jones's part.

MICHAEL MENDLE
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L. A. BOTELHO. *Old Age and the English Poor Law, 1500–1700*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. x, 198. $85.00.

England's establishment during the sixteenth century of a national framework for poor relief was an exceptional achievement. Based on parliamentary statute, albeit funded by local levies, it was designed among other things to provide "necessary relief" for the "lame, impotent, old, blind, and such other . . . being poor and not able to work," to quote the Poor Relief Act of 1598. L. A. Botelho's fascinating study assesses the effectiveness of English poor relief during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with particular reference to old people. She emphasizes that before 1700 statutory relief was never intended to provide complete support. Furthermore, despite the fact that the poor laws specified certain categories of deserving individual, there was no clear right to relief in any particular case. The poor were expected to behave as suppliants. Anybody who had the temerity to assert his or her entitlement to

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help was likely to prejudice their chances of a favorable hearing. The incomplete assistance afforded by statutory poor relief, and the absence of entitlement, have been emphasized by other scholars, notably Steve Hindle, although Botelho feels that even Hindle has overstated the extent to which the deserving elderly poor might count on parish relief.

The originality and distinctiveness of Botelho's study lie not so much in her amply documented corroboration of these broad points (important though they are) as in her detailed examination of two contrasting communities, her detailed investigation of the marginally poor, and her focus on the aged poor. Botelho chose two small Suffolk parishes for close examination: relatively prosperous Cratfield, involved in dairying, and Poslingford, a poorer place partly dependent on spinning for the Stour Valley cloth industry, already declining well before 1700. Poslingford's poor constituted a higher proportion of the community than did Cratfield's, and were less generously provided for. Towards the end of the seventeenth century about forty percent of the recipients of parish relief in Cratfield were regular pensioners as distinct from beneficiaries of only miscellaneous relief, compared with no more than seventeen percent of Poslingford's. The marginal poor, those precariously independent individuals who were quite unable to help their neighbors and were liable to slip into partial dependence on charity as a result of the slightest misfortune, constituted some fifteen percent of Cratfield's population toward 1700 but fifty percent of Poslingford's. Only a minority of the marginal poor received even miscellaneous relief. In Poslingford, spinning provided a means of eking out a living for women, hardly any of whom received miscellaneous relief. Some of the Poslingford marginal poor received a sort of indirect household subsidy in the shape of pensions paid to more needy people who were lodged with them. The survival of a marriage partner and the presence of adult children in the neighborhood also helped the marginal poor to keep afloat. The overwhelming majority of those who received pensions in old age were single. But what was old age? Botelho argues that people in rural England were publicly recognized as old around the age of fifty. She was able to identify 337 individuals over the age of fifty (105 in Poslingford and 232 in Cratfield). Their life histories make up the core of her book. She concludes that in her two villages "only 1 per cent of the elderly population would seek public support" (p. 108), a very striking finding that (as Botelho recognizes) stands in sharp contrast with the higher percentages discovered by Susannah Ottaway in the course of her work on eighteenth-century parishes. By 1700, furthermore, the elderly made up only a small minority of the pensioners in either village, as a result of the increasing amount of assistance being given to men of working age with families to support. The pensions paid to the elderly came nowhere near meeting their calculated annual needs, and the gap had to be bridged by a variety of expedients, especially their own small earnings and the informal assistance of neighbors. Few had children who were in a position to help them. Receipt of a pension nevertheless made a discernible difference. Botelho calculates that elderly pensioners lived some years longer than marginally poor old people who were still struggling to make ends meet without regular assistance.

One must be cautious about making generalizations on the basis of the experience of two small but very different parishes, especially when, as is the case here, one of the two communities in question (Cratfield) is far better documented than the other. This is a challenging book containing some densely written passages and bristling with statistics which are not always easy to compare. It would have been helpful to be able to consult a list of the 337 elderly individuals. This carefully planned, skillfully executed, and thought-provoking study nevertheless throws much fresh light on the linked themes of old age, poverty, and poor relief in early modern English history.

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A. P. W. MALCOMSON. *Nathaniel Clements: Government and the Governing Elite in Ireland, 1725–75*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 476. $75.00.

Nathaniel Clements (1705–1777) is not a well-known figure in Irish history but, as the first installment of A. P. W. Malcomson's two-volume study of his career illustrates, he was one of the most successful and important men in mid-eighteenth-century Ireland. Readers familiar with Malcomson's work, particularly his major studies, *John Foster: The Politics of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy* (1978) and *Charles Agar: Churchmanship and Politics in Ireland, 1760–1810* (2002), will not be surprised that this is not a conventional biography. Rather, it is a study of the governing elite in Ireland through one of its key figures. Clements was a self-made man, though only in the sense that he made more of the ample opportunities that came his way than many of his contemporaries, for as Malcomson illustrates, his family was well-connected within the Irish administration, and his marriage to Hannah Gore brought further beneficial contacts. Clements entered the Irish treasury service as a teenager and occupied the important position of teller of the exchequer between 1728 and 1755. As the modestly titled deputy vice-treasurer between 1755 and 1777, Clements was effectively Ireland's minister of finance and one of a small number of officials who ran the country. He also held an astonishing array of other offices and agencies, which allowed him to accumulate a huge fortune, extensive estates, and an impressive parliamentary interest.

In many respects this has the appearance of a traditional book, exploring Irish high politics and continuing the welcome recent trend toward reexamining the neglected first three quarters of the eighteenth century. In fact, the book takes us into uncharted territory, using Clements to reveal the rarely discussed behind-the-scenes of government and administration, frequently in

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complex detail. Clements is the lynchpin holding together Malcomson's discussion of the Irish civil pension list, the Irish military establishment, and, above all, the role and influence of office holders in eighteenth-century Ireland. A central theme is the connection between public office and self-enrichment. As one of the leading Irish treasury officials who was not a sinecurist, Clements amassed a large fortune, directly and indirectly, through his offices and agencies. Malcomson demonstrates that the demarcating lines between public money and private wealth were blurred in the mid-eighteenth century. Clements had access to large surpluses of public money, especially during a brief period between 1748 and 1755, which he readily invested for his own gain. Even to his grandchildren this practice was an embarrassment, although Malcomson argues persuasively that such behavior was not considered corrupt by contemporary standards. Clements also utilized the sensitive knowledge and influence that came his way, particularly as agent to the pensioners on the Irish civil list, which comes in for illuminating discussion. Lack of accountability explains much of Clements's administrative autonomy, and his superiors were content to turn a blind eye as long as the public finances were in good order. The dramatic collapse in 1759 of the short-lived bank in which Clements was a partner brought unwanted attention and raised serious questions about the involvement of a leading treasury official in private banking. Not for the first time, Clements used his extensive network of connections and influence, notably with Lady Yarmouth, an Irish pensioner, to rescue his career. Even allowing for the other great crisis in which Clements played an important role, the Money Bill Dispute of the 1750s, Malcomson argues that he facilitated the relatively smooth management of Anglo-Irish relations in the mid-eighteenth century. While he was a brilliant administrator, it was not in his interest to become a political reformer. Essentially, Clements operated within a small, closed elite, which administered in the interests of the privileged few who benefited from the mid-century status quo. The rise of public opinion, especially as expressed through the Irish Parliament, and the accompanying emphasis on accountability meant that Clements's carefully constructed world was already disappearing even before his death in 1777.

Malcomson's incredible command of the manuscript sources and his impressive grasp of the intricacies of the Irish administration in the eighteenth century ensure that this is a formidable and original book. Moreover, he provides important comparative dimensions, generally drawing parallels with English practices, although he also uses discussions of French venality to contextualize the "semi-public" sale of Irish offices that flourished in mid-century. The author has written a meticulous study of Clements's career and provides revealing insights into the inner workings of the Irish Protestant elite and the government of eighteenth-century Ireland. The forthcoming companion volume will discuss further aspects of Nathaniel Clements's multifarious career.

LIAM CHAMBERS
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SHELDON S. COHEN. *British Supporters of the American Revolution 1775–1783: The Role of the "Middling-level" Activists*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 181. $75.00.

In a brilliant, evocative essay on "British Attitudes to the American Revolution" (1964) J. H. Plumb suggested that sympathy for the American cause in England was far more widespread than historians had imagined, and he called for further research on pro-American attitudes, specifically at the "grass roots" and middling levels of English society. Since then, both the national extent of pro-Americanism and the social status of those involved have received detailed attention, and Sheldon S. Cohen's study adds fresh detail to the emerging picture of a robust public opinion. Part local history, part genealogical and family research, this study is a patient, affectionate work of recovery that examines five more or less obscure persons, each of whom provided some form of assistance to American prisoners of war in England and Ireland. Two of the five were merchants, two were religious leaders in the Nonconformist tradition, and one was an apothecary; hence all were "middling level" people who shared a common commitment to assist captured American seamen, although the five were otherwise unconnected. A significant body of scholarship on American prisoners of war already exists, and Cohen has previously published brief biographical sketches of three of the five people studied here.

In light of more recent American history, the irony of this story should not be overlooked. American prisoners captured on armed American ships were treated as traitors and pirates, and for that reason they were denied the status of prisoners of war. From the spring of 1777, hundreds of American prisoners were confined in Forton Gaol near Portsmouth, in Milbay Prison near Plymouth, and in Kinsale Prison, County Cork, Ireland. Since the prisoners were charged with treason, the contempt of the prison authorities was heightened, and in all three prisons examined here the deplorable physical conditions of the facilities were exacerbated by the prison staff, who inflicted mental abuse and indignities on the Americans.

William Hodgson, London merchant, was probably the most well-known of the group of five. Hodgson was on the committee of twenty London merchants who raised support for the prisoners, and he was involved in managing and distributing relief funds. Hodgson was particularly active in the efforts at prisoner exchange through the commissioners in Paris, and these activities brought him into close working relationship with Benjamin Franklin. Subsequently, in 1780–1781, Hodgson became Franklin's key correspondent in arranging the

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final release of the American prisoners. Thomas Wren, Presbyterian minister at Portsmouth, visited Forton Prison every other day and distributed food and clothing to the prisoners, arranged schooling for them, and appeared at their confinement hearings. Wren was also actively engaged in the far more risky business of assisting in prison escapes by offering sanctuary in the Presbyterian chapel and escort to London. Reuben Harvey, an Irish Quaker merchant, was comparatively more active than the other four pro-Americans in protesting the government's prosecution of the war and publicizing the prisoners' needs. He opened a public subscription for Kinsale prisoners and then distributed money and supplies, and like Wren, he also supplied sanctuary for escapees.

Robert Heath, deacon at the Calvinist Methodist Tabernacle in Plymouth, commenced his work at Milbay Prison by offering religious services, but later he also provided prisoners with news from North America and small aid in the form of personal supplies and money. Griffith Williams, a London apothecary, was instrumental in hiding and moving escapees who arrived in London from the capital to the continent. The book provides detailed accounts of how escapees were assisted in this inherently dangerous business, and although the evidence for such secretive work is naturally sparse and somewhat conjectural, Cohen's reconstruction of the process, and specifically the role played by Williams, is largely convincing.

More attention probably should have been given to the work that has already been done on the predominance of the middling levels of society in pro-American activities, and a more sophisticated analysis of the problem of class would have been welcome. Sections of the book too often reflect their previous iteration in journal articles; for example, entire paragraphs describing events and people are reintroduced two and sometimes three times as if they had not already been presented in previous chapters. Wesleyan Methodists did not break from the established church during the late 1730s, and the Primitive Methodists must be distinguished from the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion (p. 126). We find Benjamin Hoadley for Benjamin Hoadly (p. 5), James Walker for George Walker (p. 15), and Wotkin Lewes for Watkin Lewes (p. 142). The Bristol Baptists were some of the most outspoken pro-Americans in the country and far more opposed to the Government's coercive policy than in favor of it (p. 13). Still, this warm-hearted account of five unsung heroes is based squarely on careful archival research and adds important details to our growing knowledge of the activities of British pro-Americans.

JAMES E. BRADLEY
Fuller Seminary

R. J. MORRIS. *Men, Women and Property in England 1780–1870: A Social and Economic History of Family Strategies amongst the Leeds Middle Classes*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 445. $95.00.

This substantial monograph is an in-depth study of the middle middle class in Leeds in the early years of the nineteenth century that deepens and broadens R. J. Morris's earlier work. As such, it makes an important contribution to our understanding of the interplay of social, economic, and cultural factors in the life cycle of the English middle-class family. The structure of the book is somewhat unusual. It begins with a case study of one Leeds family and the resources it could bring to play in facing a financial crisis. Before exploring this theme in depth, a chapter contextualizes the English middle class and its historiography. Morris's middle class, making its way on the rollercoaster of the expanding West Riding woolen industry, is one level below the families dissected by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall (in *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* [1987]). How they changed their patterns of investment during each generation's life cycle, how they developed and used family networks to support each other and to retain the family's credit and reputation, as well as the part women and family trusts played in that process are central to Morris's concerns. Six chapters of the book explore various aspects of that process with considerable authority, moving from an analysis of several hundred wills, through the life cycle ownership patterns and economic importance of urban building plots; the place of women—married, widowed, and single—in the property and inheritance structures of middle-class networks, and the importance of trusts not just during their lives but beyond the grave; to an analysis of the wider kinship and business networks of several of the families he has studied in depth. Morris shows how in the later years of his period, the investments made by his families altered, away from trade and buildings into stocks and shares, particularly in the railways, abroad as well as in Britain. The book's final chapters contextualize his study in the economic history of the British middle class as a whole during the mid-nineteenth century, while its conclusion draws the threads of his themes together, before (curiously) ending with a micro-study of how the Married Women's Property Act of 1870 came about.

The book is based on in-depth research in the archives, working with wills, property records, and the business and family papers of a range of families. These are carefully analyzed and contextualized, and interesting conclusions are drawn about the overwhelming predominance of partible inheritance patterns among such families and the widespread use of trusts to provide women with independent financial means inside or outside marriage. Morris shows how the fortunes of single women and widows provided a reserve for family enterprises, and how brothers felt obligated to look after their married sisters, widowed or not, when their husbands fell on bad times. He further emphasizes how wide the networks of these second and third-ranking middle-class families in Leeds were, encompassing other towns and counties, ports with trading connections, and, inevitably, London.

There is a great deal to be learned from Morris's

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analysis, but the book also has drawbacks that limit its wider readership as well as demand further elucidation of its findings. In the case-study material, without constant back and cross-referencing, readers risk being overrun by the details of relationships, deals, and time scales. This is particularly unfortunate in the opening chapter, where a complex story is not presented as a dramatic or easily absorbed tale to sharpen the reader's appetite for more. The valuable materials analyzed in this study might have benefited from linkage to other sources to give a more rounded picture. For example, in questions of intergenerational transfers, Morris concentrates on the probate information, particularly the wills of his business families. Historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would argue that the will was only one instrument, vying with custom, lifetime payments to children (for instance, when they married or set up in business), and, for the better-off (including the middle classes), family settlements and marriage contracts. Morris has taken into account recent studies of eighteenth-century transfers, particularly Amy Louise Erikson's book on women's independent wealth-holding (*Women and Property in Early Modern England* [1993]), but it is not clear whether he has fully trawled non-probate material for his families to put their wills in perspective. There is relatively little on what marriage brought into businesses, or what intervivos transfers set up sons or cousins in their own partnerships and firms. Furthermore, in a study based on Leeds, there must be a case for using the neglected Yorkshire land registry records to cross-check whether the families had other, more passive land investments elsewhere.

The book is an important study, but are some of the sharper edges and consequential lines of research that have been neglected a symptom of a deeper malaise in historical writing? In the past, publishers' readers and editors might well have sought improvements in the final revised draft. This is the second major British monograph by an established historian I have reviewed this year where an extra year or two might have made a considerably better book.

JOHN BROAD
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M. J. D. ROBERTS. *Making English Morals: Voluntary Association and Moral Reform in England, 1787–1886.* (Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories, number 2.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 321. $75.00.

An agreeable, although probably apocryphal, anecdote relates that when the effervescent playwright Richard Brinsley Sheridan was wending his way homeward in a state of high merriment late one night, he was challenged by the parish watch and asked to identify himself. It was a moment of potential social embarrassment. But with prompt wit, despite his drunken state, Sheridan was able to announce his name as "Wilberforce!"

Whether this piquant event actually happened is unknown, but the anecdote retains its point. It was designed to generate malicious laughter at the expense of Wilberforcian moral highmindness while it also paid a back-handed tribute to the impact of one zealous backbench MP. William Wilberforce (1759–1833) never held high office in church or state but is better known to posterity than all the bishops of his era and most of the prime ministers, too.

M. J. D. Roberts has written a thoughtful study that goes far to explaining not only the impact of moral reformers in England, 1787–1886, but simultaneously why the name of Wilberforce could be satirically borrowed by a wit like Sheridan to poke fun at the legions of solemn "do-gooders." Reformers were, after all, generally not acting in an official governmental capacity. Nor were they drawn from the traditional nobility, with vestigial claims to social leadership. Instead, moral reformers acted within voluntary associations that they themselves founded or supported. Hence their claims to authority could be challenged with the indignant enquiry: who did they think they were?

For those earnest middle and upper-middle-class individuals who wanted to improve the society in which they lived, however, association with like-minded fellows seemed the natural way to promote change. Roberts is good at probing the motives and social backgrounds of reform activists. Some, like Wilberforce, had an inner sense of mission: "God Almighty has set before me two great objects: the suppression of the slave trade and the reformation of manners" (p. 17). He penned that declaration in his diary in October 1787 and continued to answer the call throughout his life.

Others, however, were galvanized by specific events. Josephine Butler (1828–1906) witnessed the accidental death of her young daughter and seems to have turned to civic engagement as one means of finding expiation for her grief and anger. Of her later campaign for the repeal of the hated Contagious Diseases Acts, she commented: "This is perhaps after all the very work, the very mission, I longed for years ago, and saw coming afar off, like a bright star." She added, significantly, that the campaign provided an outlet for "being angry without sin" (p. 233).

The strength of Roberts's analysis, meanwhile, goes further by locating charismatic reform leaders like Wilberforce and Butler among their wider social networks and support groups. As well as the very active, there were many thousands who were prepared to join reform societies, to sign petitions, and generally to help to form the elusive "climate of opinion." The rank and file did not have to negotiate the tactical minefields that were often walked by the leadership, complete with periods of doubt and depression. But the fact that these societies were organized both locally and nationally meant that substantive political and financial support could be mobilized. For instance, the Anti-Slavery Society, which was founded in 1823, had 220 branches across the country within sixteen months.

It must be confessed that the structure of Roberts's analysis focuses more closely on the motives and net-

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works of reformers than on the precise history of the reform associations themselves. Their ups and downs have to be disentangled from the detail—and not every moral crusade, of course, was successful. While anti-slavery has "won" legally if not always practically, anti-vice has remained much more problematic—not least because people differed then and continue to differ considerably about what constitutes social "vice."

Throughout all this, Roberts is patient in tracking down the different challenges facing the reformers over time, as they negotiated among the claims of churches, the interests of political parties and sectional lobbies, the partial indifference of the masses, their own debates over tactics, and changing views about the relative merits of state intervention or laissez-faire.

Ultimately, then, this study is an important exploration of a form of civic engagement, outside the organized structures of government but within the wider polity. For Roberts, the saga exemplifies the emergence of civil society in a Habermasian public sphere. However, by setting out so clearly the multiple debates within the political/cultural arena of an industrial, urbanizing society and a mass constitutionalizing state, Roberts also encourages his readers to go beyond the public/private dichotomy to encounter cultural pluralism in action.

PENELOPE J. CORFIELD
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BRENDA ASSAEL. *The Circus and Victorian Society.* (Victorian Literature and Culture Series.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 237. $35.00.

This is a well-produced, nicely illustrated extended essay of about 130 pages of text on significant aspects of the large performing circus in Victorian Britain. A commercial entertainment that had its roots in the eighteenth century, the circus reached its apogee toward the end of the Victorian era when there were, by one count, seventy-four companies throughout the country. Some of these could regularly draw bigger audiences than that other characteristically Victorian leisure institution, the large music hall, although there must have been a wide spectrum of such entertainments. Many circuses were presumably very local, itinerant, and ephemeral, with performers drawn from the rag-tag margins of society; others, like the best-known purveyor of tableau and spectacle, Astley's, were large, long-lived institutions where a few star performers could earn the kind of money that suggested professional respectability. Brenda Assael is, by and large, interested in the top end of the phenomenon, partly, one assumes, because the surviving sources have more to say about these companies, but also because she is concerned to examine just that area where the world of the circus met and problematicized the boundary between the respectable and the vulgar.

By taking a Bakhtinian perspective on the circus as carnival, Assael is able to offer some interesting observations on how to read its multiplicity of meanings, both subversive and confirming of social norms. A variety of surviving contemporary eyewitness accounts are used to establish the subjectivity of the spectator's gaze (or gape) and thus reveal a dynamic, shifting, and contested field, which, she argues, casts further doubt on the social-control class analysis (a familiar target of postmodernist criticism) that underpinned much of the early work on Victorian leisure. Along the way, she has interesting if speculative things to say about the relationship of spectacle and the male equestrian hero to national identity, about Victorian curiosity and the exotic in its imperial contexts, and about the contradictory readings available of the woman performer as victim, sexual provocateur, and liberated athlete. There is of course a chapter on the topsy-turvy subversiveness of the clown and his relatively low social status compared to that of the star performers, and another (somewhat thin) chapter on the child performer and the evangelical struggle to bring the physical and moral well-being of such "waifs" within the scope of legislative protection.

Although this account establishes the empirical outline of the evolution of the large circus, the social character of its performers, and the concerns of moralists, it does not claim to be a thick or complete history but rather a series of "snap-shots" (p. 8). Perhaps unavoidably, its focus on large commercialized spectacle like that provided by Astley's obscures a still-extant netherworld of multitudinous small street and commons entertainments that might plausibly also have come under the rubric of "circus" or itinerant fair. This less professional realm may indeed have been in decline in an industrial age, but it was a tenaciously held area of low culture that persisted into the next century: the provincial and back-street gypsies and mountebanks with their two-headed calves and human freaks, their mummies and sewn-together impossible creatures, and, perhaps, just those explicitly lewd and tawdry elements excised from the larger, institutionalized tent entertainments. One would like to know more about this contrasting world, its policing (surely more difficult than with the larger licensed entertainments) and its presumably less respectable public.

As Assael is intent on generalizing about the totality of Victorian culture—with the reiterated invocation of the theoretical insights of Mikhail Bakhtin, Clifford Geertz, or Stuart Hall—her "historically-contextualized snap-shots" may not provide a sufficiently broad base for some of her ambitious conclusions. Her casual assault on W. L. Burn's well-known, elegant—if no doubt now vulnerable—portrait of mid-Victorian "equipoise" (pp. 138, 151) seems a little egregious here, and the chapter on Victorian curiosity, while offering some interesting thoughts about a plausibly narrowing difference between gaze and gape, curiosity and wonder, ultimately fails to establish a convincing contrast between a Victorian "new way of seeing" (p. 83) and that of the late Enlightenment.

Nevertheless, this is an intelligent and well-re-

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searched engagement with an area of Victorian life that is, if understudied, not of course quite unknown to us. Assael begins her text with an allusion to Sleary's travelling circus in Charles Dickens's *Hard Times* (1854), and throughout, in her search for systems of meaning, the materiality of the body, or "restrain-release" mechanisms, draws on Dickens's text for insight—reminding us that the idea that the circus could subvert the pieties of bourgeois conformism or that it might represent a love of "fancy" and a need for "creative release" in the face of "new industrial imperatives" (pp. 1, 155) long predates the theoretical constructions and jargon of Bakhtinian postmodernism.

HOWARD L. MALCHOW
Tufts University

GILLIAN M. DOHERTY. *The Irish Ordnance Survey: History, Culture and Memory*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. 237. $45.00.

Between 1824 and 1846, the Ordnance Survey produced a collection of detailed maps of Ireland that were quickly recognized as cartographic masterpieces. The story of the Survey and its role in the modernization of Irish society is fairly well known, but little attention has been paid to the Survey's parallel effort to produce encyclopedic accounts of local history, archeology, society, and culture. Only one of these county memoirs was actually published (Templemore, County Derry), but the Survey's work survives as manuscript reports. In this interesting and well-researched study, Gillian M. Doherty offers the first detailed account of the Survey's historical and cultural research and explores its implications for Irish national identity.

The local history project, Doherty reveals, was motivated by the same impulse as the cartographic survey: the desire to describe, understand, and order Ireland. What began as an effort to discover the original place names of townlands featured in the new maps soon became a systematic survey of historical sites and antiquarian collections across the island. The materials gathered, it was hoped, would form a richly detailed adjunct to the physical maps, providing invaluable historical and cultural context to Ireland's physical topography. But the men who directed the Survey had even larger goals in mind. A disciplined, scientific study of local archeology and antiquarian materials would allow them to correct the half-truths that informed Irish popular memory. The resulting objective history of Ireland, some believed, would demonstrate that Ireland's poverty and political disorder were the product of history, not the inherent deficiencies of its people. Britain could then devise a program of improvement that would elevate the people of Ireland, undercutting their desire for political separation. By collecting Irish-language materials and preserving them in English, the leading figures of the Survey also hoped to provide the Anglo-Irish elite, whom they regarded as Ireland's natural leaders, with a culture they could learn and embrace and thus fully reconcile themselves to the Irish majority.

The effort to collect and document the raw materials of this scientific history was also driven by a keen awareness that time was not on the side of the Ordnance Survey. As staff members fanned out into the countryside, they quickly became aware that a great deal of Ireland's linguistic, cultural, and architectural heritage had been lost and that more was at risk. They could not have foreseen the devastation of the Great Famine and the immense changes that followed, but in their rush to preserve a vanishing rural world, the Survey produced an invaluable record of an Ireland that soon ceased to exist.

Despite widespread public approval and sustained praise from academics and journalists in Ireland and Britain, the government suspended work on the memoirs in 1840, ostensibly on the grounds of economy. In reality the scheme was ended because senior members of Robert Peel's government questioned "the expediency, the justice, and the safety of continuing the publication" (p. 26). What concerned critics most was the Survey's research in genealogy and popular memory of dispossession, which they feared could only stir up old animosities and perhaps even undermine land ownership in Ireland. Supporters argued that an unbiased inquiry of Irish history would actually help close the divide. Regardless, no further volumes were published and the project was never revived.

Doherty rightly claims that the memoirs project should not be judged by the publication of a single volume, but rather its "profound implications for nationality" (p. 11) and its "centrality to all future Irish Studies" (p. 211). In preserving elements of Irish antiquity and popular memory and bringing Irish popular culture to the attention of elites in both nations, the Survey made an essential contribution to a relatively new but critically important effort to construct an Irish national identity, literature, and culture in English. This argument certainly sounds valid but, rather frustratingly, Doherty does not explore the larger significance of the memoirs project in any detail. The bulk of the study is well written and overflowing with details on the work of the Survey, but the reader is left wanting a sustained analysis of its influence in the ensuing decades or, at the very least, a detailed discussion of exactly what Doherty believes are the "profound implications" of the subject of her study. The introduction and conclusion seem ideal for pondering these larger issues, but they are disappointingly perfunctory in this volume (one and two pages, respectively). Nonetheless, Doherty is to be congratulated for bringing unexplored facets of the Ordnance Survey's work to our attention. Those interested in the larger issues she raises will surely regard this study as an essential starting point.

MICHAEL DE NIE
University of West Georgia

ADAM SCHWARTZ. *The Third Spring: G. K. Chesterton, Graham Greene, Christopher Dawson, and David Jones.*

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Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 416. $64.95.

Some time after his well-publicized conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1845, John Henry Newman proclaimed the "Second Spring" of British Roman Catholicism, a revitalization of the one true church after a lengthy winter of Protestant domination. With this book, Adam Schwartz carries the story of Roman Catholicism's British renaissance into the twentieth century. For Schwartz, the conversions of prominent British intellectuals in a thoroughly secular age heralded a "Third Spring." Despite the title metaphor, however, military rather than organic images abound in the work. In Schwartz's depiction, his four literary intellectuals become godly guerillas who fight an underground war to overthrow the illegitimate occupying power. Through a painstaking retracing of their different routes to the Roman Catholic Church and their spiritual journeys from that conversion point, Schwartz illumines the shared religious values and social aims that linked G. K. Chesterton, Graham Greene, Christopher Dawson, and David Jones in a "dissenting community of discourse" (p. 11), a religiously based cultural rebellion against modern secularism. Schwartz describes the spiritual battle waged by these four converts against the forces of secularism and materialism. Their conversions, like their works of fiction, history, and poetry, signaled their rejection of the fundamental assumptions of the secular world view and their affirmation of an alternative: "Their 'no' to modern unbelief was a 'yes' to traditional notions of human nature and ways of life and thought" (p. 24).

Schwartz's examination of this cultural rebellion takes the form of separate spiritual biographies, linked by certain recurrent themes. Using an analytical approach based on conversion theory, Schwartz stresses the importance of childhood experiences in shaping each man's adult spiritual journey, particularly the desire to return to the childhood sense of wholeness and integration. For both Greene and Dawson, for example, the entry into boarding school marked the moment when each found himself at odds with his social environment, thrust into a world that no longer made sense. Each of Schwartz's four subjects found that his family's religious tradition—for Chesterton and Greene a sort of respectable, indifferent Anglicanism, for Dawson Anglo-Catholicism, for Jones Evangelicalism—proved inadequate to restore meaning and coherence; yet the answers of secular modernity simply deepened each man's sense of crisis. Each of these writers became convinced that the liberal notion of progress clashed with the evil he perceived in the world, that the material abundance promised by industrialism only deepened spiritual alienation, and that the democratization of society threatened the fragmentation of community and the loss of a hierarchy of value. Troubled by modernity's reconstruction of truth as relative, all four turned to the papacy as a necessary bulwark against the armies of deceit. Yet the church's sure authority proved troublesome for Greene, Dawson, and Jones during the 1960s. (Chesterton was by then long dead.) All three saw Vatican II as a betrayal, the joining of the rebel forces with the very modernity against which they had long been waging their underground war.

Schwartz's comparative analysis adds a great deal to our understanding of these four figures. Placing the manic-depressive Greene, with his multiple affairs and his provisional, contingent version of faith alongside the ebullient Chesterton, champion of orthodoxy, is fairly daring, but Schwartz's pairing succeeds. His careful, comprehensive analysis shows us that these two writers, together with Jones and Dawson, belonged to a single countercultural community of discourse. Where Schwartz is less convincing is the centrality of Roman Catholicism to this community. Certainly he establishes beyond doubt the connections among these four individuals, their unease with many of the features of secular modernity, and their conversions. Yet the frequent intrusions of other figures into the work—T. S. Eliot, Charles Williams, Dorothy Sayers, C. S. Lewis—reveals that the journey away from modernity led in directions other than Rome.

Schwartz's biography-by-biography approach leads to a certain amount of repetition but it does make the book eminently useful for readers interested in, say, Graham Greene but not in the wider Catholic movement. It will perhaps be less useful for historians seeking to understand these four figures in their wider political and social context. How did the latter three, for example, confront the enormous religious and ethical issues raised by the Great Depression? The Holocaust? The bomb? The coming of the welfare state? The large-scale immigration to Britain of nonwhite citizens? Schwartz promises a "companion history of these converts' social criticism" (p. 92, n. 200); presumably this second volume will provide the broader context that the reader misses here.

MEREDITH VELDMAN
Louisiana State University

MARY ELIZABETH PERRY. *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*. (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 202. $35.00.

The history of Spanish approaches to cultural diversity holds special interest as the Western world takes on the new challenges of multiculturalism. In the medieval and early modern periods, the strong and equally proud faiths of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam coexisted in the Spanish peninsula. Like good marriages, the positive dimensions of the resulting interaction among different peoples never made an impression in official court documents; instead, it is the wrangling and the abuse and the violent strife that emerges in the written record. Mary Elizabeth Perry investigates the Christian-Morisco side of this apparent tension. Her book reveals the tragedies behind the Muslim challenge of

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maintaining cultural identity in the midst of powerful assimilating pressures from the nation-state.

Moriscos were Muslims and their descendents who had been baptized into Spain's dominant Christian religion. Their conversion was constantly subject to suspicion because of the obligatory way in which Islamic beliefs and rituals were suppressed as part of the crown's efforts to unify ideologically the Spanish kingdoms. Spain's experiment in compulsory spirituality is analyzed by Perry with grace, precision, and cultural sensitivity. Her study stands out above all for its clear and concise exposition of the political pressures that the Morisco population faced with regard to the perpetuation of its medieval Andalusian heritage. Perry deftly identifies the legal mechanisms by which the Spanish crown gradually tightened control over both public and private manifestations of Islamic traditions, and shows how Morisco communities responded to the situation. A unique contribution of her book is its focus on domestic Morisco reactions to the new power dynamics. Gathering up evidence of minority opinions is never an easy task for historians of the early modern period, and Perry approaches the challenge by culling the archives of Inquisition records, Aljamiado literature, private correspondence, and popular legends.

Through dedicated attention to references about women in this literature, Perry reveals a rich world of private experiences that has until now escaped the attention of traditional political historians. We discover that Morisco women played a critical role in resisting the disappearance of their communities' identities. In both peaceful and overtly violent ways, women like Leonor de Morales, Gerónima de Ambaxil, and Zarçamodonia emerge in the historical records as assertive proponents of Hispano-Muslim culture. These Moriscas responded to the attempted suppression of their traditions at times by fighting valiantly along side men in skirmishes with Christian forces, and more commonly by persisting in their customary domestic habits concerning personal hygiene, prayer, diet, dress, and holiday rituals. Madalena Morisco was tried by inquisitors in Seville in 1609 for washing her body in an open courtyard in a manner that neighbors considered shameful. A witness testified that she was seen washing her face, head, legs, and thighs as well as her private parts. Whatever Madalena's motive, inquisitors interpreted her bathing practice as evidence of Islamic ritual ablution. Perry demonstrates through such instances that for women, gestures of the body rather than expressions of belief became the primary site of their resistance to hegemonic control.

The intellectual challenge that the author wrestles with, openly and honestly, is whether the innumerable instances of Muslim practices recorded in Inquisition records were performed consciously, as acts of political resistance, or unconsciously, as habits of daily life. The paucity of reflective expressions of desire in the archival material available to her makes judgment on this matter difficult. Perry would like to regard Moriscas as active agents in the reproduction of their own culture rather than as passive victims of oppression. Indeed, the whole thrust of Perry's history is to recover the hopes, strategies, and intentions that lay behind minority behavior. Judiciously, she acknowledges that her own interpretive skills as a historian are as fully shaped by the cultural influences in which she lives today as the inquisitor's skills of yesterday. Yet somehow we trust the compelling story that she writes of Morisca feelings as they sold their families' homes and belongings in forced expulsions. Perhaps it is because Perry's new insights on Hispano-Muslim intentions rely so heavily on the legends, stories, and myths that survived several centuries of persecution. Her hand writes in perfect sympathy with Morisco culture. A book like this reveals a rich psychic world. It records courageous criticism of Spanish-Christian injustice, desire for religious syncretism, and willingness to endure pain in pursuit of ethical goals. Interestingly, the stories that sustained Spain's exiled Morisco population were not tales of revenge, Perry demonstrates. They were stories of hope and comfort that strengthened the establishment of new life cycles.

MAUREEN FLYNN
Hobart and William Smith Colleges

KEITH P. LURIA. *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2005. Pp. xxxviii, 357. $69.95.

Scholars of the religious landscape of early modern France recognize that its historiography has for centuries been painted in black and white. Protestant writers portrayed "evil" Catholic authorities (kings, bishops, Jesuits, dragoons) persecuting "good" Huguenots (by torture, imprisonment, forced conversion, or exile), while Catholic polemicists defended "holy violence" as necessary to convert heretics and combat treasonous "republicans." Between the two camps loomed an impenetrable wall. But Keith P. Luria suggests a more nuanced view: that Catholics and Calvinists in Poitou from 1598 to 1685 actually lived with three coterminous "boundaries"—cheerful cooperation, tense coexistence, violent conflict—and that the "walls" between them were permeable.

Based on impressive research, the book's nearly 900 footnotes (many explanatory) attest to Luria's close examination of fifty-five manuscript collections and 400 published primary and secondary sources from French archives and libraries. These footnotes reveal his indebtedness to scholars of confessional conflict (Natalie Zemon Davis and Denis Crouzet), historians of peaceful relations (Bernard Dompnier, Gregory Hanlon, Robert Sauzet, and Elisabeth Labrousse), social historians (Philip Benedict, Raymond Mentzer, John Bossy, Philip Hoffman), as well as numerous cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and social psychologists. In framing his three models, Luria focuses on cultural symbolism and how group identities are constructed and confessional boundaries built. Applying these new constructs to the local situation in Poitou leads him to

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conclude that historians preoccupied with conflict have largely ignored the ways Catholic and Calvinist neighbors cooperated in biconfessional communities, cemetery allotment, marriage arrangements, women's roles, and protecting individual conscience.

For example, Catholics and Huguenots in "boundary one" locales often danced and banqueted together, cooperated as business partners, shared one another's rituals, intermarried, attended one another's baptisms and funerals, buried their dead side by side, and even worshiped together. Their confessional "wall" was extremely permeable. Those living under "boundary two" conditions, however, negotiated demarcations between themselves: different schools, separate cemeteries, temples built outside towns, biconfessional marriages with distinct rituals, and quotas for local militias and town councils. To coexist peacefully, their sacred spaces had to be clearly partitioned. Finally, in "boundary three" areas, ostracism and hostility often led to discrimination: debating with clerics and Capuchin missionaries, disrupting processions, abducting children, forcing conversions, desecrating cemeteries, fighting, stone throwing, even killing. Such behavior reflected a fear of contamination and a desire to minimize or eliminate the hated other. Paradoxically, however, as Luria demonstrates through scores of fascinating anecdotes, all three models could coexist during the same era (1598–1620, 1621–1660, 1661–1685) and even in the same diocese (in various aspects of life).

Luria chose the province of Poitou as his "testing grounds" for several reasons. It was part of the Huguenot heartland in the Midi. It was also the site of the first Catholic mission to convert Calvinists in 1617 and endured repeated military campaigns during the religious warfare of the 1620s. The government established a special regional court there in the 1630s to target Protestant worship. Then in the 1680s it experienced the first dragoon invasion. Consequently, Poitou provides an excellent setting for examining confessional boundary building in communities where Catholics and Huguenots cooperated, coexisted, and combated one another. But does this tripartite paradigm fit confessional relations outside Poitou? Historians and doctoral students should test Luria's model not only on Languedoc, Navarre, and other provinces of the Midi, but also in other regions of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe. Moreover, since this book ends about 1685, future scholars would do well to explore its applications after revocation of the Edict of Nantes in eighteenth-century France.

This reviewer found only one puzzling lacuna in the book. While the author does a commendable job of describing the roles and actions of Catholic clerics (such as Capuchin missionaries, bishops, and local priests) in creating "third boundary" conditions of contention, there is no mention of the Company of the Most Blessed Sacrament. In *Huguenots and Camisards as Aliens of the State* (2001), I explored the role of this largely lay organization in constricting Calvinists' civil and religious rights from 1630 to 1660. Luria does not mention the Company, yet it is difficult to believe that it was nonexistent or inactive in Poitou.

Nonetheless, this is a path-breaking book that should be read not only by historians of seventeenth and eighteenth-century France, but also by scholars in the fields of psychology, anthropology, sociology, and religion. Because lengthy titles and quotations used in the text have been translated into English, graduate students and advanced undergraduates will benefit from perusing it as well. While the inclusion of pictures, drawings, and photos would have enhanced its visual appeal, the fact that this reviewer found only one stylistic error in over 350 pages (page 219 should read "land . . . which they had *not* yet received") testifies to the author's and publisher's careful proofreading efforts.

BRIAN E. STRAYER
Andrews University

LIANNE MCTAVISH. *Childbirth and the Display of Authority in Early Modern France*. (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.) Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2005. Pp. xiv, 257. $79.95.

Lianne McTavish has written an extremely interesting study of the vying for authority among and between male and female childbirth practitioners in early modern France, analyzed from an art historical perspective. Focusing on the visual, and more specifically on the iconography in birthing texts instead of these manuals' written contents, this book is unique in its approach, rather heavy on theory but never gratuitously so. The insights gleaned from Charles Sanders Peirce, whose semeiotics have meaning for a semiotician who dealt with art in particular, are clearly explained and set forth in a systematic fashion. In fact, McTavish constantly draws attention to the ways in which her argument advances and builds on the theoretical framework. Some might find this tiresome, but this reviewer found it very helpful.

McTavish wants to steer away from the common binaries depicting a usurpation of birthing from women by men as the field of obstetrics became "medicalized" in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. This was not a simple victory of book learning over menial routine, of theory over unschooled practice, of insiders over outsiders, of city over countryside. McTavish argues that male surgeons were not a unified or uniformly sophisticated group and that what happened is a much more nuanced story of competition but also negotiation, accommodation, and even cooperation as childbirth practitioners of both sexes performed and displayed their skills. Examining the visual allows the author to see, and to show readers, the complexity of this contested terrain.

Exactly how, McTavish asks, did men ever manage to position themselves to be taken seriously and gain legitimacy as experts in the lying-in chamber, instead of being seen as intruders in this very private female space? Invoking the "display culture" of early modern France, she examines the visual dynamics of practitio-

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ners and patients, their self-presentation, how they sized each other up, and the importance of gesture, dress, and comportment. The chapters cover different "sites of display:" the birthing chamber, the female midwife's body, the male surgeon's body, the laboring bodies of pregnant women as they delivered, and the unborn body—which she refrains from calling a fetus in deference to the usages of the age.

Describing early modern masculinity as "precarious" rather than "hegemonic," McTavish shows the lengths to which men needed to go to embody obstetrical identity, competence, and authority in the eyes both of their female clients and of their practitioner colleagues. The struggle was evident in the ways that men drew on the experience of female relatives to enhance their own authority, and in the attention they focused on their own impressive physical feats, their exhausting labors to assist and save both mother and child. The struggle can further be traced in the deployment of images in their books, author portraits and birthing diagrams that were much more than mere illustrations of the text. They used these as tools to make clear their prowess, for expertise could not simply be talked about: it had to show. The visual, McTavish argues, was essential in building and maintaining professional reputations in birthing.

In a fascinating chapter on "Handling the Unborn: Men-midwives between Vision and Blindness," the author reminds us that men had to deliver babies without looking. Because the rules of decorum had the mother fully draped, male practitioners needed to feel their way to the baby, thus privileging the sense of touch over sight. Their eyes had to be "the ends of [their] fingers" (p. 187). Yet their books were filled with whole series of images of unborn babies. So what were the images accomplishing? What work were they doing? McTavish argues that their purpose was not, as anti-abortion interpretations in our own day would suggest, to represent individual fetal personhood. "Such readings do little justice to the layered, flexible and paradoxical images, replacing their ambiguities with a static interpretation" (p. 207). These images, showing babies in acrobatic but perilous positions, often tangled in their umbilical cords, from which they needed to be rescued by means of a skillful, even virtuosic delivery, were really not about the babies at all, but about the offstage experts who would enter and save them, thus earning their mothers' trust. The pictures actually featured these invisible, implied "others" and the crucial role they had to play.

Some might find that McTavish, in her determination to avoid careless generalizations and the overly facile arguments of the past, equivocates too much in her otherwise welcome, subtle approach. The book is filled with "mixed messages" and "multiple potential meanings," and arguments about how male and female images are "unstable, shifting between gendered roles instead of solidifying them" (p. 218). Perhaps anticipating such a reaction, McTavish insists that "scholars should be prepared to find contradictory messages that refuse to gel into a tidy conclusion" (p. 207). This is in fact very refreshing.

NINA RATTNER GELBART
Occidental College

JENNIFER NGAIRE HEUER. *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789–1830*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 256. $34.95.

There is a fundamental contradiction between the republican conception of the citizen as an autonomous individual and the social and political realities of gender and family obligations. Jennifer Ngaire Heuer traces the implications of this contradiction during the first four decades of French citizenship. Using pamphlets, petitions, court cases, and legal opinions, her book explores the debates that arose from the unanticipated consequences for French families of revolutionary legislation such as the penalties for emigration. Was the woman who emigrated with her husband a dutiful wife or an enemy of the people? Could the man returned from the "civil death" imposed by his emigration reclaim his paternal rights?

The arc described by these debates is a familiar one. As the revolution radicalized, law increasingly rated obligations to the state above those to the family. After Thermidor, the pendulum began to swing back until Napoleon's Civil Code restored patriarchal power, strengthened by making the husband and father also the citizen. Two things prevent this from being a story we already know: first, the inconsistencies within all of the positions, and second, the continued existence of ambiguities under the Civil Code.

Throughout, legislators were caught short by implications of the laws they had passed, and courts scrambled to apply them in ways consistent with the realities of gender and family. An example is the Hoppé-Lange case in 1796–1797: a German father sued for paternal rights over his illegitimate child born to a French actress. Should paternal rights trump citizenship or vice versa? The court waffled, placing the child in a state-run institution. Many such compromises and inconsistencies muddy the apparently clear legislative path from patriarchy to patriotism back to patriarchy. As Heuer concludes, "competing models of family and citizenship rights cannot be mapped simply onto specific regimes" (p. 199).

Heuer does not assume that the Civil Code finally resolved the issue but probes its application as intently as she does that of the transient revolutionary legislation that preceded it. She finds that although the Code declared that citizenship did not concern women, in practice it often did. The book's last chapter investigates controversies over naturalization in Alsace in the early nineteenth century. According to the Civil Code, a foreigner's marriage to a French woman did not affect his civil status, but in practice foreign men married to French women found it easier to acquire trade licenses and other benefits of French citizenship.

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The book tracks the contradictions that each new law forced into public view, then sifts the various arguments that emerged. Because some issues recurred (for example those concerning emigration), some of the discourse is repetitive and much of it inconclusive. This is Heuer's point—that family status and citizenship remained in tension throughout the period—but it does weigh down the story. However, the causes célèbres, like the Hoppé-Lange case, and the brief but fascinating foray into regional immigration history broach new issues and provide refreshing changes in pace. Following Suzanne Desan's *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (2004), Heuer exploits the rich discourse of petitions and court cases to move beyond legislation to ordinary experience and attitudes. Her research is convincing, and Heuer uses it deftly to construct a clear argument that nonetheless does justice to the incoherence of the sources. This is a thoroughly admirable study.

Although narrowly focused on citizenship, Heuer's book is broad in argument and chronological and geographic sweep. The expansion and contraction of the French Empire during this period added yet another complicating factor to the definition of citizenship. Although Heuer pays closest attention to the problems posed by gender and family status, she also argues that the meaning of "citizen" depended on the status to which it was being contrasted, and "foreigner" was only one of the possibilities. There were also émigré, "French" (*la qualité de français*), the Old Regime term *régnicole*, and the neologism *républicole*. These latter three terms had no meaning in law, but they expressed a belief in national belonging that citizenship did not fully encompass. Underneath the shifting legislation that tried to reconcile state and family was a consensus: citizenship entailed political rights and duties that could adhere only to adult men, but women and children nonetheless owed loyalty to the state and were, in contrast to foreigners, citizens. The law never adequately captured this consensus, of course, because it was self-contradictory. The citizenship that the French Revolution bequeathed to the modern world was a conundrum from the start, and so it has remained.

MARGARET H. DARROW
Dartmouth College

ALYSSA GOLDSTEIN SEPINWALL. *The Abbé Grégoire and the French Revolution: The Making of Modern Universalism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 341. $55.00.

In this superb intellectual biography of the first priest enshrined in the Panthéon, the holiest temple of French republicanism, Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall focuses on the ambiguous legacy of the abbé Henri Grégoire's lifelong involvement in efforts to integrate what would today be called "minorities" and "underprivileged groups" into a universalistic vision of the French nation. Primarily known before 1789 as an advocate of Jewish emancipation and as a reform-minded cleric seeking to bring enlightenment and "improvement" to the peasants of Lorraine, Grégoire (1750–1831) quickly achieved national fame as one of the revolutionary leaders most committed to a broad application of the logic of revolutionary equality (although, as Sepinwall clearly demonstrates, his willingness to speak and act on behalf of those discriminated against on the basis of race, religion, and class did not extend into the realm of gender). Moreover, having somehow managed to survive the vicissitudes of the revolutionary tidal wave, Grégoire emerged during the postrevolutionary period as a living symbol of egalitarian republican aspirations, even as he remained active in the international abolitionist movement and served as a kind of "godfather" to the newly independent Haitian Republic.

While Sepinwall conveys throughout a residual sense of respect and admiration for Grégoire's record of engagement in a long series of struggles for equality and inclusiveness (at least with regard to men), her study accentuates the degree to which this "defender of the cause of liberty and unfortunate people" saw his clients as requiring "regeneration" in order to become worthy of assimilation into the nation (p. 183). Thus, Jews, blacks, peasants, patois-speakers, and anyone else not fitting Grégoire's image of a properly behaved and properly functioning French citizen would have to shed their "difference," even to the point of embracing intermarriage and/or religious conversion, before being fully welcomed into the national fold. Indeed, as Sepinwall argues, it was precisely because "women's difference was a fixed one that could not be erased by converting, adopting a new language, or intermarrying" that Grégoire regarded them as incapable of regeneration and therefore as permanently ineligible for full citizenship (p. 102). Ultimately rooted, it would seem, in some kind of psychocultural longing to recreate the world in his own image and fundamentally at odds with current notions of respect for "diversity" and "multiculturalism," Grégoire's universalism could only be realized, in Sepinwall's particularly apt phrase, through "the homogenizing action of regeneration" (p. 102).

Skillfully mapping out what she sees as the far-reaching ramifications of the regeneration paradigm, Sepinwall finds echoes of Grégoire's urge to erase difference in paternalistic French colonial policy and, in serendipitous anticipation of the media coverage garnered by recent rioting by Muslim and black youth, in longstanding republican resistance to cultural pluralism within the hexagon. Moreover, with specific reference to current debates in French revolutionary historiography, she also finds links between Grégoire's ideas on regeneration and the repressive republicanism of the year II. For just as marginal and oppressed groups needed to be regenerated in order to be incorporated into the nation, so too did the revolution's enemies and indeed all those who were not sufficiently devoted to it need to be regenerated (or otherwise purified) to be considered worthy citizens of the Republic of Virtue. Thus, very much in line with recent emphasis in revolutionary studies on the explanatory power of ideology and discourse,

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Sepinwall sees the "logic of regeneration" and the "force of language" as leading the revolutionaries away from political as well as cultural pluralism (pp. 88, 135–136).

One cannot, of course, fault what is essentially an intellectual biography for not treating other dimensions of its subject's life in more depth. Still, although Sepinwall succeeds in conveying a good overall sense of the general trajectory of Grégoire's long life and is especially effective in establishing the fundamental and enduring centrality of his identity as a Catholic priest, this reader at least was left wishing that the author had provided a more complete analysis of his political activities during the revolution itself, and in particular, a more detailed examination of his course of action at the crucial moment when the Girondins were proscribed and of the policies he pursued in 1792–1793 as a *représentant en mission* in Savoy. For her part, Sepinwall insists on the importance of "choices," stating that "the seeds of the Terror were implicit in choices made earlier by the revolutionaries" (p. 88), but the choices that she has in mind appear to be largely discursive rather than behavioral ones, with the "force of language" seemingly being relied upon to do the bulk of the heavy lifting in terms of explaining how we get to the guillotine. Indeed, in concentrating almost exclusively on what Grégoire said and wrote during the revolution, Sepinwall's book ultimately begs the question of how words and deeds may be connected.

BARRY SHAPIRO
Allegheny College

SANDY PETREY. *In the Court of the Pear King: French Culture and the Rise of Realism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 178. $29.95.

Nineteenth-century French history and fiction have been pressed for decades into illustrating wide-ranging theoretical developments. Dominick LaCapra's work is emblematic of this trend; Sandy Petrey's scholarship is another example. Petrey's earlier book, *Realism and Revolution: Balzac, Stendhal, Zola, and the Performance of History* (1988), attempted nothing less than to mediate disagreements between continental and Anglo-American language theories by adverting to J. L. Austin's concept of speech acts, justifying thereby both the French Revolution as collective action and realist fiction as semiotically sophisticated.

Petrey's new book, a pendant to the earlier work, is less reliant on language theorists or critics (Austin is absent; only Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis* [1953] has pride of place in his theoretical armature). This shorter work returns to Honoré de Balzac and Stendhal while bringing George Sand into the mix and fixing chronology on what Petrey argues are the crucial first two years not only of the July Monarchy but of realist fiction: 1830–1832. The addition of nonliterary works—one each from caricature, painting, and opera—does not alter Petrey's abiding focus, which is the theoretical defense of realist literature.

Realism vitally communicates the contradictions intrinsic to both the mimetic impulse and juste-milieu France. For Petrey, literature like politics in postrevolutionary France was riveted with dualities and irreconcilable elements. Foremost among these was Louis-Philippe's binary status as revolutionary-king, the monarch whose reign was inaugurated by revolution. Petrey's sense of politics is fairly static: for him, the antithetical elements of the king's hyphenated status could be joined only by rhetorical legerdemain, not by policy or policing. (Other than contemporary journals, the historiography on which he relies is compassed in Pierre Rosanvallon's *Le moment Guizot* [1985].) Petrey's methodology dovetails perfectly with his title: he seeks homologous parallels among texts, images, and political realities, best illustrated by Charles Philipon's classic caricature of Louis-Philippe as a pear.

Between November 1831, when Philipon, editor of *La Caricature*, defended in court his satirical depictions of Louis-Philippe by claiming that a representation is not reality (marshalling the notable semantic example that a king is not a pear, even when combined in an image), and September 1835, when new censorship laws took effect, "the Pear" became ubiquitous shorthand for the monarch and a widespread illustration. Petrey adduces a fictional example: a character in Stendhal's novel *Lucien Leuwen* (1834–1836) complains that everywhere he goes, he sees "a pear or some other seditious emblem. Even school kids show me pears" (p. 3). Typical of the effective if highly literary causal interpolations characteristic of his method, Petrey later proposes a subtle reading of this novel.

The "pyriform" monarch was a perfect synecdoche for a chimerical monarchy: "Philipon's invention became the most famous representation of a king in French history because it nailed the scam that made Louis-Philippe as royal as all French history's other kings" (p. 32). A pear is to a bourgeois monarch what realist fiction is to French culture, symbolically refracting confused ideas of reality. This is the leitmotif of Petrey's mostly compelling readings of fiction short and long: Balzac's stories in the *Études philosophiques* (plus *Colonel Chabert* [1832]), George Sand's *Indiana* (1831), and Stendhal's *Le rouge et le noir* (1830) and *Lucien Leuwen*. Of the first, Petrey writes: "chronology and thematics alike bind them tightly to the July Monarchy's early history, the history defined by the interplay of reality and representation memorably captured in Philipon's pear" (p. 67). Aurore Dudevant's transformation into Sand is a gendered version of the distinctive representational constructions circulating in 1830. *Indiana* is especially edifying, since it is both atypical of Sand's oeuvre and her composition closest to 1830. Stendhal's *Le rouge et le noir*, an exact contemporary to the July Monarchy, also triggers chronological considerations.

If Petrey's exegeses promise to elucidate juste-milieu politics, they succeed best in endorsing literary realism. The discussion of Delacroix's famous canvas, *July 28: Liberty Leading the People*, is less persuasive, focusing

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on its "hybrid style" as "allegory and reality." Giacomo Meyerbeer's opera, *Robert le Diable*, which "premiered on November 21, 1831, exactly one week after Charles Philipon first made Louis-Philippe a pear" (p. 107), is similarly conscripted to a cause more credibly fought by fiction (Petrey's tendency to clinch his points with repetitive variations on the pear is a stylistic weakness).

The work sustains its themes convincingly, demonstrating for historians the value of studying literary culture. Like Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson's *Paris as Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth-Century City* (1994), this book places the historicity of literature at the center of cultural history. For those cultural historians still perplexed by the fate of historiography "after the linguistic turn," Petrey offers a view of the relationship among history, language, and literature that is plausible and affirmative: "Realism is representational because it shows representation producing reality, creating the world in which human beings exist and interact, creating those human beings' identities along with their modes of existence and interaction. Lives depend on what represents them. If the representation fails, the lives become unbearable" (p. 146).

Gonzalo J. Sanchez
Juilliard School

Carolyn J. Eichner. *Surmounting the Barricades: Women in the Paris Commune*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 279. Cloth $55.00, paper $24.95.

Carolyn J. Eichner analyzes the political positions and activities of three prominent women from the Paris Commune of 1871: journalist and novelist André Léo (1824–1900), grass-roots activist Paule Mink (1839–1901), and labor organizer Elisabeth Dmitrieff (1850–1918). While her book centers on their roles during the Commune, it is less a study of the Commune than an exploration of the varieties of socialism and feminism espoused by women in the nineteenth century. The study is divided into three chronological periods: before, during, and after the Commune. Each part compares the political activities and theories of all three women.

Eichner identifies the women as feminist socialists, a political philosophy she defines as advocating an end to "interwoven inequitable gender and class hierarchies" (p. 4). In nineteenth-century France, feminist socialists had few male supporters. Many prominent male socialists believed women should be confined to the domestic, private sphere. The study examines the impact of the Paris Commune on each woman's theories. Léo was the oldest, most theoretical, and most moderate of the three. She challenged male socialists to abandon the stereotype of the weak female; opposed the Catholic Church's control of girls' education and convent-run workshops; and thought that women and men should be equal in law, politics, marriage, family, and work. Léo believed deeply in social revolution but feared the policies of the most radical Communards would mean the Commune would have to defend itself in the streets. She thus called for moderation from the government but also, if necessary, for women's right to participate in the armed defense of the Commune.

Russian-born Dmitrieff was the youngest of the women. Sent to observe the Commune by Marxists in London, she quickly moved from observation to participation. Focusing on the long-standing exploitation of women's labor and their need for work, she organized the Union des femmes pour la défense de Paris et les soins aux blessés (Union of Women for the Defense of Paris and the Care of the Wounded). Despite its name, the Union's primary goals were the provision of jobs for women and the equalization of men's and women's wages. Dmitrieff believed in hierarchy and centralized authority and demanded that the Union's women report to her and not participate in other revolutionary organizations. She established important contacts with the Commune government, and the organization might have been of considerable importance if the Commune had survived. Her demand for control alienated her from women like Léo, however, who believed less in authoritarianism and more in education.

Mink, the daughter of a Polish army officer and a French noblewoman, in distinct contrast with Dmitrieff, believed in action rather than organization. During the Commune, she spoke nightly at the political clubs of Paris, opposed the "reactionary influence" of the Catholic Church on women's lives, and argued that violence was the only way to achieve radical change.

All three women escaped Paris after the Commune's defeat. Léo publicly denounced the atrocities of both the Versailles government and the most violent members of the Commune. When both liberals and socialists found this unpalatable, she retreated into private life, where she continued to write socialist and feminist novels. Dmitrieff returned to Russia, where Eichner argues she failed to reestablish her political identity, in part because she abandoned her pseudonym of Dmitrieff. Mink lectured and espoused social revolution, anticlericalism, and feminism for the rest of her life.

Eichner does a fine job laying out the women's political positions and contextualizes them well. Her discussion of the varieties of French socialism, the Catholic Church's role in women's lives and work, the changing nature of French anticlericalism, the world of the radical political clubs, and women's work are exceptionally clear and helpful. Her explication of the women's activities and ideas before and after the Commune is particularly useful to her thesis. Eichner's evidence clearly supports her argument that these women crossed gender and class boundaries and espoused a variety of socialist and feminist positions. She observes correctly that historians' tendency to concentrate on Louise Michel to the exclusion of other women has constrained our understanding of the varieties of nineteenth-century women's socialist views, but a few more pages on Michel's views, especially after the Commune when she and Mink were frequently on the same lecture circuit, would allow the author to demonstrate yet one

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more feminist socialist position articulated in the late nineteenth century.

The book will be of considerable interest to scholars in the history of women, feminism, socialism, modern France, and the Paris Commune.

GAY L. GULLICKSON
University of Maryland

ADAM RAYSKI. *The Choice of the Jews under Vichy: Between Submission and Resistance*. Foreword by FRANÇOIS BÉDARIDA. Translated by WILL SAYERS. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. 2005. Pp. xvi, 388. $35.00.

The publication of an English translation of Adam Rayski's book, originally published in France in 1992, is a welcome addition to the burgeoning literature on French Jewish responses to the Holocaust. As the book's subtitle suggests, Rayski sees the political choices facing Jews under Vichy as falling into two broad categories: submission and resistance. Rayski's primary aim is to pay homage to those Jews who participated in resistance activities of all sorts and to disprove the arguments of Raul Hilberg and Hannah Arendt that passivity, resignation, and especially complicity in the creation of Jewish Councils, transformed Jews into agents of their own destruction. Although Rayski agrees that certain sectors of the French Jewish community deserve such opprobrium, especially the Union Générale des Israélites de France (UGIF), the Jewish Council created by Vichy in November 1941, he nevertheless contends that the vastly disproportionate role played by Jews in the French Resistance should counter this image of "subservience."

The author's second goal is to correct the impression that "France is the country which along with Germany most persecuted the Jews" (p. 315). Although he blasts Vichy leadership for its role in the persecution and deportation of Jews, Rayski nevertheless draws a sharp distinction between the Vichy administration and the population at large. He points out that although nearly 76,000 Jews were deported from France with Vichy collaboration, it is also the case that three-quarters of the French Jewish population survived. This fact Rayski attributes above all to the extraordinary sympathy and solidarity manifested by the population as a whole, which he claims broke with Vichy after the mass deportations of the summer of 1942 and demonstrated a heroic willingness to engage in Jewish rescue.

This book is based on exhaustive research. In addition to an extensive reading of the secondary literature and printed primary sources, including hundreds of memoirs, the author conducted dozens of interviews. It is primarily these first-hand testimonies that inject life and freshness into Rayski's account, which like the works of Susan Zuccotti (*The Holocaust, the French and the Jews* [1993]) and Renée Poznanski (*Jews in France during World War II* [2001]) conveys a vivid sense of lived experience. In addition to the archives of the Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (CDJC) in Paris, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, and YIVO in New York City, where the UGIF archives are housed, he has also utilized the Maurice Moch collection at the Alliance Israélite Universelle, where a portion of the wartime archives of the Central Consistory are housed.

Unfortunately, despite his extensive research, Rayski fails to present an impartial historical account of Jewish political choices during this period. Ultimately this remains a book of moral judgment. It stands as a memorial to those Jews, and especially Jewish communists, who fought in the Resistance, while it indicts those who opted for the politics of maintaining a legal presence at Vichy. Moreover, by depicting this story almost entirely through the lens of the native/immigrant divide—a lens that unfortunately has colored far too much of the historiography of the interwar period as well as the Vichy era—Rayski masks the many sharp divisions that prevailed within each of these camps, oversimplifying the moral choices that confronted all Jews.

Rayski's main charge against the principal organizations of native Jewry, especially the Central Consistory and the UGIF, is that by maintaining a legal presence at Vichy, they encouraged a false sense of optimism among Jews that Vichy would protect them against German excesses. But was the decision of Jewish organizations like the Central Consistory or the UGIF really as naïve and shortsighted as Rayski suggests? Should Jews have known from the start that the Germans intended to annihilate them and that Vichy would serve as an all too willing partner in this endeavor? Rayski's own evidence suggests that no one in the Jewish community anticipated that Europe's Jews were slated for annihilation (although the Jewish communists did circulate a tract in Yiddish in the days immediately prior to the Vel d'Hiv roundups of July 16–17, 1942, warning that "the enemy is preparing an unheard of crime against the Jewish people" [pp. 85–86]). Moreover, although Rayski is sharply critical of the UGIF in the occupied zone for having failed to warn the Jewish population of Paris of these roundups, he justifies the fact that the Resistance refrained from protesting the deportation convoys by claiming that the "deportees themselves would not—could not—believe in their certain deaths" (p. 277).

To be sure, Vichy's two Jewish statutes sent an unmistakable signal that all Jews in France, native and foreign alike, were to be targeted for discrimination. But Vichy's Jewish policies with regard to foreign Jews did not initially appear altogether different than those of the late Third Republic. Emigration remained the regime's principal goal from 1940–1941, and Jewish organizations were able to arrange for the departure of several thousands of Jews through the spring of 1942, despite the myriad of complications involved in securing exit visas. Moreover, Vichy proved particularly susceptible to criticism regarding the treatment of internees. In April 1941 it appointed André Jean-Faure, prefect of the Ardèche, to serve as inspector general of the camps, and under his supervision facilities were im-

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proved, private organizations were granted greater access, and internees began to be released in significant numbers, either through incorporation into the Groupements de Travailleurs Etrangers (GTE) or emigration. At the same time, children were increasingly turned over to the care of relief organizations. Indeed, it was Jean-Faure's intention to close the internment camps altogether, and he worked tirelessly to achieve this end; as a result, the camp population in the unoccupied zone shrank from some 50,000 in February 1941 to about 12,000 to 13,000 by the summer of 1942. To be sure, the regime abruptly changed course once the deportations began, but to blame Jewish organizations for not having anticipated this shift is grossly unfair.

Rayski also dismisses the principal motivation that encouraged Jewish leaders to cooperate in the UGIF: the desire to provide relief to destitute Jews, especially those trapped in the internment camps in the south. He suggests that had Jews not assumed this task, the state would have taken over. But had native Jews abdicated their responsibility in this regard, there can be no doubt that the situation in the camps would have deteriorated sharply, and native Jewish leadership would have been castigated as callous and cold-hearted by their immigrant coreligionists. Indeed, this was the issue that led to the split between the leaders of the UGIF, especially Raymond-Raoul Lambert, and the Central Consistory. Although Rayski, along with other historians, applauds the Consistory's decision not to participate in the UGIF as an act of resistance, the fact is that this decision was motivated by a heavy dose of xenophobia—the desire to prevent the state from imposing on Jews an ethnic as opposed to a strictly religious definition—as well as an extraordinary disregard for the plight of foreign Jews. Since Rayski lumps nearly all native Jews together, he fails to understand the underlying reasons for this rift between the UGIF and the Consistory. He also fails to differentiate sufficiently the UGIF in the occupied zone from its counterpart in the south. Whereas the former was swiftly coerced into abetting German aims, the latter never had to resort to such tactics since it continued to receive funding from the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) in the U.S. Moreover, the UGIF in the unoccupied zone remained a federation of organizations, and its individual constituents retained a significant degree of autonomy. Rayski minimizes this autonomy, but the fact that organizations like the Organisation de Secours aux Enfants (OSE) and the Eclaireurs Israélites de France (EIF) continued to have a legal existence within the UGIF is precisely what allowed them to embark on a program of illegal activities in 1943–1944, especially the hiding of Jewish children, while continuing to receive JDC funding through the UGIF. Moreover, the fact that the UGIF itself increasingly gave a green light to these illegal activities suggests that the choice between legality and "clandestinity" was far more complex than Rayski suggests.

Finally, Rayski's assumption that the French population was overwhelmingly sympathetic to Jews is far too simplistic. While it is true that French public opinion began to turn against Vichy in the summer of 1942, in large part due to Vichy collaboration in the deportations, it is also true that prior to that time there was little public outcry against Vichy's anti-Jewish policies. Indeed, abundant evidence suggests that such policies, especially those directed against foreign Jews, had considerable public support. Ambivalence rather than open sympathy for Jews best describes public attitudes. Furthermore, Rayski's claim that seventy-five percent of Jews in France survived the war, due above all to the rescue efforts of non-Jews, also needs to be treated with skepticism. While there is no doubt that many non-Jews participated in rescue, other less personal factors, such as the availability of escape routes into Switzerland and Spain, the fact that native Jews were never systematically interned in camps, and the refusal of Vichy authorities to mark Jews in the southern zone with the Jewish star also played some role. To suggest that Vichy's anti-Jewish policies prior to the summer of 1942 never had public support is ahistorical, and it encourages the pernicious tendency, which has become popular of late, to blame Vichy antisemitism exclusively on the administration as opposed to the society at large. To be sure, the popular antisemitism that existed in France was not of the exterminationist variety, but many in France had no difficulty accepting milder forms of discrimination such as restrictions against foreign Jews, stripping recently naturalized Jews of citizenship, and imposing quotas on Jews in liberal professions, the civil service, and the military.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, Rayski's book remains valuable largely for the valuable primary source material it brings to the fore. Despite a few errors—Philippe Pétain's secretary's name was Jean Jardel, not Jordell (p. 107), and the general secretary of the Central Consistory was Albert Manuel, not Emmanuel (p. 37)—the University of Notre Dame Press with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum should be commended for having made this work available in an excellent English translation. Now that the archival record is for the most part complete, it can only be hoped that a truly impartial and comprehensive political history of Jewish organizational responses to Vichy and German persecution will be written, one that emphasizes the fluidity of the relationship between legality and resistance and shows that these two states were not mutually exclusive, but frequently coexisted and reinforced one another.

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LEOS MÜLLER. *Consuls, Corsairs, and Commerce: The Swedish Consular Service and Long-distance Shipping, 1720–1815.* (Studia Historica Upsaliensia, number 213.) Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. 2004. Pp. 268.

Leos Müller belongs to a new generation of economic historians in Sweden that is expanding a field long dominated by Eli F. Hecksher and his adherents by adopting

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new perspectives and theoretical concepts and by applying these to both old and new areas of research. This trend is clear in Müller's book, which is laid out in typical Scandinavian academic monograph style. It begins with an introduction that reviews the literature and conceptual bases for the study, lays out the central questions and interpretive perspectives to be argued, and summarizes the focus of each chapter. Six content chapters and a conclusion follow. Also included are numerous tables and illustrations, eight appendixes, a bibliography, and an index. Internal documentation, in footnote format, is extensive.

Behind this study lie several long-running debates in Swedish economic history. One concerns the importance of export trade versus changes in domestic agriculture, production, and markets as causes of the country's industrialization. A second involves the causes and timing of growth in the shipping sector. Here one school advocates a post-1850 technology driven perspective, while another takes a longer, more incremental, multicausal view. Müller advocates the latter arguments in both debates. For him export commerce and shipping were important growth elements in Sweden's economic development, especially in the period under consideration here, 1718–1815. During this period, Sweden faced new economic and diplomatic situations. The Great Northern War, a two decade long struggle, resulted in the loss of most of the country's empire, mainly to Russia. From 1721, growth through military action was no longer an option, although this was ignored at least five times before 1815. As a result, national leaders opted to encourage "growth" through trade and shipping.

Müller also seeks to expand the definition of Swedish diplomatic history. This is not a book about great leaders, aristocratic diplomats, alliances with great powers, or wars in the name of empire. It is about "the Cinderella service" (p. 17), about the often mundane lives of consuls, about men from merchant class backgrounds dealing with the interests of businesses, shippers, and sailors. Why? Because this largely untold story contains elements of importance to eighteenth-century Swedish history. These ordinary men helped to fulfill national policy goals by facilitating trade, negotiating agreements with governments that insured the safety of Swedish cargoes and/or ships, arranged cargoes, and promoted Swedish goods. Thereby they helped give Sweden an edge in certain global trade and shipping niches by keeping down what Müller believes was key: "transaction costs."

The narrative chapters of the volume focus on the development of Sweden's consular service, two geographic areas, and varied types of commerce and shipping operating within the theoretical/conceptual framework developed in the introduction. Chapter two offers an overview of the Swedish consular service's history between about 1600 and 1900. Early locations included Amsterdam, Hamburg, Elsinore, Moscow, and Lisbon. After 1651 and the founding of the Swedish Board of Trade, distinctions were drawn between diplomatic and consular locations. Significant growth occurred after 1718, when no fewer than thirty consulates were established in southern Europe and the Mediterranean alone, including those at Livorno (1720), Algiers (1729), Tripoli (1739), Genoa (1748), Madrid (1754), and Constantinople (1777). Consulates in the Americas were established beginning with Boston and Philadelphia (1783) and Charleston (1784), followed by New York (1799), Rio de Janeiro (1808), Port au Prince (1830), and Havana (1839).

Chapter three focuses on Swedish interests in southern Europe and the Mediterranean, where Swedes obtained salt; sold staples including iron, timber, and tar; dreamed of a profitable Levant trade; and played a surprisingly large part in "tramp" shipping. When Müller turns to the consuls, he pays particular attention to dangers posed by pirates operating out of the Barbary "states." To minimize these dangers, consuls arranged convoys and negotiated treaties with North African rulers under which safety from corsairs was exchanged for regular shipments of "gifts" from Sweden—mainly cannon, balls, and gunpowder. The first such treaty was signed with the ruler of Algiers in 1729.

In chapter four, Müller discusses the starkly different commercial situation in southern Europe compared with the Baltic and how Sweden adapted to succeed there. Sweden's growing consular system was vital to this success. Consuls were appointed by the Board of Trade. Some were salaried; some had to rely on income from fees and commissions. Many were also merchants and came from established Swedish merchant families. Their activities are known to us largely through the reports they sent to Stockholm about prices, goods, local rules, health conditions, political developments, and Swedish ship traffic and cargoes. The chapter includes detailed looks at exemplary individuals who served in Lisbon, Cadiz, Marseilles, Livorno, and North Africa. Müller concludes that shipping was more important to Sweden than previously thought, that Sweden's neutrality was vital in furthering the country's commercial interests, and that the consuls were especially important in keeping down protection costs, which were an important element in setting the costs of shipping.

Chapter five provides a context for the developments in southern Europe and a summary for this part of the book. Müller cites as central Sweden's fundamentally aggressive trade policy intended to meet the changed, post-1721 situation. Under this policy, Swedish exports were pushed in southern Europe. At the same time, under the 1724 Navigation Act, these goods had to be carried in Swedish bottoms. Thus the interests of both commodity traders and shippers were served. The evidence indicates this policy worked. Although variable, demand for Swedish goods was strong in southern Europe. At the same time, Sweden's shipping capacity increased, and Sweden was in a relatively advantageous price position because of good crew-to-tonnage ratios (labor productivity), neutrality, and low transaction costs.

The focus of chapters six and seven shifts to the Ca-

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ribbean, the Atlantic, and North America. Two very different stories emerge. The first involves Sweden's high hopes for commercial success in the Caribbean, especially after acquiring St. Barthélemy from France in 1784. Gustavia was established as a free port, and a Swedish West Indies Company was founded. Hopes never matched expectations, however. The most profitable element in the Caribbean connection was the growth of Swedish tramp shipping connections between southern Europe, the Caribbean, and North America. The second story is about the growth of Gothenburg as a "loophole" in Napoleon's Continental System after 1806, the growing connection with America as a source of products and the principal market for Swedish iron, and the decline of Swedish transatlantic shipping.

Overall this is an excellent work. It is carefully written, soundly based on primary materials including the written reports of many of Sweden's consuls, and well argued. It is theoretically sophisticated and narratively interesting—a fine mix of analysis and story. Although not exactly riveting stylistically, this reviewer found it very engaging.

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Michael B. Gross. *The War against Catholicism: Liberalism and the Anti-Catholic Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 354. $70.00.

Jesuit revival missions rocking with hellfire sermons and uncontrolled emotional outbursts; lurid stories of convents abounding in secret dungeons, torture chambers, and obscene sexuality; and fanatical women, manipulated by conspiratorial clerics, violating the boundaries of a rational, progressive, and masculine public sphere: such, asserts Michael B. Gross, were the iconic elements of a bourgeois imagination, at once fevered, ferocious, and fearful, that fundamentally redefined nineteenth-century German liberalism on the basis of anti-Catholicism. The argument is powerful, provocative, and pregnant with consequence, for it challenges historians to reconsider the essential nature, goals, and contributions of German liberalism. In Gross's account, liberal complicity in the Kulturkampf, the Bismarckian reich's assault on the core institutions, cultural identity, and civil rights of German Catholics, can no longer be excused as a momentary lapse of judgment or blamed on Otto von Bismarck's manipulative powers. Gross insists on liberal agency and contends that the Kulturkampf represented "the culmination of liberal demands for a modern German political, economic, and sexual order. Anti-Catholic intolerance was not derivative but constitutive of liberalism; it was not an ancillary expression but, on the contrary, at the core of liberalism in Germany" (p. 22).

Gross challenges the temporal framework and interpretive devices usually employed in Kulturkampf studies. Instead of focusing on the immediate period of persecution of the 1870s, Gross begins his study in the 1850s, enabling him to integrate two seminal events that sparked a massive makeover of liberal identity and worldview. He argues that liberals were both politically and emotionally devastated by the defeat of the 1848 Revolutions, in desperate need of a cause that would revive their shattered aspirations by conferring purpose, meaning, and renewed legitimacy. The Catholic religious revival of the 1850s and 1860s, through the high visibility and dramatic short-term impact of the missions, filled this need perfectly. Jesuits, convents, and ultramontane popular piety provided easy targets of ridicule for liberals anxious to reassert their cultural primacy as bearers of material, scientific, and cultural progress. However, anti-Catholicism succeeded as a mobilizing ideology precisely because liberals, self-defined rationalists par excellence, viewed Catholicism not only with contempt but also with profoundly irrational, deep-seated fear.

It is this dark side of the liberal worldview that forms the centerpiece of Gross's narrative, and his reconstruction and interpretation of "the liberal anti-Catholic imagination" is a fascinating demonstration of the historian's craft in a cultural and literary key. Gross adeptly leads the reader through a reading of texts produced for a popular, middle-class audience, focusing on the illustrated journal *Gartenlaube*, which he uses as "an antimonastic map of German liberalism" (p. 137). Interrogating articles, poems, and illustrations through the prisms of religion, class, and gender, Gross shows how liberal publications generated endless images of Catholic backwardness, superstition, and corruption: impoverished peasants, gluttonous friars, and arrogant priests; effeminate monks and masculinized women; conspiring Jesuits and depraved nuns. Such images resonated deeply, confirming long-held prejudices and affirming assumptions of liberal Protestant supremacy. Crucially, however, they failed to reassure. Instead, this melange of religious bigotry, cultural intolerance, and gendered anxieties acquired a reality of its own, one that justified extreme measures to overcome the perceived dangers that Catholicism posed to the moral, cultural, and political health, even survival, of the German nation. The Kulturkampf thus (re)emerges from the shadows of politically and institutionally centered scholarship as the cultural crusade that its proponents proclaimed it to be.

Gross's book succeeds on many levels. His chapter on the mid-century Catholic revival alone is worth the purchase price. His central concern, the reconstruction of a liberal identity and worldview founded on anti-Catholicism, is a model of cultural history. Gross's attention to gender issues and the liberal practice of conflating defiant Catholic women (who in fact took a leading role in driving popular resistance to the Kulturkampf) with a generalized fear of subverted gender roles is especially illuminating. It adds a crucial dimension to our understanding of liberal ideology and culture and complements recent studies of feminized Catholic piety, such as David Blackbourn's *Marpingen:*

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Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany (1993) and Ruth Harris's book on Lourdes.

Issues remain. Gendering the Kulturkampf is a great advance. Claiming that the Kulturkampf was ultimately "an attempt to preserve the gender status quo of nineteenth-century German society" (p. 298), however, seems excessive and detracts from the power of the main argument. Also insufficiently addressed is why, if anti-Catholicism truly became the essence of liberal identity, most *Kulturkämpfer* so easily distanced themselves from this ideology within a decade, as Gross himself ironically notes. Finally, what long-term implications does Gross's revised version of liberalism as fundamentally intolerant bear for the course of modern German history? Whatever the course of future debate, it is certain that all future discussions of Germany's conflicted, confusing path to modernity will have to take note of Gross's powerful, outrageous, and disturbing exploration of the troubled liberal imagination.

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Joan L. Clinefelter. *Artists for the Reich: Culture and Race from Weimar to Nazi Germany*. New York: Berg. 2005. Pp. x, 182.

In recent years, there has been renewed interest in the study of Nazi culture in general and the visual arts in particular. It was not all that long ago that Nazi culture was derided as an oxymoron in itself, a subject unworthy of serious academic study. This has changed in the last decade or so, as scholars are devoting more attention to the specific ways in which German culture was remade after 1933.

Joan L. Clinefelter's new book is the latest contribution to this burgeoning literature. In it she focuses primarily on the career of Bettina Feistel-Rohmeder and the German Art Society, a small *völkisch* arts group that she founded in 1920 with the intention of promoting the "German style of art." It acted as a clearinghouse for antimodernist artwork in the 1920s and 1930s, and after 1933 was instrumental in helping engineer the infamous "degenerate art" shows. Clinefelter has rightfully rescued the organization from the footnote thickets of German cultural histories of the period, putting forward a strong argument for its reconsideration as a revealing case study of right-wing cultural activism from the late Wilhelmine era through the Third Reich. Her book is particularly good on the volatile relationship between the art world and the market in the interwar years, a situation that fueled right-wing calls for stronger state patronage of the arts. The victimization of "traditional" German artists in the face of "Weimar degeneracy" was, as she notes, a favorite topic of the society's journal, *Deutsche Bildkunst* (later changed to *Das Bild*). One of the most interesting subthemes of the book—which might have been addressed more directly—was the extent to which this self-consciously antimodernist lobby shrewdly exploited modern media to advance its crusade, using its journal, promotional exhibitions, and energetic public relations work to promote its broader campaign of German cultural rebirth. How the organization ingratiated itself with Nazi culture brokers and rose to prominence after 1939 as a key homefront propaganda organ espousing the charms of a besieged *Heimat* and, after 1943, the defense of "European culture" is persuasively presented.

There are some notable drawbacks, though. Most striking is the conspicuous absence of important recent literature, including the works of Peter Reichel, Eric Michaud, and Frederic Spotts among others, that has taken issue with the long-conventional "blood and soil" characterization of Nazi culture, underscoring instead the Third Reich's more overtly promodernist attitudes and patronage. Without this wider perspective, the German Art Society remains oddly removed from its broader historical framework. The Society's disappointments and squabbles with Nazi cultural authorities—which account for some of the book's most engaging sections—would benefit from more elaboration in this context. Indeed, it is precisely the ever-changing and contested understanding of "German" or even "modern" that demands more analysis. No doubt Clinefelter is right to say that the Society "supported National Socialism because it responded to their needs and confirmed their long-held prejudices and fears. And because they expected to profit from the elimination of modernism and the state's endorsement of racially-inspired art" (p. 3). However, Clinefelter too often runs the risk of taking many of the Society's ideas about what constitutes national style and modernism at face value. That a book on art and artists in the Third Reich includes so few images (fifteen in all) cannot help but leave the impression that the author is not that concerned with art works themselves as objects of interest but rather enlists them as one-dimensional illustrations of an assumed "Nazi culture" and "racist art." Many Nazi-era paintings, to be sure, can be easily classified as folksy kitsch, but not all. Some of the Society-sponsored images that she does include, such as Erwin Aichele's painting *Maienzeit* (1936) and Karl Hennemann's woodcut *Fruehling* (1936), cannot be simply dismissed as crude "völkisch art." While these landscapes and rural scenes were clearly a far cry from the more famous radical fringe of Weimar modernism, many were stylistically "contemporary" in their own way. After all, such moderate modernism (or neo-romanticism, as it was sometimes called) was surprisingly common fare in modern art galleries from London to Prague during the interwar years. This may be why the Society had to work so hard to promote these paintings as "German," since it was not always clear to the public at the time just how national or traditional these art works really were. In other words, there were "reactionary modernists" in the world of painting as well, even if they were patently not called as such. But to her credit, Clinefelter invites us to revisit these 1930s cultural wars, to rethink the relationship between word and image, and, most importantly, to reconsider why seemingly trivial paintings of

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natural scenery and unpeopled landscapes assumed such remarkable political gravity at the time.

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FRANK VOSSLER. *Propaganda in die eigene Truppe: Die Truppenbetreuung in der Wehrmacht 1939–1945*. (Krieg in der Geschichte, volume 21.) Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 2005. Pp. 430.

One of the lessons that the German leadership of World War II believed it had learned from the loss of World War I was that a major contribution to the stab-in-the-back believed responsible for that loss was the absence of adequate indoctrination and leisure-time activities for German soldiers and sailors. Like such measures as the creation of a one-party state, suppression of all domestic freedoms, and the elimination of Jews, a more thoroughly developed system of indoctrination within the military would guarantee victory in the next conflict. An especially important aspect of this was the concern that soldiers in rear areas, on occupation duty, and in the intervals of waiting between actual combat situations might start thinking critically along lines not agreeable to the leadership. Such dangers were to be obviated by organized leisure activities, the provision of entertainment subject to censorship, and the dissemination of newspapers, magazines, and radio broadcasts with appropriate messages.

Franz Vossler's very carefully researched book offers a comprehensive account of Germany's World War II attempt to keep its military personnel mentally fit, preoccupied, and always ready for battle. On the basis of extensive work in the archives, including those made accessible by the collapse of the German Democratic Republic, Vossler traces the origins, objectives, and nature of German efforts along these lines and includes a short comparative chapter on the activities of the British and United States military in this field. The main emphasis is on the operations of the German Labor Front (DAF), the Ministry of Propaganda, and the High Command of the Armed Forces (OKW). The longest chapter details the various media employed with special emphasis on the role of traveling theater groups, films, and front newspapers. At all times there was the hope of reminding soldiers, sailors, and airmen of their ties to home and the need to defend that home. In these activities there were, on the one hand, the extreme willingness of the military leadership to cooperate with the aims, hopes, and organizations of the National Socialist government and, on the other hand, the endless jurisdictional, organizational, and financial rivalries characteristic of the Third Reich.

As the author notes, studies of the cohesion of the German military in the war that are heavily based on interrogations of prisoners of war too often ignore the understandable reluctance of those questioned to mention their ideological beliefs. Thus this book reinforces the position of such scholars as Omer Bartov who emphasize the important role of ideology in small-unit cohesion in spite of rapid turnover of personnel as casualties mounted. That the German military executed over thirty thousand of their own officers and men also belongs in this context.

Three aspects of this book deserve special mention. The author is careful to demonstrate how the situation changed during the war. Especially from the summer of 1943 on, after the German defeat at the Battle of Kursk and the landing of the Western Allies on Sicily, there was an increase in desertion and other morale problems in the German army. The regime tried to meet this problem by turning to an institution previously derided as a symptom of the degenerate character of the Red Army: a political commissar. The National Socialist Leadership Officer (NSFO) was an innovation designed for the purpose of reinforcing ideological conformity, though both subordinate to the unit commander and generally treated as an outsider by the men of the unit to which he was assigned. A second point to note is that under the devoted National Socialist Admiral Karl Dönitz the German navy hardly needed any political reinforcement; its commander-in-chief could be depended upon to make certain that all continued to worship Adolf Hitler. The third aspect of this study that should be emphasized is the extent to which the author engages the frequently slighted issue of the sexual behavior of men in the military and the regime's attempts to control it. The German equivalent of the Japanese army's "comfort women" needs further research, but Vossler offers a helpful beginning with his account of the over five hundred brothels established by the German military and the many cases of Slavic and Jewish women being forced to provide sexual service to German officers and men (carefully separated).

At some places the details presented are somewhat excessive and the quotations from sources too long. English-language scholarly literature on the German military and cultural worlds is rather neglected. These are, however, minor blemishes. This work will be of great interest to scholars interested in the German military in World War II, the connections between that military and the home front, and the ways in which radio, theater, film, and other forms of entertainment and indoctrination were harnessed to the German war effort.

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HENRY ASHBY TURNER, JR. *General Motors and the Nazis: The Struggle for Control of Opel, Europe's Biggest Carmaker*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 200. $38.00.

Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., the outstanding historian of Germany's industry and its relations to the rise of Adolf Hitler, deals in this book with the extent to which General Motors Company (GM) was responsible for the conversion of its Rüsselsheim affiliation into a major armament producer for the Third Reich. Opel AG became the main producer of the famous "Blitz" truck,

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used by the German military during World War II, and was engaged in the delivery of vital components for the JU 88, the most important small bomber of the German air force, as well as the production of the gear engine for the ME 262. Thus, after 1945 heavy accusations were directed against GM for having supported the Nazi regime and for having produced war material that was eventually used against the United States and its allies.

Against this background Turner analyzes the role of the GM management versus its German affiliate between 1933, the Nazi takeover, and the entry of the United States into the war. Relying on the General Motors-Opel Collection in Yale University's Sterling Memorial Library, Turner deals with the devastating impact of the Depression on the Opel company, followed after the spring of 1933 by a considerable expansion of the domestic as well as the export market, and shows that despite Opel's leading position on the German automobile market most of its profits could not be transferred to the United States due to the capital transfer restrictions by the German government. After the Nazi takeover, GM was compelled to achieve an arrangement with the new government and to adapt itself to the changed political atmosphere and increasing politicization on the factory level, which led to pressures against former communists, socialists, and Jews within the work force.

The GM executives at Opel could expect to profit from the people's car campaign inaugurated by Hitler himself and envisaged the mass production of a cheap Volkswagen for which the Rüsselsheim production lines appeared to be excellently equipped. Therefore an additional automobile factory—which was destined to build primarily trucks and was eventually situated in Brandenburg—was built in order to use the production facilities at the main factory in Rüsselsheim for the mass production of Volkswagens. The attempts of GM to engage itself in the Volkswagen business smoothed its relations with the Nazi leadership, climaxing with the meeting of James Mooney, the head of GM's overseas operation, with Hitler in May 1934. The dictator, however, preferred the Volkswagen design of Ferdinand Porsche despite its economic and technical deficiencies. As a foreign enterprise, Opel AG was excluded from the development of the Volkswagen, although with the P 4 it presented a feasible alternative. All this resulted in a sort of appeasement strategy versus the regional Nazi leadership, above all Gauleiter Sprenger, whose efforts to interfere with the leading management at Rüsselsheim were countered by a virtual alliance by GM with the regime's military establishment, finally even with Heinrich Himmler's SS, who were urgently pressing for an expanded production of the "Blitz" truck. Simultaneously, GM management succeeded in acquiring the support of Hermann Göring as chief of the Four Years Plan, using him as a counterweight against interventions by Sprenger in staff decisions at the Opel factory. Thus, the original plan to produce components for the JU 88 was altered in order to avoid a possible takeover by the Junkers AG Despite his refusal to produce airplanes for the Luftwaffe, GM's president eventually approved to the establishment of a gear plant project for aircraft engines utilizing the most recent research results of the mother company. The few remaining U.S. managers felt compelled to camouflage the language of their reports to Detroit, as long as relevant information could be transferred at all. By this and comparable concessions to the German government the Opel management was able to preserve the company's formal independence; nonetheless it became involuntarily involved in the armament industry.

Turner's authoritative and in many respects innovative analysis shows that GM management did not have any realistic alternative to the strategy of adapting to the pressures of the regime. At first it was assumed that Opel AG could return to the production of consumer cars after the end of the war. In some respects, the strategy to draw back American representatives on the company board and to camouflage its U.S. ownership proved to be successful. Opel AG, although rated as enemy property, was not confiscated, and the factory was run by personnel to whose installment the U.S. management had assented. But, in other respects, Opel AG functioned as a ordinary German armament enterprise, relying on compulsory—and in some repair shops even on Jewish compulsory—labor and being confronted with the growing influence of the Gestapo on the factory level. The U.S. government did not hesitate to include Opel AG in the heavy air attacks after 1942.

Although Turner concludes that there was no realistic alternative to the U.S. GM management's policy of adaptation, he acknowledges that this does not entirely remove its responsibility for the Nazi terror, at least with regard to profit from war production. Therefore, the author expressly approves that Opel participated in the German fund for compensation of the surviving victims of forced labor. His interpretation relies on extensive documentary evidence and provides an impressive picture of the internal rivalries and restricted efficiency of the Nazi regime in the armament sector.

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GERALD D. FELDMAN and WOLFGANG SEIBEL, editors. *Networks of Nazi Persecution: Bureaucracy, Business, and the Organization of the Holocaust*. (Studies on War and Genocide, number 6.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2005. Pp. xii, 376. $75.00.

This essay collection is both a considerable success and a disappointment. It is a success in the way that it presents in English some shortened versions of some of the most innovative recent research on the economic dimension of the Holocaust. There is an impressive amount of empirical research material, much of it drawn from archives that have only recently become available, that shows how important economic despoliation was as a preparation for mass murder.

There is also an overarching argument. In particular

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the essays address a very old controversy between so-called intentionalists and functionalists: was Nazi persecution driven by a central directive or design emanating from the top leadership, or should the progressive radicalization of the regime's policy be understood in terms of the competition among different agencies and institutions, and the interactions between public authorities, the party, and private individuals. Particular essays stand out in this regard: Frank Bajohr's article on "The Holocaust and Corruption" shows the Nazi bureaucracy as being very far from an impersonal and rational machinery, simply implementing a single policy in a uniform way. Instead, massive and diffused self-enrichment was a driving force behind economic persecution, and the German population at large as well as small-time officials and businessmen benefited. Jonathan Petropoulos looks at the multiple agencies involved in art looting, where competition drove the pace of expropriation. Gerald Aalders shows that in the Netherlands, one explanation for the systematic ruthlessness of the German authorities was the competition between the SS and the German military occupation authorities. Wolf Gruner shows how, in pre-1939 Germany, municipal authorities were much more aggressive in imposing petty persecution, such as the exclusion of Jews from libraries and swimming pools and the public designation of Jewish-owned stores, than the Gestapo or the SS theorists, who were thinking in terms of a longer plan of persecution. But Gruner avoids answering the obvious question of how far these humiliations laid the necessary groundwork for much harsher versions later on. Volume editor Gerald D. Feldman offers an interesting case study drawn from his larger work on the Allianz insurance company that shows the complexities of German business motivation, and in particular how Allianz's response to Kristallnacht was driven by a short-term concern with the firm's profitability. Alfons Kenkmann looks at fiscal administration and shows the crucial role of non-Nazis guided by a "professional" code of ethics; and Isabel Heinemann gives us a skilful reexamination of the relationship between the military and the SS in occupied Ukraine. In these cases, pluralism or "polycracy" led to a competition in barbarism.

In some contrasting cases, however, competition between agencies limited the effectiveness of persecution. Philippe Verheyde examines France and shows how competition between French and German authorities limited the extent to which the French state was prepared to hand over Jewish property to Germans. The most successful overall interpretation is offered by Michael Thad Allen, who describes not only the phenomenon of the "desk murderer," motivated by a blinkered and narrow sense of "duty" (the classical German secondary virtue), but also how this interpretation was driven by scholars obsessed with the general modern phenomenon of bureaucracy and the creation of networks. Instead, Allen asks us to understand how ideology entered into decision making and implementation.

The book is much less successful in realizing the claims of its title, and of the programmatic essays of Jörg Raab and volume co-editor Wolfgang Seibel, which apply network theories to enhance historical understanding of persecution and genocide. The hallmark of the best historical applications of such analysis—for instance, the work of John Padgett on Renaissance Florence—is the use of quantitative material to tell a new story about the character of social connections and social change. Raab claims that the center of the strategy in the book "is the multiple relations between the actors directly or indirectly participating in the persecution of the Jews and the prominence of these actors, as well as the frequency and density of their interactions" (p. 323). Unfortunately, the book offers no quantitative evidence of this character, and hence no attempt to evaluate it, and it is hard not to conclude that the "network" image is nothing more than a loosely used metaphor. Yet Raab's essay title, "Networks—More than just a Metaphor," does not even include a question mark. Seibel is not any more successful in using network analysis to explain differences between national patterns of persecution in wartime Europe. He points out the well-known paradox that there was much less ideological antisemitism in the Netherlands than in France, and yet a much higher proportion of the Jewish population survived in France than in the Netherlands. But the analysis of competing bureaucracies does not help to explain this, as in one case (the Netherlands) it seems that the competition between bureaucratic agencies intensified the persecution, and in the other (France) the implementation of persecution was greatly inhibited by bureaucratic friction. Despite the addition of paragraphs about "networks" at the end of some of the individual chapters, the individual authors are clearly puzzled by the concept, and they have not used it effectively in order to enhance historical understanding. The historians in this volume simply do not know how to use the methodology and instruments of modern social science, or even how to formulate questions that might be dealt with though quantitative network analysis. The editors instead leave us with a rather vague and ill-defined sense that networks are a phenomenon of modernity that may be used to disseminate new ideas and practices; and they remind us that if these ideas and practices are not linked to an ethical or moral framework, the result may be the dissemination of great evil and inhumanity.

HAROLD JAMES
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DAGMAR HERZOG. *Sex After fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. 361. $29.95.

In this forcefully argued and elegantly written book, Dagmar Herzog delivers a truly provocative—in the best sense of thought-and-debate-provoking—reconsideration of ruptures and continuities across the three regimes of National Socialism, state socialism, and

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democratic capitalism "through the lens" of sexual discourses and practices. "[C]onflicts over sexual mores," she argues, provided crucial sites for "managing," if not fully working through, "the memory of Nazism and Holocaust and coming to terms with their inheritance" (p. 5). Her signal point is that, largely due to a profound if highly functional misunderstanding by Germany's New Left about the sexually "constrictive and uptight" nature of fascism (p. 6) and hence the antifascist promise of sexual freedom, "What has routinely been downplayed since the 1960s is that Nazi policy and practice, for those broad sectors of the populace that were not persecuted, was anything but sexually repressive" (p. 96).

Herzog acknowledges the "massively repressive elements" of Nazi sexual politics, including the persecution of homosexual men and prostitutes, forced sterilization, and prohibitions on race defilement, as well as Christian conservative calls for traditional family values. But, relying on an exhaustive reading of sex manuals and sexological literature as well as personal interviews, she insists that despite a "cacophony of often competing injunctions" (p.18), sexual pleasure was integral to Aryan privilege and Nazism's "*Herrenmensch* feeling of entitlement to rule breaking" (p. 55). In some ways, therefore Herzog has produced a sexual equivalent of Götz Aly's argument that concrete benefits, dependent on the exclusion and exploitation of the unfit and non-Aryan, bound ordinary Germans to a murderous regime. Her focus on sexuality, however, enables a crucial (and still too rare) attention to antisemitism as fundamental to Nazism's power and appeal. In a regime that "managed to have things both ways at once" (p. 40), both the repression of and incitement to sexuality were "saturated with anti-Semitism" (p. 27).

More challenging and sometimes downright baffling is the author's treatment of the immediate postwar "hunger years." Herzog discerns in the postwar turmoil of sexual violence and fraternization, and anxieties about scarcity, "surplus women," traumatized veterans, and family breakdowns analyzed by such historians as Robert Moeller, Elizabeth Heineman, Maria Höhn, Petra Goede, Frank Biess, and Heide Fehrenbach, another radically different story of defeated Germans "unreservedly and emphatically celebrating sexual pleasure and sexual freedom." When the perspective shifts directly toward sex, she contends, without, however, directly addressing the many divergent memories and stories, historians discover that "numerous Germans—women not least among them—were finding in the postwar moment an agreeable era of 'erotic liberality'" (p. 69) that continued the Nazi-propelled "steady liberalization of heterosexual sexual mores in the first half of the twentieth century" (p. 71).

In the mid 1950s, this "postwar window" of "remarkable sexual freedom and avid and open public discussion of sexual issues" (p. 101) abruptly shut down, largely because of the American-approved rehabilitation of Christian churches that castigated Nazi sexual mores while retaining many eugenic convictions and evading serious confrontation with antisemitism. In the 1960s, leftist anti-authoritarianism and a broader sexualized consumer culture, with which it stood in uneasy relationship, rebelled against a postwar "sexual conservatism" that was itself a reaction against anticlerical Nazi licentiousness (p. 3). The '68ers may have, as Herzog claims, misinterpreted their parents' earlier sexual lives (how many young people, even under less fraught circumstances, think clearly about that?), but perhaps they were not so wrong when they attributed the brutality and rigidity of their homes and classrooms not only to the conformist 1950s but also to their elders' socialization in Nazi schools, youth groups, and military. Herzog charges that the new leftists had "a profoundly distorted understanding of the national past" (p. 183), but as she also incisively notes, they were responding to "the very real sense of threat still emanating from the older generation" (p. 182). Indeed, one of the great rewards of this intensely argumentative but also intellectually generous book is the wealth of evidence Herzog provides with which to interrogate and engage critically her own thesis.

Following her discussion of a 1960s West Germany "obsessed with sex" (p. 147), Herzog turns eastward toward a society lacking the two main markers, both liberatory and repressive, of Western sexual culture—consumer capitalism and organized Christianity—and where, moreover, women with access to abortion, child care, and wage labor were not economically dependent on individual men. While the German Democratic Republic produced its own "alternative" valorization of heterosexuality and reproduction, sex clearly became a niche that provided both refuge from, and ties to, the regime. Maybe, Herzog suggests, sex really was better under socialism; certainly she explains why it has become such a powerful object of "Ostalgie."

Continuing the juxtaposition of shifts in sexual and memory cultures, the final chapter charts the vibrant counter culture (feminism, gay rights, ecology) as well as violent radicalism and government repression that emerged just as the male-dominated New Left was mourning (and dissecting) its demise and (not coincidentally) the Holocaust memory boom was gathering momentum. She moves briskly through a summary of the 1990s memory debates and changes in sexual culture due to AIDS and increasing medicalization and commercialization, and then quickly forward to a post-September 11 and Iraq War world, with its new focus on German victimization and reconciliation between generations.

No matter how vexing some of her arguments, Herzog's passionate insistence on the centrality of sexuality as an explanatory category and on the uncomfortably tight link between pleasure and evil provides fresh and bold insight into two of modern German history's most confounding questions: how National Socialism established and maintained its "extraordinary appeal" (p. 1) and, conversely, how postwar Germans managed to morph so quickly into peaceful stability. Finally, it should be said that the endnotes are a pleasure to read,

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offering not only wide-ranging documentation but also a running commentary on the text, a reflection of the engaged conversation that this remarkable book is sure to stimulate.

ATINA GROSSMANN
Cooper Union

THOMAS ALLISON KIRK. *Genoa and the Sea: Policy and Power in an Early Modern Maritime Republic, 1559–1684.* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, number 3.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 276. $49.95.

This book treats a neglected subject—the maritime policy of an early modern Mediterranean state—with a new and refreshing approach. It is a study about Genoa's naval and trade policies and their relations to the republic's foreign policy. Thomas Allison Kirk shows that these policies were closely connected but also subjects of conflicts. Maritime policy was developed in a context of backward-looking rhetoric about recreating Genoa's glorious past as a leading naval and mercantile power and an eminently realistic policy of adjustments to changing political and economic realities. The rhetoric was part of the power conflicts among various factions in the Genoese elite. These conflicts were dominated by other questions than maritime policy, and there was no firm structure of interest groups behind different ideas about Genoa's relations to the sea.

Since 1528 the Genoese city-state, which also controlled Corsica, was an ally to Habsburg Spain. Its elite families provided the Spanish monarchy with important entrepreneurs in galley warfare and large-scale financial services. Genoa was the port for Habsburg-controlled Milan and for Spanish communications with Germany. In exchange, Spain protected Genoese trade and territory against France, Savoy, and North African corsairs. By 1559, Spain was the hegemonic power in the western Mediterranean and Genoa an integrated part in this system. Disappointingly, this did not result in a favorable situation for Genoese shipping, which rapidly declined. By the seventeenth century, the port was dominated by foreign shipping, not the least Dutch and English ships.

Genoa had for centuries relied on temporary fleets, but from 1559 it followed other Mediterranean states and founded a permanent galley navy. During a century, various projects to increase this navy, to build sailing warships, and to recreate a viable long-distance trade with armed merchantmen were proposed. They were couched in terms of recreating a glorious past when Genoese, in competition with Venice, had dominated Mediterranean sea lines of communication. The naval forces that actually served were modest, however, and mainly used for protection of the coasts against corsairs and as small contributions to allied fleets in major operations.

This navy was nonetheless of considerable value for the Genoese economy, which during this period was based on participation in the Spanish mercantile and financial system. The galleys could safely transport cargo of high value, such as silk from Sicily and silver from Spain. Genoa had a trade surplus with Spain, and Genoese investments in the Spanish economy generated profits, but merchants and bankers had to circumvent Spanish regulations on silver export to bring their money out of Spain. Genoa's fleet was useful for both authorized and clandestine transfers of bullion. The new sailing warships built in the 1650s were in the rhetoric intended as convoy escorts. Few merchantmen actually sailed in such convoys, but the warships were more convenient than the galleys for secret transports of silver as they could stay off the Spanish coast for long periods, allowing private silver to be discreetly loaded.

During the seventeenth century Spanish hegemony in the western Mediterranean gradually eroded. It was replaced by French military and naval power and Dutch and English naval power. Genoa met this situation not with a major navy but with the development of the city as a free port for international trade. By attracting foreign shipping and goods, Genoa became worth protecting for other power holders in the Mediterranean. This policy did not entirely exempt Genoa from violence, and France imposed its power in the region with a naval bombardment in 1684. For a city with increasingly modest ambitions, the policy was, however an economically and politically viable alternative to participation in the European armament race at sea.

Kirk's analysis of Genoa's maritime policy is well connected to recent research about international relations and how they were transformed by both state-formation activities and economic development. His conclusion is that Genoa skillfully adapted to a changing Europe wherein centralizing states gradually reduced the strategic choices of a maritime city-state. This is not surprising, but Kirk could have placed the discussion in a broader context. The Genoese policy of refraining from large-scale naval armament and making its sea lines of communication valuable for more powerful maritime interests was not unique or an option only for small states. In fact, the huge Spanish monarchy followed rather much the same policy in the later decades of the seventeenth century and, more than Genoa, Spain did receive support from the Dutch and the English navies against France. Austria and Prussia developed as great military powers but relied on the maritime powers to take care of their not-unimportant maritime interests. Naval power was important for control of the sea, but a state might gain access to it by alliances as well as by creating its own strong navy.

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JOSHUA D. ZIMMERMAN, editor. *Jews in Italy under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922–1945.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 374. $40.00.

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The past decade has seen an outpouring of historical scholarship aimed at correcting the inaccuracies that have clouded our understanding of the assault on the Jews of Italy that began with the passage of the racial laws in 1938 and ended with the Holocaust. This collection of essays, edited by Joshua D. Zimmerman and based on a conference held at Yeshiva University in 2002, offers a valuable sampling of the literature, much of which has been previously available only in Italian (and the translations from Italian here are generally excellent). Indeed, many of the major contributors to the field are found among the book's authors.

Reasons for the sorry state of earlier scholarship on the question are not difficult to discern. In the aftermath of the war, few Italians had any interest in trying fully to face the discomfiting story. In fact, while the racial laws of 1938, which stripped Italian Jews of their human rights and cost them their livelihoods, met precious little popular resistance in Italy, the laws were now remembered—when remembered at all—as an imposition by Benito Mussolini that turned the Italian population against his regime. Alongside this was the narrative of Italy's greatest institution, the Vatican, which rather than confront the shame of its failure to protest the racial laws, or to publicly speak out against the deportation of Rome's Jews to Auschwitz, was portrayed by some as working ceaselessly to protect Italy's Jews.

This book shows how such exculpatory narratives have been exposed, although there remain differences of interpretation. One crucial issue is the nature and extent of antisemitism in Italy before Mussolini took power. One can read various works by historians today referring to a lack of antisemitism in Italy before the fascist period. Indeed, one of the contributors to this volume, Mario Toscano, writes that in the nineteenth century Italy was "a country with a weak tradition of anti-Semitism" (p. 43). Another, Giorgio Fabre, writes that, when viewed in the context of the Dreyfus case in France and pogroms in Russia, "no such overt instances of anti-Semitism occurred in Italy in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries" (p. 55). This seems remarkable when a rather large proportion of Italy's Jews were confined to ghettoes in the first half of the nineteenth century, and until 1870 in Rome, where they were subjected to degrading treatment.

One of the widespread views disputed in the book is the claim that Mussolini only used antisemitism opportunistically, in solidifying his alliance with Adolf Hitler, a view promulgated by Italy's foremost biographer of Mussolini, Renzo De Felice. Fabre shows that Mussolini was an earnest antisemite from the time he was still a young socialist. Far from being converted by the likes of Giovanni Preziosi, the regime's leading antisemitic theorist, Fabre argues, it was Mussolini who impressed on Preziosi the importance of antisemitism.

The claim that the antisemitic racial laws were imposed by Mussolini on a population that had no appetite for such legislation is disputed by a number of contributors. Both Annalisa Capristo, examining the expulsion of Jews from Italy's academies, and Roberto Finzi, examining their expulsion from universities, stress the deafening silence that greeted these measures. Far from protesting them, non-Jewish Italians made the most of the expulsions to improve their own positions. In this context, Michele Sarfatti's argument that the fascist government "had succeeded in compelling an ample consent among the Italian population" appears somewhat ambiguous and could be read as exculpatory (p. 78). While admitting that the racial laws were supported by the population, Sarfatti seems still to want to see this action as the result of force. In his brief essay, Alexander Stille points out that the Italian case is of particular interest just because Italians had considerable choice. He notes, in this context, that a large proportion of all the roundups of Jews for deportation were conducted by groups entirely composed of Italians.

Another of the topics attracting special attention in the book is the role of the Vatican and, more generally, of church negative images of the Jews in explaining the Italian experience during these years. As Sarfatti notes, Pope Pius XI (who died in February 1939) protested only those features of the racial laws that affected Jews who had converted to Catholicism, while his successor, Pope Pius XII, never protested any aspect of the persecution of Italy's Jews through the racial laws. Sandro Servi, in his analysis of the sources of antisemitic images and themes employed in *La Difesa della Razza*, the regime's principal means for spreading its antisemitic ideology, emphasizes its heavy use of Christian anti-Jewish imagery. He concludes that discrimination against the Jews and plans to aid in their extermination "could only have been implemented due to the rich anti-Judaic heritage built over the centuries by the teachings of the Christian churches" (p. 118).

Stepping into the hotly debated issue of Pius XII's failure publicly to protest the extermination of Europe's Jews, Liliana Picciotto concludes from the historical evidence that the Nazis' plans for seizing the Jews of Rome shortly after their occupation of the city originally contemplated shipping them to a concentration camp in Germany. In her account, the Nazis thought it too perilous to ship Rome's Jews to an extermination camp because it would make it impossible for the pope to maintain his policy of not criticizing the Nazi regime. Only when they learned that Pius XII would not protest did they change their plans and have the thousand Jews rounded up in Rome shipped directly to their deaths in Auschwitz. Robert Katz, in his examination of recently declassified OSS documents, offers further insight into these events. Along similar lines, Susan Zuccotti, updating the argument from her influential book, *Under His Very Windows: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy* (2000), refutes the evidence subsequently used by those who claim that the pope issued a directive to Catholic institutions to shelter Jews.

Curiously, though, Zuccotti concludes that Pius XII was a "deeply spiritual man" (p. 299), doing what he thought his core principles required him to do. This

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portrait is contradicted by Frank J. Coppa's excellent chapter contrasting Pius XI and Pius XII, which paints the wartime pope as someone whose behavior is best understood as the product of cold calculation. The pope feared a German defeat as opening the door to Soviet Communist expansion and sought to keep on good terms with the Nazi government so that he could hope to play a role in negotiating a peace and prevent the Allies from their goal of total victory.

Finally, a number of the book's chapters tackle the question of memories of the racial laws and the extermination of Jews in Italy during the war. Fabio Levi and others document how difficult it has been for Italians to come to terms with this history, as more generally with the role Italians played as boosters of the Nazi cause. Anna Bravo points out that only when it began to be clear that the Germans were going to lose the war did non-Jewish Italians in any number begin to come to the aid of their Jewish neighbors. Two chapters deal with the question of representation of this history through film. Millicent Marcus notes the aversion Italian filmmakers have had to dealing with the racial laws and the war, arguing that the end of the Cold War has finally allowed alternatives to the guiding narrative of the Resistance to be told. Ruth Ben-Ghiat plumbs this theme in focusing on a particular film, Roberto Benigni's *Life is Beautiful* (1997). She points out that Italian Jews have, at least until very recently, shared an uneasiness at fully exploring this past, which she attributes to a combination of survivors' guilt, eagerness to stay in the good graces of the larger non-Jewish community, and fear of future antisemitism. In her essay Iael Nidam-Orvieto adds the embarrassment that many Italian Jews once believed in the goodness of Mussolini and fascism.

Given the silence, the misrepresentations, and the massive cultural production of a national Resistance mythology around this sorry period in Italian history, Zimmerman's edited collection offers a valuable overview of the new historical scholarship on the racial laws and the Shoah in Italy, as well as a good sampling of the works of some of the major contributors to this revisionist historiography.

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JOHANNA C. GRANVILLE. *The First Domino: International Decision Making During the Hungarian Crisis of 1956.* Foreword by RAYMOND L. GARTHOFF. (Eastern European Studies, number 26.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 323. $49.95.

The revolutions of 1848 and 1956 were modern Hungary's most heartwarming and most progressive events. Both ended in defeat, yet ultimately, both led to the triumph of constitutionalism, civil liberties, and political sovereignty—all the while earning the enthusiastic approval of world opinion. Because many things happened between those two dates that Hungarians would rather forget, it is no wonder that the memories of 1848 and 1956 are causes for official celebration, and that the two national revolutions boast a considerable literature. In Budapest, a highly active research institute is entirely devoted to the study of the revolutionary months of 1956.

Following a wave of often excellent studies, written in the years after the revolution, a second wave of serious research and publication is surging today, caused by the sudden availability of archival sources. There is a recent, superbly annotated documentary collection entitled *The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: A History in Documents*, edited by Csaba Békés, János M. Rainer, and Malcolm Bryne (2002). These authors and their colleagues in Hungary have also published fine monographs that lead us much closer to an understanding of the events of 1956. Johanna C. Granville has made particular use not only of Hungarian but also of Soviet and Polish archives. In general, she looks at the events of 1956 within an international context. She might have given more recognition to the Hungarian researchers whose work she has been perusing, but her book is well organized and systematic. It moves from Soviet involvement in prerevolutionary Hungarian politics through the role of Yugoslavia and Poland in the "October events," the Soviet armed interventions on October 24 and November 4, János Kádár's usurpation of power on November 4, and the tragic fate of Imre Nagy, all the way to a spirited discussion of U.S. psychological warfare and covert activities.

Granville is often more critical of U.S. policy than even her Hungarian counterparts, arguing that the confusion within the U.S. leadership was matched by aggressive moves on the middle level of the U.S. propaganda machinery, all the way down to the utter irresponsibility of individual Hungarians at Radio Free Europe's Hungarian Desk in Munich in October-November 1956. Some of the latter unhesitatingly incited the Hungarian public against Nagy, treating him as just another communist who should not be trusted. They also instructed Hungarians to throw away their lives in the vain hope of Western intervention. Still, Granville makes clear that it was definitely not U.S. propaganda but the ruthlessness and folly of Hungarian communist leaders that had caused the armed revolt. Events might very well have unfolded the same way had Secretary of State John Foster Dulles or the journalists of Radio Free Europe not made some mindless statements.

One must agree with the author that all was perception: that of the Soviets, who believed, wrongly, that there existed a clear-cut U.S. plan to break open the chain of Soviet bloc states, starting with Hungary as its weakest link; and that of the American government, which believed that the East European regimes were mere tools in the hands of Soviet leaders. Granville even argues, with considerable exaggeration, that it was often the tail, that is Hungary or Poland, which wagged the dog, that is the Soviet Union.

The book's most appealing parts are those that deal with the crucial meetings of the Soviet leadership in October 1956, when they tried to decide whether or not to send tanks into the Hungarian cities. Granville devotes

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much less attention to the internal situation in Hungary, for instance to the great gap separating the mostly Jewish communist intellectuals who had prepared the ground for what they hoped would be a bloodless reform of communism, from the small groups of workers, students, and also ex-fascists who fought with arms and thereby changed everything. Once Soviet tanks were burning and Hungarian political police officers were dangling from the lampposts, the decent and dogmatic Marxist-Leninist Nagy and his colleagues, whether ex-communists or democrats, could only limp after events. There is, of course, much more to say on the subject, and one can only hope that Granville's valuable study will be followed by more writing on the events of 1956, which did, after all, mark the beginning of the end of the Soviet empire.

István Deák
Columbia University

István Rév. *Retroactive Justice: Prehistory of Post-Communism*. (Cultural Memory in the Present.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. 340. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

István Rév, professor at the Central European University and director of the Open Society Archive, is a brilliant, inventive Hungarian historian. Dissident son of Hungarian-Jewish Communists (he would agree these facts are important in positioning him), he is well traveled in Western countries and steeped in multiple scholarly literatures, he is also a seeker of historical truth, about whose possibilities he is modest but firm. His book is a superb introduction to the problems one encounters when approaching the extraordinarily complicated recent history of Hungary and Eastern Europe.

Opening the text is the sentence "Trust not in words!"—followed by 335 pages of words that challenge conventional history writing. The book consists of an introduction and seven essays ("Parallel Autopsies" is my favorite). Each begins with an event: the discovery of the supposed skeleton of a famous poet, a 1989 speech in which Hungarian Communist Party leader János Kádár utters the name of his most prominent victim, 1957 Communist Party discussions concerning how to bury various corpses and how to commemorate the unsuccessful 1956 Hungarian Revolution, a 1994 Supreme Court decision about war crimes from 1919–1920, and so on. Rév then provides myriad other facts and stories that bring out the complex meanings of these events. Written beautifully, with dry wit, the essays highlight ironies and contradictions (such as the anticommunist appropriation of 1956 leader Imre Nagy, a convinced communist). The text abounds in comparisons from other times and places, both within and outside Eastern Europe, and extensive footnotes confirm the author's tremendous erudition.

Among Rév's several objectives are "to make . . . socialism perceptible" (p. 12) for students of postsocialism, to raise provocative questions (How useful are party documents as sources? What makes some sites better than others as *lieux de mémoire*?), and to reveal the politics of history production in a place where the past is never past and is constantly remade. In theoretical terms, he questions constructivist ideas about history, memory, and commemoration. Rév believes, first, that signs refer to something real, and second, that facts are systematically related to one another in a field of facts and events; these systematic relations constrain what can be done with them. Some claims simply cannot be made together with certain other claims, and claims backed by incontrovertible physical traces tend to pull other facts into alignment, as a magnet organizes iron filings. This is why Hungary's history producers both before and after 1989 have gone to such pains to capture, move, reappropriate, and otherwise transform those traces and alter their meanings—such as by digging up and reburying bodies, searching for underground prisons, erecting and dismantling statues. Adding a new such magnetizing fact reconfigures the entire force field of fact relations—and herein lies the hope for recovering histories distorted for political ends.

The book operates on two planes at once. First is Rév's presentation of the bricolage by which communist and postcommunist history producers sought to assemble facts and events into workable accounts. Second is his own bricolage of often miscellaneous stories or fragments from different time periods or places, juxtaposed sometimes as apparent coincidences (secret tunnels beneath party buildings, tunnels for the metro) whose links we gradually discover. In this way he seeks to infer connections that are neither temporal nor strictly causal, yet help to explain. Despite occasional repetitiveness, the cumulative effect is strikingly successful and theoretically illuminating.

The magnet that aligns the book's stories and chapters is the 1956 Hungarian revolution and its leader, Nagy, executed in 1958 and later rehabilitated and reburied. Rév's aim, however, is not a definitive history of the revolution. Instead, he explores the party's historical construction of it—which made the rebels not reform communists but fascists—as the fulcrum of party rule thereafter. He reveals closely how this was done, the role played by Nagy's name and physical remains, why the "remake" ultimately failed, and how their obsessive fear of another 1956 made party leaders unwittingly midwives of the end of socialism. Moreover, he suggests that the party's construction of history as an ongoing struggle between fascism and communism has not only obstructed a reasoned assessment of its own history but contributed to the upsurge of antisemitism and racism in Eastern Europe. With communism discredited, its condemnation of the Holocaust and the evils of fascism loses force as well.

Infusing Rév's work is a deeply moral insistence that his countrymen recognize their own role in producing their history (rather than seeing themselves only as victims) and understand it in nuanced, complex ways rather than through the usual simple oppositions—communists and fascists, good and bad. History recov-

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ers a calling in this marvelous book, which deserves an audience far beyond area specialists.

KATHERINE VERDERY
City University of New York

ALEXANDER VICTOR PRUSIN. *Nationalizing a Borderland: War, Ethnicity, and Anti-Jewish Violence in East Galicia, 1914–1920.* (Judaic Studies Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 181. $35.00.

Whatever its title may suggest, Alexander Victor Prusin's recently published dissertation documents the persecution of Jews in East Galicia during World War I and its aftermath under two different polities, the Russian Empire and the Second Polish Republic. According to Prusin, the nationalizing campaigns of both Russians and Poles in East Galicia aimed at isolating and persecuting "alien" Jews. The inevitable violence that resulted from the russification and polonization campaigns, he argues, was either directly authorized by state institutions, or—in the case of popular anti-Jewish furies—seemingly sanctioned by official policies and the behavior of Russian and Polish military commanders.

The scale of anti-Jewish violence, Prusin is careful to point out, never escalated to genocidal acts, even at its zenith during the Russian retreat from East Galicia in 1915. Similarly, the brutalities of the Lwów pogrom of November 1918 that accompanied the Polish conquest of the city from Ukrainian forces or in the aftermath of the Polish-Soviet war of 1920 never reached the scope of earlier pogroms during the 1905 Revolution in the Jewish Pale of Settlement or of the White Terror in Hungary after the collapse of Béla Kun's short-lived Soviet Republic. Nonetheless, six years of war had reduced the Jewish population in East Galicia by nineteen percent (124,099). Especially affected were Jewish professional elites, which dramatically altered the region's socioeconomic ethnic profile. Prusin estimates that as a consequence of Russian military actions and occupation alone, approximately half of the entire Jewish population of East Galicia had been uprooted by deportations, expulsions, and evacuations.

Thus the war had serious, damaging, and long-term consequences for the Jews of the ethnically mixed and politically contested eastern provinces of Galicia. By carefully documenting the anti-Jewish violence of these turbulent years from Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish archives, Prusin has made a genuine contribution to the literature. His study, however, suffers from the usual deficiencies of even the best dissertations, which tend to be relatively narrow in scope and characterized by insufficient contextualization and restricted interpretive frameworks. Despite Prusin's acknowledgement that the war itself occasioned the large-scale violence against Jews, we have no idea of how the same war affected the Christian population of East Galicia. By focusing almost exclusively on pogroms and persecutions, moreover, Prusin would lead his reader to believe that these were practically the only Jewish experiences of the war. The figure of 200,000 Jewish refugees, however, would suggest that flight and evacuation from battle zones, rather than antisemitic violence, was the more dominant experience. In any case, without comparative data for the Polish and Ukrainian populations of East Galicia, we cannot place Jewish wartime suffering in proper perspective.

Although Ukrainians appear occasionally in this monograph—mainly as political allies rather than adversaries of the Jews—they are largely missing at key analytical moments. First, Ukrainians were by far the majority population of East Galicia, and the few cities and larger towns inhabited largely by Poles and Jews were ethnic islands in an overwhelmingly Ukrainian rural sea. While cities such as Lwów provided some of the more dramatic and better-documented scenes of popular anti-Jewish violence carried out by Poles, many of the "wild" (i.e. unauthorized) pogroms and assaults against Jews on the scale described by Prusin, given the region's ethnic geography, would have been perpetrated by Ukrainians. In fact, Prusin's rather strained effort to place both direct and indirect responsibility for the attacks against Jews on official Russian and Polish policies and military commands leads to the relative neglect of popular anti-Jewish violence more generally, which in the Ukrainian case ran counter to the prevailing strategy of the political elite.

Finally, there is a certain conflation of issues, concepts, and periods. In wartime East Galicia, we learn only of Russian and Polish occupations and conquests at the beginning and final phases of the war, but little of the region's experience under reestablished Austrian rule between 1915 and 1918. Little distinction is made between Russian and Polish anti-Semitism, as both are assumed to be economically based, although *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1903) and other more infamous forms of anti-Jewish hatred had already come to characterize the prewar Russian and Polish versions. Moreover, "Judeophobia," "anti-Jewish behavior," and modem antisemitism are not terms that are interchangeable, nor are pogroms and anti-Jewish "excesses." Making them so amounts to taking intellectual shortcuts, as does the reference to prewar Russia as "the most anti-Semitic country in the world" (p. 15). Finally, Jews appear in this narrative as the only victims of practically indistinguishable russification and polonization campaigns and rarely as actors in their own right.

These limitations aside, Prusin has produced a well-researched monograph that should be consulted by students of the Great War, twentieth-century ethnic cleansing, and Christian-Jewish relations in Eastern Europe. It will be up to others, however, to complicate this history with nuance and perspective.

ROBERT BLOBAUM
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REBECCA FRIEDMAN. *Masculinity, Autocracy, and the Russian University, 1804–1863.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. x, 195. $90.00.

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In the first half of the nineteenth century, emerging civil societies in Western and Central Europe began to refashion prescribed and acceptable models of male gender roles, a process that would contribute to the emergence of Victorian-era culture. Russia at that time, although subject to Romanticism and many other European influences, did not have a corresponding civil society. The question arises: did educated Russians also experience changes in their prevailing concepts of masculinity and, if so, how and by whom?

Rebecca Friedman endeavors to answer this question by focusing on the small but significant all-male university system during the seemingly stern autocratic reign of Nicholas I (1825–1855). She shows first that the tsar himself (following Russian tradition) took on the role of prescribing acceptable behavior patterns for students, most of whom would find places in the autocratic bureaucracy upon graduation. Nicholas spared no effort in issuing decrees and establishing institutions of inspection and control in the hope that his universities would succeed in turning unruly boys into loyal, orderly, obedient servitors. Although it would be a mistake to conclude that all these efforts failed, it did turn out, in what is now no surprise to historians, that the tsar's regime was not as monolithic as it appeared. We see one state-appointed student inspector instructing his charges on the best ways of getting drunk, we discover Minister of Education Sergei Uvarov winking at the existence of illegal student fraternities, and we read several instances of official leniency toward students who had broken all the rules.

It is also no surprise to learn that students were not content to restrict themselves to the boring roles the state laid out for them. Friedman isolates and concentrates on four different modes of behavior that many students regarded as essential components of their masculinity: tavern sociability, involving rowdyism and drunken pranks; secret fraternities complete with strict rules and codes of honor; extremely close, affectionate, and emotional bonds of male friendship; and equally close filial ties with parents and siblings.

What is new here? Friedman argues that the sudden outburst of student activism following Nicholas's death in 1855 did not emerge ex nihilo but rather had its roots in the behaviors of the preceding era that she describes in her book. There were pockets of autonomy in the brittle atmosphere of Nicholaevan Russia, and incipient student solidarity was one of them. She attacks as onesided the common historiographical staples that view student life in the nineteenth century primarily through the lens of political activism and alienation. The famous "circles" (*kruzhki*) in which student groups met informally for heated discussions of philosophy and politics were as much about male bonds of friendship as about the actual topics of conversation. She casts doubt on the prevalence of conflicts between generations exemplified personally by Alexander Herzen and immortalized in fictional form by Ivan Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* (1861). Citing many examples of continuing warm relationships between students and their families, she argues that being loving and dutiful sons not only satisfied students' emotional needs but also prepared them for their future roles as patriarchs of their own families. This was one instance in which student proclivities coincided with the tsar's prescriptions.

There is, strangely, very little in this book about relations between the sexes. Students were not permitted to be married, and some of the individuals she cites specifically exalted male bonds over male-female relations (although whether these male friendships included physical erotic behavior is open to question). But surely one would expect attitudes toward women to be a major part of students' conceptions of masculinity. It should also be pointed out that this work is not really a "history" of changing conceptions of masculinity over time, but rather a discussion of its ramifications during one extended period. There are only a few indications of how ideas may have differed either before or after Nicholas's reign. Finally, it is a pity the author did not extend her analysis beyond the small number of universities to include a full-fledged comparison with the cadet corps school network, designed to train military rather than civilian servitors, as well as the super-elite lyceum schools. Were the tsar's expectations and the students' reactions in these institutions similar or different in significant ways from those of the universities? Such a comparison would have added breadth and significance to this brief but suggestive study.

JAMES C. MCCLELLAND
University of Nebraska, Lincoln

THOMAS C. OWEN. *Dilemmas of Russian Capitalism: Fedor Chizhov and Corporate Enterprise in the Railroad Age*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 275. $49.95.

The corruption and incestuous government-corporate relationships that pervade today's Russian economy were similar to the problems that infuriated—but at times benefited—Fedor Chizhov in the tsarist "Great Reform" era. As founder-manager of the Moscow-Iaroslavl' and Moscow-Kursk railroads, board chairman of the Moscow Merchant Bank, and initiator of the Archangel-Murmansk Steamship Company, Chizhov was a major entrepreneur of his day. He was also editor of *Vestnik promyshlennosti* (Herald of Industry) and tireless advocate of what his biographer, Thomas C. Owen, calls "Slavophile capitalism." How Chizhov tried—and failed—to reconcile his support for industrialism with his anti-Western Russian chauvinism is a central theme of the book, which goes far to help us understand the "many cultural and institutional obstacles" to the development of Russian capitalism (pp. 5–6).

Owen is a leading scholar of Russian economic history, and this book is in line with his previous works on the Moscow merchantry, tsarist corporate law, and the evolution of Russian corporations. All emphasize the sharp differences between Russian and Western economic life, and as such they oppose the increasingly

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popular historiographical current that rejects the notion of a Russian "Sonderweg." In the book under review Owen departs from the standard emphasis of Russian economic historians on government policy and growth statistics to analyze the experiences of an energetic entrepreneur who happened to be a compulsive diarist and whose life story offers "new insights into the distinctive features of capitalism in Russia in the nineteenth century" (p. 1).

Chizhov's objectives were consistently undermined by a combination of his own romanticized prejudices, the deficiencies of Russian business practices, and bureaucratic obstructionism. He despised Western Europe and adhered to the Slavophile position of Russia's uniqueness and future glory. For his opposition to serfdom and affiliation with the Slavophile intelligentsia he was interrogated by Tsar Nicholas I's Third Department (interestingly, one of the things that tipped them off was that he had grown a beard), then exiled to southern Russia, where he established a silk plantation and failed in his efforts to generate enthusiasm for sericulture among the peasantry. Thereafter his Slavophile adoration was centered on Russian merchants as potential agents of a nationalist economic agenda, but over time he became disillusioned by their greed, dishonesty, dependence on government contracts, and lack of worldliness. Likewise, his big-business boosterism was superseded by his contempt for the opaque corporate charters and corrupt dealings of Russian industrialists. But better them than the Jews or the Germans. A xenophobe and antisemite, Chizhov sought the russification of industry and disliked doing business with the minorities who were the empire's most dynamic commercial elements; even when forced to rely on them, he refused to acknowledge that they had substantial managerial expertise and entrepreneurial talents that could benefit society as a whole. Finally, although always frustrated by red tape and the state's indifference if not hostility toward industry, he was nonetheless opposed to laissez-faire economics, and most of his business ventures could not have avoided bankruptcy without extensive government financial support and other favors. Owen argues that many of these opinions and economic behavior patterns kept the full potential of the tsarist economy from being realized; he goes on to suggest that they are still in place today and continue to hinder Russia's progress.

This book should be of interest to scholars concerned with theories of economic growth derived from Joseph Schumpeter (entrepreneurial dynamism) and Max Weber (Protestantism). Owen offers a counter example to qualify those theories: Chizhov was a Russian Orthodox nobleman whose work ethic and asceticism embodied the values Weber ascribed to Puritan businessmen; he was an entrepreneurial dynamo in the Schumpeterian sense, yet his successes were based on mundane managerial abilities and government subsidies, and his mightiest efforts at realizing his dream of building Russian industry were no match against the constraints of the society he lived in. Thus, in Owen's view, neither Schumpeter nor Weber can explain Chizhov's triumphs and failures as an agent of Russian capitalist economic development. As a historian, Owen does not propose an alternative to these "grand macroeconomic" models (p. 4) but sees his biography as testing and supplementing them. It does, but only to a certain extent: it seems clear that in many of his personal characteristics Chizhov was an exception among Russians and does not necessarily undercut Weberian or Schumpeterian archetypes, which were intended to explain a large class of men in Western societies.

More compelling is the elucidation of Chizhov's primary dilemma, which was similar to those facing nearly all non-Western modernizers in the past two centuries: how to adopt the techniques of Western capitalism without the cultural values. With its treatment of this issue Owen's outstanding biography of a tsarist industrialist and ideologist of economic development sheds light on one of the most vital processes in the history not only of Russia but of the entire modern world.

STEVEN G. MARKS
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BARBARA WALKER. *Maximilian Voloshin and the Russian Literary Circle: Culture and Survival in Revolutionary Times*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 235. $39.95.

Modern Russia's educated elite made the literary circle and the patronage of one writer by another important cultural institutions. Writers and philosophers formed circles to develop ideas, advance themselves, and create a space apart from their highly ordered society. They patronized younger colleagues or sought out patrons for themselves among established writers for presumably the same reasons. Barbara Walker uses the career of the poet Maximilian Voloshin (1877–1932) to show how literary circles and patronage functioned in late imperial and early Soviet society. She sees the circle chiefly in terms of interpersonal or social relations rather than politics, philosophy, or aesthetics. She describes the circle as "an idealistic, antimaterialistic, antihierarchical form of human association" that writers such as Voloshin used for "professional and economic advancement" (p. 6). Invoking Victor Turner's notion of "communitas," she suggests that participants interacted with each other in a particularly "direct, immediate, and total confrontation of human identities" (Turner's words, p. 10). Such associations, according to Turner, undermine hierarchy and structure. Walker emphasizes this social function of both circles and literary patronage in late imperial and early Soviet Russia.

What else does she tell us about these linked institutions and Voloshin's life as a poet, patron, and the founder of a circle of his own? Emphasizing personal relationships rather than ideas or politics, she shows how Voloshin used these twin institutions to carve out a satisfactory existence amidst the violence and unpredictability of war, revolution, and civil strife. In the pro-

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cess she provides an engaging if partial account of Voloshin's life, which is a story well worth telling. She begins with his success as a young poet in finding friends among writers such as Valerii Briusov, Andre Bely, and Marina Tsvetaeva, as well as mentors such as Viacheslav Ivanov and Konstantin Balmont. The core of the book and much of its appeal, however, is her account of Voloshin's life at his dacha in the Crimea. Before World War I, he entertained a gang of literary merry makers who jokingly described themselves as "the idiots" (*Obormoty*). In one of their pranks Voloshin and Tsvetaeva convinced the latter's sister that Sergei Effron, who would later marry Tsvetaeva, was the popular futurist poet Igor Severianin. The contrast between this light-hearted setting and that of the Crimea of the Russian Civil War could not be sharper.

In perhaps the most fascinating portion of her book, Walker traces Voloshin's metamorphosis from the cheerful host of blithe young guests to the cunning operator who made friends on both sides of the Civil War, cultivated powerful patrons among satraps and luminaries of each camp, and so survived the ebb and flow of White and Red fortunes. Walker suggests that Voloshin's "long-nurtured networking skills were now of particular value: as it turned out, he was peculiarly capable of operating at the nexus of personal and bureaucratic associations" (p. 118). Of course, there were other writers among the pre-1917 literary circles who did not fare so well, such as the poet Alexander Blok. Walker's suggestion that the Soviet bureaucratic system initially depended on personal ties from the Civil War is suggestive. During the Civil War, Voloshin, the one-time wacky poet, emerges as "a state based patron" using his Crimean home as his base of operations (p. 119). She describes Voloshin's success with the head of the Cheka in Odessa, who, according to an account by Ivan Bunin, provided him with a berth on a sailboat to the Crimea. She also explains how he secured a document, signed by Anatoly Lunacharsky, identifying his Crimean house, library, and archive as state treasures "not subject to requisition" (p. 150). As a result, Voloshin was able to turn his dacha into a rest house and studio for artists, writers, and scholars (pp. 152–153). During the Civil War, even as he secured his livelihood with the Bolsheviks, he also realized himself as a poet, describing the brutality and suffering of his "holy Russia."

The final section of the book concerns the end of Voloshin's Crimean "Never-land" and its ex post facto reconstruction by memoirists. He did not live long enough to witness the great purge trials, but he did see the crushing of the Left opposition and Lunacharsky's fall from power. Walker does not indicate his political views and treats his powerlessness in the late 1920s simply as a failure to secure new patrons, but perhaps the time for his style of collaboration had simply passed. The Soviet memoirists who wrote of their visits to his dacha naturally avoided politics, stressing instead the idyllic image of a seaside refuge for the cultural elite. So did the author of the introduction in 1977 to the first collection of Voloshin's writings published in the Soviet Union after 1919. Citing this nostalgic literature, Walker concludes that the idea of Voloshin's Crimean circle lived on to inspire later generations of Soviet intellectuals. Perhaps the fact that his fluctuating dacha community lacked the political or aesthetic focus of pre-Soviet circles explains its lasting attraction among former participants.

Walker has used official and private archives as well as personal interviews, including one with Tsvetaeva's sister. The result is a warm and sympathetic account of the poet's adventures and a stimulating exegesis of cultural associations. Yet aspects of Voloshin's social activity remain puzzling. In a seaside picture from the mid to late 1920s near his dacha, then a semi-official Soviet rest home, he appears bloated and white bearded in a Tolstoyan tunic, surrounded by younger people in bathing suits. What kind of patron was he? Bunin accused him of switching sides in adapting to the Soviet regime. What did his collaboration entail? Maxim Gorky was able to patronize those he considered deserving but in turn worked hard to promote the new regime. What was Voloshin's role, residing as he did in the Crimea? Did he report on his visitors, and if not, how did he avoid doing so as he made his transition from private dacha owner to manager of a state-sanctioned institution? He often resolved conflicts with local authorities by going above their heads, but what did his powerful patrons get in exchange? Walker notes that the guests who enjoyed free resort housing at the dacha gave Voloshin significant gifts. Yet the larger question of reciprocity remains unanswered. Nor is it clear whether such associations as Voloshin's dacha community undercut or bolstered the official structures of Soviet society. These quibbles aside, however, this compassionate and pioneering study of the social life of a poet much valued in Russia though little known in the West is certain to stimulate considerable thinking about Russian culture and society.

JEFFREY BROOKS
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ADRIENNE LYNN EDGAR. *Tribal Nation: The Making of Soviet Turkmenistan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pg. xvi, 296. $37.50.

In the early 1920s, shortly after the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) won the Civil War, it introduced three interrelated policies toward non-Russians, who constituted nearly half of the Soviet population. The first policy recognized each national group's homeland by establishing separate republics and many autonomous regions in the Russian Republic within the federal structure of the newly created Soviet Union. The second policy created separate communist parties within these non-Russian republics. Although completely subordinated to the central Communist Party in Moscow, their development reaffirmed symbolically, if not in reality, the national-territorial principle. The nativization program, which advocated the equality of the

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non-Russian languages and cultures vis-à-vis Russian language and culture, constituted the third policy. Most importantly, nativization sought to enhance the position of non-Russians by promoting them to leading positions in the party, the government, and the trade unions. In the view of the Bolshevik leadership, the formation of national territories with their own elites and languages "would speed the historical development of the non-Russians, mitigate ethnic conflict, and 'clear the arena for class struggle' " (p. 183), especially in Central Asia, where the overwhelming majority of people did not possess a national identity or a class consciousness.

Despite these expectations, these policies did not mitigate ethnic conflict. Instead, they solidified the national identities of the non-Russians. As a consequence, in non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union, "a fundamental contradiction" developed "between nationality policy which pledged to support the autonomy and unique identity of each Soviet people, and the construction of socialism, which sought the homogenization of the Soviet population under a centralized government" (p. 13).

In her thorough investigation of this contradiction, Adrienne Lynne Edgar concentrates on the emergence in the 1920s and 1930s of Soviet Turkmenistan, the fourth largest republic in the USSR in terms of size. Bordering on Iran, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan, it contains rich mineral deposits within a harsh environment. The Kara Kum Desert, the fourth largest in the world, covers eighty percent of the total area; water is scarce.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Turkmen, an overwhelmingly illiterate, Turkic-speaking, seminomadic population numbering nearly one million, divided themselves into genealogically defined groups that spoke different dialects and often fought with each other. Dispersed over a huge and largely uninhabitable territory, these groups did not possess any clearly defined territory, common political institutions, uniform language, mass communications, or educational system. They, however, did claim a common ancestry, adhered to Turkmen customary law, and identified themselves as Muslims. Moreover, they possessed an elite willing to embrace the idea of a Turkmen national republic, which the Soviet policy of nativization reinforced.

After briefly introducing the notions of tribe, class, and nation among the Turkmen, the last Central Asian group to fall under Russian control in the nineteenth century, Edgar divides her narrative into two parts. In the first, she chronicles and analyzes the processes of Soviet nation-making by probing the sources of identity among Turkmen, the creation of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic in 1924, the rise of the Turkmen national elite in the 1920s, the emergence of the Turkmen Communist Party, and the standardization of the Turkmen language. In the second, she describes and evaluates the processes of social homogenization: the introduction of the class struggle and the Soviet attack on tribalism in Turkmenistan, collectivization, and policies designed to transform the role of women.

As the first English-language monograph to analyze the complexity of Turkmen life and identity within the context of Soviet policies, the book superbly reviews the compromises between the central Soviet authorities in Moscow and the European and Turkmeni communists in Central Asia. The author's nuanced narrative, moreover, points out the paradoxes and unintended consequences of Soviet nationality policy and the tensions between European communists sent from Moscow and local European communists; between European and Turkmen communists; and between the urbanized and Russified Turkmen communists and the Turkmen in the villages. Edgar's exploration of the Soviet enhancement of women's roles in Turkmenia and the widespread male and female resistance vividly confirms her thesis about the contradictions between the Soviet Union's nationality policy and its social policies.

In order to analyze the interaction between Soviet policies promoting radical social changes and Turkmen conceptions of identity and community, this excellent monograph draws on Turkmen and Russian-language published sources and recently declassified Soviet archives. Expanding upon the ideas of Ronald Grigor Suny, Edgar's study challenges certain orthodoxies, such as the long-standing claim that in creating national republics in Central Asia Moscow divided a unified region. She persuasively asserts that the border delineation of the 1920s "merely institutionalized and deepened divisions that already existed" (p. 47) and that it involved a great deal of compromise "between central Soviet authorities in Moscow and indigenous communists in Central Asia" (p. 53).

The author admits that indigenization did not succeed in the 1920s and 1930s, but it ultimately prevailed in the post-1945 period. How? Why? When exactly? Edgar drops tantalizing hints throughout her text but does not fill in the complete picture as she does for the 1920s and 1930s. This reviewer hopes that she will write a sequel dealing with nativization in Turkmenistan after World War II.

GEORGE O. LIBER
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DAVID E. MURPHY. *What Stalin Knew: The Enigma of Barbarossa*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 310. $30.00.

David E. Murphy, himself a CIA veteran, has already (with Sergei A. Kondrashev and George Bailey) written a classic of modern historical documentation: *Battleground Berlin: CIA vs KGB in the Cold War* (1997). In this new book, he is largely concerned with how on earth, in 1941, with the vast intelligence and other information available, the impending German attack failed to show on Joseph Stalin's mental screen.

In his idiosyncratic account, Murphy understandably gives most space to intelligence material proper, mostly

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from Russian intelligence archives (peripheral points are occasionally somewhat erratically researched). He goes deep into this devastating material. It is true that it was filtered through Stalin's preconceptions—including the idea that Adolf Hitler must finish off Britain before turning east. But in any case, Stalin had decided that the Germans would not attack in 1941, and this had become dogma. To the end he played down the numerous later direct reports of German military activity on, or even over, the Soviet border, and their air reconnaissance, on which Soviet batteries were instructed not to fire; and, by order, Soviet forces were told not to respond to or use as a "provocation" any intrusive German ground patrolling. Stalin's other major error was quite different: the quite fallacious forward deployment of the Red Army, deplored by some advisors, but also the result of political ideology, although this time as a part of the eventual forward revolutionary advance into Europe.

Over the whole crucial period, the author gives us illuminatingly detailed chapters, starting with the 1939–1940 Finnish War, where all the army's deficiencies in intelligence and tactics were fully shown and were, to some degree but inadequately, understood by the Soviet high command. We find complaints from air commanders about not daring to train in bad weather, while noting that the Germans and English sensibly flew in all weather conditions, even though the practice unavoidably resulted in a number of crashes. But for a Soviet commander this meant a choice: either to skimp training, or be charged with sabotage or worse (pp. 194–197). Choices of the sort were inherent in not only military matters but throughout the economy, and the resulting mind-set was disastrous. Of course, Stalin's main contribution to Nazi hopes had been his decapitation of the army in 1936–1939, and the habit persisted through 1941. Murphy covers the arrest, fearful torture, and execution of a number of military professionals, including three former Air Force chiefs. Most irrational of all was the massacre of October 28, when the Germans were at the gates of Moscow (p. 237). A lone survivor, General Vsevolod Meretskov, arrested on June 24, 1941, was reinstated in September. He later told of how weird he found it being back on social terms with NKVD Chief Kiril Merkulov, who had personally tortured him.

The crucial point, from a historical standpoint, is how Stalin was able to dictate his erroneous views and inhuman decisions to all under him. One feels that in any even partially nonautocratic society, reality would somehow have forced its way into action. We are tempted to invoke larger perspectives—as was true of historians' take on the 1937–1939 terror until as late as the 1990s, when Stalin's instructions to local officials on specific numbers of people to be executed or imprisoned en masse, by social or national categories, were revealed.

And was it a near thing in 1941? Murphy notes Hitler's losing time diverting divisions from the main front to Kiev. What if Barbarossa had started a month earlier, as planned? Or if the weather had not produced a near morass in late October? History is full of near things: a point sometimes blurred by our preconceptions. And the German repulse had not been decisive. In 1942 their new offensive had reached the Volga, and Stalin's "back to the wall" instructions were sent out. Fortunately, it has been argued, Hitler had again made his own mistake, by diverting so much of his force to the Caucasus. Through the horrors of Stalingrad, the Soviet victory at last emerged, although it took more than two years to achieve, as Hitler's army did not collapse in the way Stalin's had in 1941.

How things have changed since the time when scholars only had an accumulation of odd facts. For fifteen years, it has become possible to dig deeper and deeper into past reality. As Murphy notes, however, there is still much material that is unavailable to researchers. His extraordinary tale greatly illustrates the nature of Stalin, and of the Soviet system that took his imprint. Murphy has done a remarkable job on an important stratum of that past.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

FRANCESCA ROCHBERG. *The Heavenly Writing: Divination, Horoscopy, and Astronomy in Mesopotamian Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxvi, 331. $70.00.

Fifty-five years ago, Naphtali Herz Tur-Sinai, also known as Harry Torczyner, published a brief article entiled "Šiṭir Šamê: Die Himmelsschrift," referring thus to the nocturnal sky with the idiom sometimes used by the cuneiform sources (*Archiv Orientální* 17 [1949]). Much of his short study was given over to Psalm 19 and other proposed biblical parallels (e.g. Job 38:33). When Francesca Rochberg published this book under the same title, it seemed conceivable that she was mining the same lode. But she was not. Hers is a massive disquisition on Babylonian astronomy and astrology, the difference between these two branches of ancient Mesopotmian learning, and the interrelationship between them, introduced by a long polemic against those who question whether either or both of them belong in the history of science.

The author is known as one of the most astute interpreters of cuneiform texts whose reputation rests on a partial edition of the great cuneiform astrological series *enuma Anu Enlil* (1988), a definitive study of *Babylonian Horoscopes* (1998), and a stunning number of pathbreaking articles on the wider implications of Babylonian divination, including the "canonization" of the textual evidence. But the present book shows her equally at home with the specialized literature of the philosophy and history of science, disciplines far beyond the range of this reviewer, who will therefore con-

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fine his comments to its Assyriological contributions.

Here the first questions to be raised are to what extent does Rochberg's interpretation of the cuneiform evidence represent or reflect the current consensus, and to what extent does it represent her own particular take on the issues at stake, some of them of considerable weight in the history of ideas. To take an initial example of the latter, one might cite her emphasis on horoscopes, accounting for no less than three out of seven chapters and adding up almost to a sequel to her previous book on the same subject. But there are many other respects in which her presentation is *au courant* with current issues in the field, and she is able to furnish an informed opinion on one side or the other. Rochberg is well served by her thorough mastery of Akkadian, the language of most of her Mesopotamian texts; Sumerian, though in native eyes the fountainhead of knowledge, was not used for astral science. The immediate heirs of this science were Hellenistic Egypt in the West and India in the East, and Rochberg has no difficulty drawing these (derivative) syntheses into her purview. If, in the process, the priority and originality of Greek (or Sanskrit) astronomy is called into serious question, that is not unparalleled in current intellectual history; if anything, one could push the Babylonian origin of a number of calendaric and astronomical innovations further back than she does, as far back, perhaps, as the accession of the Babylonian King Nabonassar in 747 B.C.E. One might also quibble with Rochberg's explanation for the astronomical diary texts, which she thinks were intended as source books for new horoscopes. Others regard them rather as source books for a new omen series, but neither view can be proved as yet.

Though few readers will be able to follow the entire line of argument in this learned volume, they will come away with a deeper sense of the complexity, the profundity, and the antiquity of ancient Mesopotamian scholarship.

WILLIAM W. HALLO
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FRED ASTREN. *Karaite Judaism and Historical Understanding*. (Studies in Comparative Religion.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 346. $49.95.

The Karaite movement challenges the popular image of medieval Judaism as the monolithic creation of a rabbinic elite whose variations evolved out of unavoidable contact with Islam and with the Latin and Orthodox Christian traditions. On the contrary, Karaism represented a dynamic alternative voice in Judaism that challenged rabbinic legal and social authority but, no less importantly, also challenged the dominant historical, apologetic discourse of Talmudic Judaism. Focusing on rabbinic and Karaite apologetics, Fred Astren is not as much interested in a positivistic enquiry about "*wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*" in Karaism as he is in the imagined constructions of the Karaite past that gave legitimacy to Karaism's claims of authority. But Astren's goals extend beyond merely describing the static historical reconstruction of a minority group; rather he seeks to follow and explain the development of a minority discourse of separation and distinction that grew from the beginnings of the Karaite movement in the early Islamic period through the Protestant Reformation.

The first chapter lays out a methodological critique of previous scholarly efforts to address Karaism and of the disciplinary vocabulary itself. Astren thinks that terms like sect, mainstream, and normative are often used in a static fashion that fails to incorporate the dynamic—and often dialectical—relationship between, on the one hand, the minority Karaites and the rabbinic majority, and, on the other hand, between the Jewish Karaites and their Christian or Islamic social, political, and religious contexts. As Astren explains, "Karaite identity . . . will be framed against the background of rabbinic culture and contextualized within the historical environment of the day" (p. 10).

Astren follows several related lines of argument that aim ultimately at illuminating the development and evolution of a Karaite historical identity. Karaism itself emerged as a charismatic and messianic alternative "Judaism" to rabbinate control of community identity and discourse. But as it became increasingly institutionalized and formalized, it began to develop its own evolving discourse of authority. On the one hand, influences from Arabic, Greek, and Latin culture created literary and cultural contexts that shaped Karaite legal and historical thought. On the other hand, however, Karaites increasingly drew on rabbinic models—including, most interestingly, rabbinic polemics against them—to shape their apologetics, and in doing so "began . . . to postulate a kind of Karaite orthodoxy for Jewish heterodoxy" (p. 133).

This interesting and ambitious project calls for some sophisticated argumentation in order to demonstrate links and influences from majority Jewish and non-Jewish communities on Karaite historical self-definition. Equally important, however, is a presentation of the material that allows the reader to follow all the distinct threads in this cultural complex, and a careful use of vocabulary that separates Astren's own construct from previous scholarship. The book is divided into six chapters and a methodological introduction. Following the first three chapters, which constitute part one, is a conclusion; following the next three chapters, which constitute part two, is a second conclusion. Exactly why the book was divided in this way, and exactly how the two parts operate in relationship to one another, is not explained, nor is it entirely clear why two separate conclusions are necessary, especially when both conclusions carry the argument of Karaite interaction with rabbinic Judaism forward. The chapters themselves, while in general chronological, occasionally veer from topic to topic. For example, in his chapter on the Islamic context of early medieval Judaism, Astren moves

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from the legal origins of the rabbinate to the problem of Jewish conversion to Islam with no clear progression. But his point that conversion was part of a broader process of religious and social accommodation and assimilation of Jews within Islam is interesting and significant for any discussion of the Islamic context of Karaism. It is not clear, however, how Astren is able to conclude that "The new Karaite movement emerged at the end of the ninth and tenth centuries as a nonhybrid alternative to both Islam and rabbinic Judaism . . . Karaism was able to attract remnants from Jewish and other sectarian movements as well as Judeo-Muslim hybrids who were unable to make the final commitment to Islam" (pp. 39–40). Given the lack of firm demographic evidence and, furthermore, the messianic and Palestinocentric orientation of the early Karaites, this conclusion seems highly speculative.

Nonetheless, despite the problems of organization and occasional leaps of logic, Astren's book remains an engaging piece of work. The author's effort to construct the historical consciousness not only of the Karaites but of rabbinic Judaism as well, and to set his construction within diverse cultural contexts over a millennium, is a valuable addition to scholarship, and his methodological critique and practice should excite the interest of scholars not only of Judaism but of Christianity and Islam as well.

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MARGALIT SHILO. *Princess or Prisoner? Jewish Women in Jerusalem, 1840–1914*. (Brandeis Series on Jewish Women and The Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry Series.) Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University Press. 2005. Pp. xxviii, 330. Cloth $65.00, paper $29.95.

This is a comprehensive, pioneering analysis of the marginalized majority of Jerusalem's Jewish population in the late Ottoman period: Jewish women. While previous studies of the nineteenth-century Jewish community of Jerusalem occasionally dealt with women, Margalit Shilo puts women center stage. Her focus is on women's lives, but this does not prevent Shilo from examining the experience, views, and beliefs of Jewish men and intergender relations in Jerusalem. The study is based on amazingly rich documentation from public and private archives, contemporary memoirs, letters, and the press as well as modern research on Jerusalem, Ottoman Palestine, and gender issues. The English version is a somewhat shortened translation of Shilo's original Hebrew publication (2001). It includes an introduction, six chapters, an epilogue, notes, bibliography, and index as well as several contemporary illustrations.

The introduction summarizes the general framework of the study, its main aims, and its methodological questions. Shilo shows that in many contemporary publications the Jerusalem woman was viewed as typifying the Jewess of the Land of Israel, adding extra weight and responsibilities to the former. Two other major themes are immigration to Jerusalem in the nineteenth century and the characteristics of the "Old Yishuv," the term used to differentiate between traditional orthodox Jews in nineteenth-century Palestine and pioneering Jewish immigrants. Since the Old Yishuv regarded itself as a holy community, it set special behavioral rules and restrictions on all its members in general and on women in particular.

The first chapter, "The Female Experience of Immigration," deals with reasons for male and female immigration and settlement in Jerusalem and the extent at which this caused the breakup of the family. Pilgrimage to holy places in Palestine, regarded as immigration within immigration, is another topic discussed in detail, particularly women's attachment to Rachel's tomb. The second chapter, "Princess or Prisoner? Marriage as a Female Experience," details marriage practices in Jerusalem, including the development of intercommunal marriages, concluding that despite the festive ceremony the bride was more of a "captive under the wedding canopy" than a princess. The third chapter, "Women at Home," examines the private and public aspects of women's clothing, the physical shape of the home, marital relations, the implications of gender on attitudes toward newborns, and divorce.

Chapter four deals with "Women in the Public Sphere: Religious, Economic, and Philanthropic Involvement." It provides a very detailed picture of the various occupations in which women were involved and the influence of education on women's work. The development of women's charitable organizations is also examined in detail. The fifth chapter, "Scholarship, Illiteracy, and Educational Revolution," examines the traditional state of Jewish female education in Jerusalem, which was mostly home based, and how it changed with the introduction of missionary schools and European Jewish educational institutions, followed later by local initiatives, although the communal leadership of the Old Yishuv continued to prioritize boys' education.

Chapter six, "On the Margins of Society: Poverty, Widowhood, Husband Desertion, Prostitution, Missionary Efforts," looks at those in the margins of society, mainly women, including issues the community tried to hide (mostly prostitution) out of shame because they contradicted the idea that all members of the community lived a sacred life. Shilo shows that the male leadership was more eager to preserve this image than to help marginalized women. The study ends with "The Female Experience in Jerusalem: Honing Historical-Cultural Insights," showing the unique character of Jerusalem and how links with the New Yishuv brought about changes in the position of women in the Old Yishuv and the status of the latter.

This study examines Jewish women of Jerusalem in comparison with Jewish women in general and with those of the Middle East, against the background of modern feminist theories and studies. Shilo shows how female experience differed from that of males and how,

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despite their progress in education and economic life, women continued to be regarded by male society as inferior to men. She points out that, due to gradual and partial transformation of women's lives, traditional Jewish Jerusalemite society opened to new realities, among them a growing Zionist presence and influence. This is a comprehensive study whose limited physical scope allows it to be extremely rich in its depth and the issues it covers regarding the status of women and gender relations, thus shedding new and more varied light on the life of the Jerusalemite Jewish community as a whole. It is an important contribution to the study of Judaism, gender, and Jerusalem.

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MARK LEVINE. *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880–1948.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 442. Cloth $65.00, paper $29.95.

Mark LeVine uses the experiences of the ancient port city of Jaffa and its suburb Tel Aviv to explore, not a unilinear process of Jewish settlement and conquest, but rather a more complex encounter in which the borders of ethnic communities, economic classes, and physical settlements are more fluid and less clear than the standard Jewish-Arab and modern-traditional dichotomies used in discussions of Mandate Palestine. The basic storyline is that of how Tel Aviv's "modernity" gradually overwhelmed Jaffa and its surrounding Palestinian villages. In order to explain the complex forces at work in this process, the author sets out to explore the interaction of what he calls three "interrelated matrices of modernity": Jaffa's cosmopolitan Mediterranean modernity; the exclusivist-colonial modernity that arrived with Zionism and became hegemonic under the auspices of the British mandate; and various "nonmodernities" (Jaffa and its numerous surrounding villages) within and around the European modernity of Tel Aviv. He further argues that these matrices evolved "in response to a mutually constitutive fourfold matrix of discourses—modernity, colonialism, capitalism and nationalism—their attendant strategies of narration, and the innumerable binaries they create and sustain" (p. 2). Exploring such matrices is an ambitious project, and LeVine uses an impressive array of sources, from Islamic court records and the local press to various forms of cultural production and municipal planning documents in Ottoman, Arabic, and Hebrew.

The body of the work may be divided into two parts. The first, consisting of chapters two through four, is a presentation of the broad social, economic, and political history of the development of Jaffa and, subsequently, Tel Aviv. In these chapters LeVine succeeds in dispelling the notion that the transition from Ottoman rule marked a radical shift from a putative "backward oriental" society, as pre-Mandate Palestine has often been portrayed, to a "modern" European one with the introduction of British rule and increasing numbers of Jews. The second part, consisting of chapters six and seven, is a detailed presentation of the processes of urban planning, building, and "bulldozing" that resulted in Jaffa's eclipse and conquest by the Yishuv, while chapter eight discusses the city's post-1948 commodification by the Jewish state. The presentation of the ongoing struggle over who and what were part of Tel Aviv or Jaffa demonstrates not only how questions of economic and political power shifted conceptions of municipal (and increasingly ethnic) borders but also how the Zionist approach to settling Palestine and to its Arab inhabitants was transformed as well. Interposed between these two sections is a fascinating chapter that, using poetry, short stories and political cartoons, explores the images of Jaffa and Tel Aviv in the respective imaginations of Arabs and Jews.

The threefold matrix of modernity and the fourfold one of discourse discussed in the theoretical introduction are intriguing, and their complexity underlines the author's understanding of the processes at work as multilayered, overlapping, and interrelated. Yet the explicit use of this framework remains largely limited to the introduction rather than being woven more thoroughly into the body of the work. For those familiar with the history of the Mandate, the role of the Zionist colonial project and of emerging nationalisms is well established. Capitalism's impact may be a less familiar factor to some in thinking about the evolving conflict, but increasing numbers of historians of the period have made the political economy of the (inter)relationship between Arabs and Jews an important part of their analyses. LeVine is on solid ground in proposing an approach including all these factors; however, the reader expects a more explicit use of this framework as the work unfolds. Instead, its various elements remain implicit analytical categories rather than fully developed interrelationships that are mined for greater explanatory power. Hence, on this point, the work disappoints.

That said, the central, explicit focus is that of modernity, which is the least explored of the four discourse matrices in existing treatments of this period and, therefore, the most novel of the elements in LeVine's work. In his careful crafting of chapters five through seven, the author shows clearly that the discourse of modernity was a powerful force in the development of the Yishuv. He also argues convincingly that Jaffa's purported "non-modernity" was a necessary element in imagining and constructing Tel Aviv's modernity.

Thus it is the treatment of the interrelated development of Jaffa and Tel Aviv in the context of the multiple meanings and manifestations of modernity that constitutes this work's most original contribution and makes it an impressive piece of scholarship. By using the lens of modernity, LeVine's work adds in significant empirical and analytical ways to our understanding of the evolution of the Jewish national home project and the resulting dispossession of Palestine's Arab inhabitants,

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not only in Tel Aviv and Jaffa, but beyond these initials ports of entry as well.

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IDITH ZERTAL. *Israel's Holocaust and the Politics of Nationhood*. Translated by CHAYA GALAI. (Cambridge Middle East Studies 21.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 236. $30.00.

This book by Idith Zertal is a series of interconnected essays centering around the construction, representation, and signification of the Holocaust in Jewish Palestine up to 1948 and in the state of Israel. The book's overarching theme is the Zionist/Israeli elite's appropriation of the memory of the slaughtered millions to provide ballast for national myths and to justify state action in terms of redress for the historic crimes inflicted upon the Jewish people.

The first chapter (on the 1920 attack on Tel Chai, the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising, and the 1947 *Exodus* affair) examines how "historical defeats were transmuted into paragons of triumph and models of identification for a mobilized and combative nation" (p. 5). The second chapter analyzes the exclusion of Holocaust survivors from the processes of myth construction and remembrance during the state's first decade. Chapter three alleges links between the Eichmann trial, which brought the Holocaust to the center of Israeli consciousness, perceptions of existential threat among the Israeli political elite, and the outbreak of the 1967 War. Chapter four offers an encomium to Hannah Arendt's stance on Israel and a sharp critique of the Israeli intelligentsia for its harsh and uncompromising rejection of Arendt's book *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1963). The final chapter offers a series of reflections on the role of the Holocaust in Israeli collective memory from 1967 to the present day, with an emphasis on Holocaust memory's effects on Israeli military policy, particularly territorial expansionism.

Zertal's work is infused with a passionate critique of the Zionist project. She refers to "Zionist Jewish penetration" of Palestine, "invasive, forceful and conquering" (p. 22). Zertal pronounces judgment on the Zionist elites for their "unequivocal, ideological and arrogant" judgments of diaspora Jews, yet her own style reminds us of Horace's epigram: *mutato nomine de te fabula narratur*. Historians sympathetic to Zionism operate within a hermeneutic of empathy; Zertal's is the hermeneutic of suspicion.

Zertal's approach has its merits. Zertal shows how, during World War II, the Zionist leadership interpreted ghetto uprisings through a Zionist lens, belittling or masking the involvement of Bundists or Communists. Following on her previous book (*From Catastrophe to Power: Holocaust Survivors and the Emergence of Israel* [1998]), Zertal reveals that David Ben-Gurion and other Zionist leaders exploited the tragedy of the passengers of the *Exodus* by trying to prevent them from disembarking anywhere but Germany, only to drop the matter altogether upon the issuing of the UNSCOP report recommending the partition of Palestine. Zertal exposes the depth and irrationality of the Israeli leadership's identification of Arabs with Nazis, an association that led to unfounded yet long-lived accusations that the Mufti of Jerusalem aided and abetted the Nazi genocide. From 1967 onward, we learn, Israeli politicians and ideologues have at times portrayed Arab (and, by extension, global) hostility to Israel as not only a continuation of, but even more dangerous than, that of the Nazis, the idea being that Jewish civilization recovered from the Holocaust by creating Israel but could not survive Israel's destruction.

Yet time and again, Zertal's tendentiousness leads to misreadings and errors. She anachronistically and mistakenly identifies the skirmish at Tel Chai as the Zionists' "first major battle with another people over the same territory and over national borders" (p. 22). In her treatment of Zionist rescue activity during World War II, Zertal expresses ire that Jewish Palestine's leaders allegedly did so little, although her central argument is that there was nothing they could do. Moreover, Zertal does not engage scholarship claiming that Jewish Palestine's leaders made sustained, albeit mostly fruitless, efforts at rescue.

Zertal sees in the collaboration trials during the 1950s of Jews who worked as kapos in the concentration camps an act of judicial vengeance, part and parcel of Zionist insensitivity to the impossible moral choices that faced Holocaust victims. Yet out of 350,000 Holocaust survivors in Israel, there were only some forty trials, most of which ended in acquittals or convictions on lesser charges. Besides, these trials were not unique to Israel; Jewish people's courts acted similarly in postwar Poland. Perhaps there were common mental structures at work behind these trials, but they cannot be simply chalked up to a hegemonic Zionist discourse. The prosecution in the Israeli trials may have been zealous and insensitive, but the courts, no less a part of the Israeli polity than the Justice Ministry, were much more compassionate. And as the Kastner affair indicates, the judiciary could also deal roughly with those whom the ruling party Mapai would have liked to see treated with kid gloves.

Zertal's account of the Eichmann trial, which claims that the arrest and trial were planned and directed by Ben-Gurion in order to shore up declining support for his regime, is based on published or post facto sources, whereas Hanna Yablonka's 2001 archive-based monograph on the trial demonstrates that Ben-Gurion came to appreciate the trial's educational value only once preparations were well under way. Zertal's narrative of the 1967 War is brief, based on a couple of ten-year-old books, and far too slight to sustain her argument that the outbreak of the war was the direct result of collective trauma induced by the Eichmann trial. The Israeli Army's activist mentality had been formed long before the trial and was informed by many sources other than

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the Holocaust. On this point, as in the book as a whole, Zertal forces complex historical reality into a Procrustean bed to fit her argument.

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THOMAS PHILIPP and CHRISTOPH SCHUMANN, editors. *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon.* (Beiruter texte und studien, number 96.) Wurzburg: Ergon. 2004. Pp. vii, 366. €52.00.

The "Syrian Land" in the book's title refers to geographic Syria or the region bounded on the south by Aqaba and Sinai, on the north by the Taurus Mountains, on the east by the Syrian Desert, and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea. Today, it consists of Jordan, Israel/Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria. Editors Thomas Philipp and Christoph Schumann have organized the volume's twenty-one essays into five parts, four of which are mainly devoted to continuity and change in the late Ottoman period, including the emergence of modern Lebanon. The final part concentrates on popular movements in Syria after World War I. The contributors are mainly scholars located in Europe and the United States, with a sprinkling from Syria, Lebanon, and Israel.

The editors suggest that for all the changes the Arab successor states of the Ottoman Empire experienced as a consequence of World War I, their origins could often be found in the late Ottoman period, when territorial borders were virtually nonexistent. This is hardly a new finding, but a number of the contributors provide valuable new archival evidence in its support. Ultimately, the volume's purpose is to uncover and explain the emergence of new identities of nation, citizenship, and class, which came to coexist with or challenge and even replace older identities of clan and tribe and religion.

In the opening essay on the Ottoman legacy, Philipp finds it more useful to discuss geographic Syria before the early nineteenth century in terms of "locally integrated regions" than administrative provinces. Some were highly stratified, city-centered regions while others were either not stratified or became integrated without the benefit of a significant city. But no matter how locally integrated or autonomous they were, they still operated within the Ottoman imperial system of governance, which Fruma Zachs's case study of the writer Khalil al-Khuri also indicates. Stefan Weber's interesting exploration of the highly stratified city of Damascus in late Ottoman times acknowledges that local elites contributed nearly as much as Ottoman officials and Western missionaries and merchants to the modernization of that city. For Beirut in the same period, Jens Hanssen finds little evidence of clear political differences between landowners and merchants on the municipal council; he provides no evidence, however, for his larger claim that elites in other cities in geographic Syria could not be politically identified by their sources of wealth. Eugene L. Rogan argues that the elite preparatory school of Damascus (Maktab Anbar) in late Ottoman times did more to produce a common Ottoman identity for Arabs and Turks than it did to promote the nascent idea of Arabism; but his case rests on only one contemporary personal account by a graduate of the school.

Several essays explore the role religion played in reshaping identities in geographic Syria. Stephan Winter sheds new light on the Ottoman government's efforts to foster citizenship among the Nusayris (or Alawis), a heterodox Muslim religious minority, members of which rule Syria today. In explaining the influence of the religious reform movement known as the Salafiyya on the rise of Arabism at the turn of the twentieth century, Itzchak Weismann finds that certain Sufi (Islamic mystic) movements had a surprising and important influence on the rise of the Salafiyya itself. James L. Gelvin contends, however, that Salafi influence on Arabism and, ultimately, on Arab nationalism, has been exaggerated, and finds that certain less well-known anti- and non-Salafi religious trends were probably more influential.

Four essays explore different facets of state-society relations in and around World War I. Stefan Wild posits that it makes little sense today to argue that the border between Lebanon and Syria was a colonial creation. He suggests that in the minds of many Lebanese there was already a border before World War I and that the recent history of relations between the two countries transcends their colonial past. Najwa al-Qattan opens a small window onto the important subject of history and memory through a discussion of the multiple meanings and associations of the term *safarbarlik* (e.g. World War I, mobilization, conscription, bounty hunters, civilian travel) in its official and popular discourse during the war. In a refreshing contribution to our understanding of Arabism, Birgit Schaebler illustrates how early Arab nationalists from the urban intelligentsia adopted a new, positive attitude toward the desert Arabs, whose purity and nobility they began to laud as they prepared to separate from the Ottoman Empire. And Abdullah Hanna offers a new periodization of Syrian ideological coexistence and struggle, leading to the emergence of a short-lived civil society that eroded as a result of Syria's calamitous union with Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt in 1958.

"The Special Case for Lebanon" may not have been all that special as we learn from Carol Hakim, who finds that the elites of Mount Lebanon operated within an Ottoman political framework right down to the empire's collapse and only afterward adopted the idea of a Greater Lebanon. Maurus Reinkowski also questions the special case for Lebanese confessionalism, arguing that confessionalism pervaded the Ottoman Empire and that historians still need to explain why it persisted in some of the empire's successor states and not in others. Ussama Makdisi has written perhaps the most original essay in the volume, in which he claims that the nineteenth-century writer Butrus al-Bustani adopted

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considerably more liberal, secular, and even revolutionary social and cultural positions than the American Protestant missionaries in Lebanon, with whom his career intersected and "whose own mission to the Levant had developed partly as a reaction to the rise of liberalism in American religious thought" (p. 223).

Six essays on resistance and radical nationalism in Syria round out the collection. Fred Lawson posits that the northern Syrian revolts at the end of the Great War were not "unambiguously Arab nationalist or pro-Sharifian" (p. 258), which other historians long ago documented. Nadine Méouchy and Michael Provence each discuss the evolution of the rural armed bands that struggled against the French in the early 1920s, culminating in the Great Revolt of 1925. Méouchy contends that as they matured under the influence of nationalism and state formation, they ultimately helped to ensure their own disappearance from the political scene. Provence uses local written records to show that the very rebels the French claimed were nothing more than politically unconscious bandits in fact "acted with tactical coordination, courage, resourcefulness, and clear strategic goals" (p. 304). Dalal Arsuzi-Elamir, Khairia Kasmieh, and Schumann each examine different dimensions of the radical nationalist organizations that arose in the 1930s in Syria and Lebanon in association with an emerging, Western-educated intelligentsia whose goal was to put local politics on a systematic ideological foundation for the first time.

Unfortunately, the editors do not provide an adequate introduction that connects frameworks of interpretation, themes, and sources. Some of the essays might have been more usefully grouped together, such as those by Zachs and Makdisi and Rogan and Schaebler. On balance, the collection advances our understanding of modern Syrian and Lebanese history by demonstrating that explanations of continuity are just as important as explanations of change.

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EZEKIEL GEBISSA. *Leaf of Allah: Khat and Agricultural Transformation in Harerge, Ethiopia, 1875–1991*. (Eastern African Studies.) Oxford: James Currey. Addis Ababa University Press. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 210. cloth $44.95, paper $24.95.

Ezekiel Gebissa offers a detailed study of the emergence of khat as a cash crop in Harerge, in eastern Ethiopia. Khat is a stimulant, and its leaves and twigs are chewed by many people in the Arabian peninsula and the Horn of Africa. That khat emerged, among Harerge's farmers, as the preferred—over coffee—cash crop is a fascinating tale, requiring an understanding of a wide variety of factors, from the biological characteristics of the khat shrub, to land tenure, to commerce and transportation, to regional politics. Gebissa situates his study in the context of other studies of smallholder agriculture, emphasizing the agency of farmers as they made production decisions in the face of population growth, ecological constraints, market opportunities, and government intervention in land tenure and commerce. Spanning more than a hundred years, Gebissa's study traces the transformation of agriculture in Harerge from a time when khat was a minor crop to one when it was the main source of income for most Harerge farmers.

Khat's stimulating and euphoric effects are the result of a chemical component, cathinone. The cathinone content in khat leaves is highly unstable and diminishes rapidly once the leaves have been picked. Consequently, khat chewers prefer leaves that are no more than two or three days old. This has been a major factor in shaping the production and marketing of khat, and improvements in transportation (beginning with the railroad in the early 1900s, all-weather roads in the late 1930s, and an airport after 1949) have had a considerable impact on the ability of farmers to grow khat for the market. Important, too, was the land reform following the Ethiopian Revolution in 1974, which gave more farmers access to arable land and irrigation. This, combined with the government's efforts to control the marketing of coffee, led more and more farmers to choose khat as their cash crop.

Although Gebissa focuses on khat production and marketing, he also explores the reasons for expanding consumption, locating this among other things in the growth of khat consumption as a leisure activity among the urban population in Ethiopia and beyond. He notes, for example, how, after World War II, khat consumption in the Somali Protectorate became representative of an anticolonial stance, especially among a group of poets. Gebissa explicitly states that his aim is not to write "a study of the changing cultural meanings that khat may have acquired" (p. 29). Doing so would undoubtedly have required a different kind of research. Yet the glimpses that Gebissa offers into the social meaning of khat leave one wanting to know more. This is clearly an area that needs further investigation. The fact that khat changed from being a stimulant used primarily by farmers to sustain them during hard physical labor to one increasingly consumed by urban dwellers as a form of recreation and relaxation is critical to explaining why Harerge producers and merchants throughout the region were able to profit considerably from it.

Gebissa argues that khat has been like the tide that raises all boats. Expansion in khat production and marketing has benefited a wide range of people in Harerge: the rural and urban poor, women, and those pushed to urban areas by land scarcity. Yet Gebissa also provides evidence that khat's benefits could not have been distributed equally. He details the unequal access to land and the sharecropping arrangements that farmers had with landowners before the land reforms instituted by the Derg. He notes that women farmers typically have sold only the lower-quality leaves. And while the perishable nature of khat seems to have prevented the con-

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centration of marketing in the hands of a few (p. 127), merchants do seem to have reaped greater profits from khat than producers. All this points to interesting questions about how khat may have exacerbated or diminished inequalities in rural and urban Harerge, questions that merit further investigation.

No single book can answer all the questions raised by khat's rise to prominence. Gebissa's thorough and detailed economic history of how Harerge farmers and traders transformed khat into a key commodity will, one hopes, serve as a stimulus to others wishing to explore the complex social, cultural, and economic changes set in motion by khat in Ethiopia and beyond.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

ELIZABETH SCHMIDT. *Mobilizing the Masses: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939–1958.* (Social History of Africa Series.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2005. Pp. xv, 293. Cloth $99.95, paper $27.95.

The literature on anticolonial nationalism in Africa in the post-World War II era is largely a tale of notable men and the movements they led. In this book, Elizabeth Schmidt upends received wisdom. In Guinea, arguably the best such example on the African continent, she shows a pattern of mass mobilization against various aspects of colonial rule by equally varied elements of society, including war veterans, urban workers, peasants, and market women. These groups, significantly, were self-organized, and they predated the rise of formal nationalist movements. The celebrated nationalist leaders, in this sense, were Johnny-come-latelies. Their genius, if genius it is, may be attributed not so much to their ability to mobilize the masses, who had already mobilized themselves, but rather to their skill in formulating an overarching national program and in forging alliances among existing groups.

Schmidt's task is to explain the huge success of the Guinean branch of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA), the premier political movement in postwar French West Africa. It was an improbable achievement. Derided by the powers that were—the colonialists, the "traditional" chiefs in their pay, and much of the French-oriented African elite, the so-called *évolués*—as the political receptacle of prostitutes, school dropouts, unruly women, and other malcontents, the Guinean RDA in its early formation felt the sting of state repression. Yet by the mid-1950s the party had become the colony's preeminent political force, its defining moment coming in 1958.

In 1958, the newly installed French President Charles De Gaulle inaugurated his Fifth Republic, itself largely a product of the crisis of empire, by holding referenda in the colonies. French colonial subjects, not for the first time since World War II, were offered a kinder and gentler brand of colonialism. With characteristic arrogance and bombast, De Gaulle told the colonized they were free to accept or reject his offer, but that he recommended acceptance and would not take kindly to rejection. In fact, consequences would follow from such an affront. Whether attracted by the offer of a reformed "French Community" or cowed by the French president's threat, all the leading lights in the RDA throughout West Africa, including Senegal's Leopold Senghor, the famed apostle of Negritude, dutifully lined up to vote "Oui." In the end, huge majorities in West Africa, and indeed in the French empire as a whole, or rather what remained of it after the disasters in Vietnam and Algeria, voted to accept De Gaulle's offer.

The sole exception, the only "Non," came from Guinea, where a stunning ninety-four percent of the voters rejected the proffered French Community. Ahmed Sékou Touré, head of the Guinean branch of the RDA, also found himself at the head of the rejectionist campaign, apparently against his better judgment. Then a mere leader and articulator of the popular mood, and not yet dictator and demigod (offices he would assume in the postcolonial era), Touré wavered in the weeks leading up to the referendum. Seeking to reconcile the irreconcilable, he declared that the right to self-determination included the right to "union" with France, insisting only on the right of the African "partners" to secession. "We prefer poverty in liberty to riches in slavery," Touré announced famously, and ambiguously. Only after Guinea's RDA militants clamorously demanded independence, however, did Touré unequivocally endorse a "Non" vote, the slogan "poverty in liberty to riches in slavery" becoming the rallying cry of the rejectionist campaign.

Schmidt, a seasoned Africanist who has previously written on Zimbabwean women's history, among other subjects, is no less adept at charting the "mass line" in Guinea. The success of the Guinean RDA, she shows, centered on building alliances across the boundaries of class, gender, and ethnicity, and in welding together groups that had organized themselves independent of the party. Using a variety of archival and oral sources, the latter to very good discursive effect, Schmidt has written a highly readable, jargon-free, and well-organized account of Guinean African nationalism from below. In the often peculiar lexical universe of academic discourse, this is no mean achievement.

The book's great strength is its unrelenting focus on the local scene, an undertaking the author pursues at the cost of inadequate attention to the larger global forces that shaped the parameters of the Guinean struggle. One of Schmidt's central arguments is that the seeds of anticolonial politics were planted during World War II and germinated in the postwar era. Accordingly, she mentions the Atlantic Charter and notes that after the war the United States, its global hegemonic ambitions undisguised, generally favored decolonization of the weaker and more formal European

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empires. Yet these important points are not adequately fleshed out. There are also places in the narrative where the author seems to treat ethnicity—unlike class, nation, and gender—as a given, a sort of unproblematic burden of the past. This discussion, however, could have profitably engaged the literature on the "social construction" of ethnicity in Africa, a corpus Schmidt surely knows.

Last, given the deep tradition of mass struggle and self-organization she so ably charts, Schmidt may consider, in a future work, reflecting on the relatively swift consolidation of authoritarian rule in postcolonial Guinea, a subject outside the purview of this book. Meanwhile, she has produced a model text, one of the best dissections of a nationalist movement anywhere in Africa. Hers is a foremost contribution to the literature as well as the interpretation of African nationalism.

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GLORIA CHUKU. *Igbo Women and Economic Transformation in Southeastern Nigeria, 1900–1960.* (African Studies.) New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xiii, 320. $75.00.

Gloria Chuku's book goes beyond the usual postcolonial looking back to assess or analyze the effects of colonialism and colonial policies on the traditional economic production and political power of Igbo women. It demonstrates the effectiveness and advantages of focusing on a detailed study of these processes from 1900 to 1960. Chuku demonstrates that the extent of Igbo women's involvement in precolonial economic production meant that some women were able to benefit from or seize the new opportunities offered by the colonial economy. Such opportunities existed especially in the areas of export crops such as palm oil, trade, and commerce. However, capital accumulation and changes in the palm oil industry enabled males to consolidate power that sector. Colonialism provided loans to men, who began to purchase large farms and plantations. Colonialism introduced high-yield palm seedlings at the same time that men alone had access to invest in new, more efficient processing machines. The author concludes that there was a reconfiguration of gender power relations. Some women may have profited in the economic transition to a new economy, but men benefited the most as they gained new powers in the new monetized economy, while women found other means of raising and circulating capital among themselves, (for example, credit and savings associations). More importantly, men were advantaged by the combining of traditional patriarchy with a new European colonial one that marginalized women. Here we begin to see the colonial origins of the male-biased development policies of postcolonial states that have led to under development in African nations.

As the author points out, precolonial Igbo societies were stateless and did not exhibit the violent control and oppression of women typical of state patriarchy. Chuku locates such patriarchal control in the practice of polygyny (and I might add chiefs as well). In precolonial societies, Igbo women were allowed to occupy such dominant positions of power and authority due to flexible cultural gender practices. The colonial government was quick to ban or erode the powers of Igbo women's political leadership institutions such as Omu, Ekwe, Iyamba, and Umuada. "Men therefore benefited more than women not only in the economy of southeastern Nigeria but also in the colonial political structures" (p. 239).

All this suggests to me that the Igbo were prevented from entering, engaging, and negotiating "modernity" on their own terms. No doubt Igbo women came out of colonialism weakened in ways that expose the limits of other supposed gains such as the right to divorce, education, and the "feminine" professions that are usually cited to argue the "benefits" of colonialism despite sexist education and employment policies. These gains are doubtful without equitable gender justice and equal access to state power. Men gained advantage in large-scale business in the import and export trade and also in urban and regional trade, and even in the urban market place. Women struggled for new capital and niches in the modern economy that had given advantages to men; at the same time, women's economic responsibilities in the household increased.

Given the stated cultural variations between Igbo subgroups, the book as a thematic study is too general to be considered a monograph. In her introduction, the author considers my work on Nnobi (*Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society* [1987]) to be important but limited in scope, since it is focuses on "a small central Igbo community" (p. 2). But the importance of a scholarly work is not so much its focus on a small or large society, but the originality of the empirical data and its theoretical innovation, especially its contribution to the field of study. For the thematic approach of this book, chapter one seems to me to offer a more appropriate introduction than the present one. The original aspects of her research are presented in chapters two through six, which focus on the political economy of Igbo women's economic activities and transformations under colonialism. These contain quite detailed accounts of women's agricultural production, craft and local industries in pottery, weaving, and salt production, and women's trade from select regions. In chapter six the women come alive in short select biographies recounting their trade and business histories. It also includes the story of the formidable Ahebi Ugbabe, whom Nwando Achebe in her detailed study refers to as the only female warrant king in Africa's colonial history (*Farmers, Traders, Warriors and Kings: Female Power and Authority in Northern Igboland, 1900–1960* [2005]). Yet Chuku does not acknowledge Achebe's historical research. The core empirical research findings in chapters two through six and their implications are not consolidated to form the main fo-

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cus and analysis in chapter seven and the conclusion. These last two segments therefore seem to me to digress from the core chapters, which contain dense and important original research that gets lost in the digressions and effort to provide "a global range" and "information for the comparative study of women and their societies not only in Africa but, also in the African Diasporas and other regions of the world" (p. 5). Such comparative studies could better be achieved in later essays on materials from this book as the author expands both research and theory.

The importance of this study is its focus on Igbo women's economic history within the period of British colonial rule. It debunks negative studies that focus only on supposed cultural "backwardness" and cultural antifemale practices and beliefs in order to confirm an "African primitiveness" that justified a civilizing mission and conquest colonization. The book adds to a growing number of works whose historiographies enable a better in-depth understanding of the achievements of Igbo women as innovators, dynamic members, and economic workers of their societies and of the proud place of these societies in the field of African Studies.

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Megan Vaughan. *Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Mauritius*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 341. Cloth $84.95, paper $23.95.

The last decade has seen a flourishing of English-language scholarship on French colonialism, both on France's prerevolutionary Atlantic empire and on its later colonies in Africa and Asia. France's Indian Ocean colonies under the Old Regime have received less attention, however. In many ways this is unsurprising, since colonies like Saint-Domingue (Haiti) were more integral parts of France's empire than remote territories such as Île Bourbon (Reunion) and Île de France (Mauritius). Nevertheless, as Megan Vaughan demonstrates in her compelling new study, such peripheral colonies have much to teach us about both colonialism and métissage.

Mauritius today is often vaunted as a harmonious rainbow society. As Vaughan notes, Mauritius was a "creole island" from its origins; before European settlement, the island was uninhabited and had no "natives." She reminds us that colonization was not a self-evident process. Rats and disease made Mauritius a "place from which everyone [slaves and colonists] desired to escape" (p. 9); peopling the island proceeded slowly. The Portuguese visited the island but opted not to stay; the Dutch colonized and abandoned it twice; the French began to settle there in 1721. Although they imported slave labor from Madagascar and mainland Africa to engage in agriculture and timber production, marronage became a central feature on the island. A vicious cycle was created, in which the threat of slave escape created a demand for more slave labor to prevent it, even while economic output remained low. The first three chapters of Vaughan's study offer a narrative of these difficult early years of colonization. She also explores how Enlightenment texts portrayed the island.

While the first section of the book builds on work by other scholars (especially Mauritians), the next section departs in an original direction, using postcolonial theory to reconstruct slaves' daily lives. Drawing extensively on legal archives, Vaughan examines the constructedness of island identities, even those said to be stable ones originating from elsewhere (such as "Malagasy"; Vaughan explains that Madagascar was itself a dynamic, complex and creole society). She emphasizes that creole "transformations ... were imposed on slaves" and that "this was hardly the 'melting pot' of multiculturalist dreams" (pp. 113, 121). A fascinating chapter on language emphasizes that creolity resulted from a brutal process involving the involuntary loss of a mother tongue. The middle section also contains several chapters on intersections among ideas of masculinity, femininity, family, and race on the island. A particularly illuminating section analyzes depictions of slave sexuality, most notably of a scandal alleging an affair between two male slaves.

The final section of the book traces the impact of the French Revolution in Mauritius as well as the island's subsequent passage from French to British rule. Vaughan notes that the island's white elite was initially concerned by the revolution's implications for slavery, but that "its effects were far from revolutionary . . . ushering in. . .a more conservative, repressive and exploitative Napoleonic order" (pp. 233–234). Indeed, while Vaughan is careful not to romanticize eighteenth-century slavery on the island, she suggests that it became even more brutal in the nineteenth century. Under Napoleon, slaves lost customary legal protections, and manumission was made more difficult. The British takeover of Mauritius in 1810 changed little; the British were anxious to pacify the local elite, and did not enforce there the ban on the slave trade. More changes came after 1826, as the economy moved from trade and timber to large-scale sugar production requiring many more workers. Vaughan offers a fascinating analysis of the names assigned to slaves to illustrate their increasingly dehumanizing treatment. At the same time, the increase in sugar production brought the once-remote island into greater view for British abolitionists, who depicted Mauritian slavery as the "epitome of evil" (p. 261).

Nevertheless, abolition in 1835 did not truly liberate Mauritian slaves, who were initially forced to work for their former owners as "apprentices." The scores of Indian laborers brought to the island to replace slaves ended up further marginalizing the latter group. As many ex-slaves fled the plantation economy, Indian indentured servants (who arrived in groups, with support networks intact) began to accumulate capital, eventually gaining a key stake in the island's economy.

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Vaughan argues: "The game of multiculturalism had begun, and the Creole population, dispossessed by the twin processes of enslavement and emancipation, would lose" (p. 276).

Vaughan's study is impressive in many ways, especially in bringing the experiences of Mauritian slaves to life through vivid anecdotes. While some aspects of her narrative will be familiar to specialists on Mauritius, Vaughan's original contributions—and the thoughtful way she recasts the island's history—make the book compelling reading for anyone interested in colonialism or hybridity. In particular, she reminds scholars not to be overly celebratory about creolity and to recognize its traumatic roots. The text is an excellent read, despite some occasional repetition and unclear details (such as different years given for the temporary interruption of the Indian labor traffic on pp. 264 and 270). This will be an ideal book to use in graduate seminars on slavery and colonialism, and it deserves a wide readership.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ELIZABETH MANCKE and CAROLE SHAMMAS, editors. *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*. (Anglo-America in the Transatlantic World.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 400. $52.00.

JAMES HORN and PHILIP D. MORGAN, Settlers and Slaves: European and African Migrations to Early Modern British America. JOYCE E. CHAPLIN, Enslavement of Indians in Early America: Captivity without the Narrative. MARK L. THOMPSON, "The Predicament of Ubi": Locating Authority and National Identiy in the Seventeenth-Century English Atlantic. DAVID BARRY GASPAR, "Subjects to the King of Portugal": Captivity and Repatriation in the Atlantic Slave Trade (Antigua, 1724). RAY A. KEA, From Catholicism to Moravian Pietism: The World of Marotta/Magdelena, a Woman of Popo and St. Thomas. APRIL LEE HATFIELD, Mariners, Merchants, and Colonists in Seventeenth-Century English America. WILLIAM M. OFFUTT, The Atlantic Rules: The Legalistic Turn in Colonial British America. AVIHU ZAKAI, Jonathan Edwards, the Enlightenment, and the Formation of Protestant Tradition in America. WOLFGANG SPLITTER, Order, Ordination, Subordination: German Luthern Missionaries in Eighteenth-Century Pennsylvania. ELIZABETH MANCKE, Chartered Enterprises and the Evolution of the British Atlantic World. ROBERT OLWELL, Seeds of Empire: Florida, Kew, and the British Imperial Meridian in the 1760s. JOHN E. CROWLEY, A Visual Empire: Seeing the British Atlantic World from a Global Perspective. KARIN WULF, "Of the Old Stock": Quakerism and Transatlantic Genealogies in Colonial British America.

DAVID KILLINGRAY, MARGARETTE LINCOLN, and NIGEL RIGBY, editors. *Maritime Empires: British Imperial Maritime Trade in the Nineteenth Century*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, in association with the National Maritime Museum. 2004. Pp. xii, 229. $85.00.

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REVIEWS

To the Editors:

I would like to respond to Professor Lynn Rapaport's review of my book *A Jewish Family in Germany Today: An Intimate Portrait* (*AHR*, October 2005, 1278–1279). While Rapaport finds the story of the Kalmans "fascinating," she sees nothing good about the book itself. The research, she writes, is sloppy; the writing and translation are clumsy; it is neither scholarly nor a portrait of a "typical Jewish family" in postwar Germany. Important voices, she finds, are missing, and the book is lopsided, with half of it given to one of the four siblings, the other half to the rest.

To start with the point about alleged lopsidedness: As stated throughout, the focus of my book is on the ten children born to the four siblings who survived the Holocaust. The eldest brother had five of the children; the other three siblings had the other five. Logically, the first half of the book went to the eldest brother's five children, the second half to the five children of the other three siblings. Moreover, one of the eldest brother's five children, as a company executive, was the primary informant about the family firm. Should I have condensed the life histories of the first five children so that collectively they were allotted less space than the rest? Professor Rapaport, as a sociologist herself, should recognize that this does not make sense. As it turned out, each nuclear family group is given roughly the same amount of space per child. Important voices in the family are indeed missing. But most of the time, there is not much to be gleaned from interviews with very old persons, and as for the deceased, I have not yet found a way of interviewing them via séances. The fact, moreover, that some individuals have more to say than others is only natural, and I see no reason why I should have cut their stories short.

Rapaport dismisses the book because it is not a portrait of a "typical Jewish family" in postwar Germany. But nowhere in the book did I make any such claim. To the contrary, I pointed out that the family is of Polish origin, whereas the overwhelming majority of Jews in Germany today have come from Russia. Instead, I have discussed epistemological issues relating to the problems of representativeness and case study in order to explicate the value of such a portrait. As far as the sloppy research and clumsy writing and translation are concerned, as long as the reviewer does not supply us with more than incidental evidence, I cannot take this seriously, and it remains pure invective. For the occasional error, I take full responsibility.

I should like to stress that I welcome critical reviews of my work. Indeed, some years back, I reviewed Professor Rapaport's own book on German Jewry quite critically. But I believe I did provide solid evidence to back up my critique.

Y. Michal Bodemann
University of Toronto

Lynn Rapaport responds:

In my review, I describe the unevenness in the quality of Bodemann's interviews, the voices that are missing, and how this impacts the Kalmans' portrait. In his response, Bodemann admits that important voices are missing, but explains that "there is not much to be gleaned from interviews with old persons," and that he has not found a way to interview the deceased via "séances"! Bodemann misses the point. Serious scholarship involves carefully designing a study to collect appropriate data to answer research questions. Instead, Bodemann's book reads as if he slapped together whatever raw data he managed to collect.

Bodemann takes issue with my comment that his book does not represent "typical Jewish" families in postwar Germany, saying that the Kalmans are not Russian—a reference to the migration in the past decade

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of thousands of Russian Jews to Germany. Again, Bodemann misses the point. My remark has nothing to do with the recent Russian Jewish immigration, which I do not even mention in my review. I am merely stating my objection to how Bodemann frames and describes his story of the Kalmans within the context of Jews who, for a variety of reasons, made a home for themselves in Germany right after World War II, and how characteristics of the Kalman family make them atypical within this group. Although Bodemann denies in his response that he considers the Kalmans "typical," he does indeed often claim exactly that. Two quick examples: "The Kalmans' story is quite *typical* for those who arrived in Germany from the concentration camps or from hiding in the forests in Poland and the Ukraine" (3; my italics). The younger Kalmans are "quite *typical* of the average Jewish community membership in Germany today" (13; my italics).

Bodemann argues in his letter that he does not make generalizations from a sample of one family. Yet in his book he makes such generalizations. For instance, he writes that these interviews provide "an entire range of observations and conclusions that can be made about Jewish life in Germany, its orientations between religion and Zionism, family dynamics in general, the role and transmission of family memories, diasporic Jewish life today under conditions of 'globalization,' and numerous others" (25).

Finally, Bodemann gratuitously brings up his long-forgotten review of my own work, *Jews in Germany after the Holocaust: Memory, Identity, and Jewish-German Relations* (Cambridge University Press, 1997). He should be informed that my book won the 1998 Best Book Award in the Sociology of Religion from the American Sociological Association.

LYNN RAPAPORT
Pomona College

TO THE EDITORS:

I wish to respond to the review by Robert O. Kirkland of my book *Democracy and U.S. Policy in Latin America during the Truman Years* (*AHR*, December 2005, 1555–1556). Kirkland's McCarthyist attack on Acción Democrática (AD) in Venezuela—his bizarre charge that AD had an "alliance with the Communist Party"—should not be allowed to obscure the central thesis of my book. In fact, as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) observed at the time, AD was "not only non-Communist but anti-Communist" (157). Support for reformist and democratic movements such as AD was part of American policy during the early Cold War years. This policy had significant successes in Cuba, Brazil, Ecuador, and Costa Rica. In Costa Rica, for example, the American ambassador sought a negotiated solution to the 1948 civil war that would preserve constitutional institutions while weakening the power of the communist "shock brigades" allied to the government (173). Meanwhile, the CIA may have covertly supplied arms to the pro-democratic rebels (176). The consequence of American policy was a contribution to the restoration of political democracy in Costa Rica. Unfortunately, not all of the successes of the early Truman years continued into the later Truman years. The failure of American policy in Venezuela, Peru, and Cuba was not the result of the Cold War, but rather of largely autonomous political developments in these countries and an American commitment to avoid intervention in their internal affairs as long as American security was not directly threatened. I argued not that anticommunist and economic concerns were unimportant, but rather that such concerns formed part of an overall policy shaped by competing conceptions of the common good. In particular, I stressed the tension between a policy informed by democratic solidarity and one informed by respect for the national sovereignty of others. The civility of Yankee imperialism was a combination of both of these policies with the changing political realities of Latin America.

STEVEN SCHWARTZBERG

Robert O. Kirkland responds:

I wish to thank Steven Schwartzberg for his letter. The author is clearly passionate regarding his central thesis on the "civility of Yankee imperialism." The main thrust of his argument is that what drove U.S. policy during this era was its concern for the common good of democracy over the quest for economic and geopolitical advantage.

As I mention in my review, I do believe that Schwartzberg makes a contribution to the field. In other instances I was simply not persuaded by his argument or found it unconvincing. In the case of Venezuela, Schwartzberg is correct in stating that Acción Democrática (AD) did not have a formal alliance with the Communist party. However, there were many concerns within the U.S. and Venezuelan business community that AD would fall prey to Communism and were working on a formal alliance. These concerns were certainly voiced to the embassy in the years preceding the coup and were influential in eroding U.S. support for AD. The principal U.S. diplomatic objective then, as it is today, was to keep the oil flowing. My point is that the U.S. drive for geopolitical and economic advantage and its heightened sensitivity to Communism were the primary causes for the failure to act to forestall the overthrow of AD—not its concern for respecting sovereignty.

Schwartzberg labels scholars who hold these views as "cynics" of U.S. policy in the region. In this regard, I stand guilty as charged.

ROBERT O. KIRKLAND
Claremont McKenna College

ERRATA

On p. 68 of the February 2006 issue, in note 59 of the article "Local Religion and the Imperial Imaginary" by Thomas David DuBois, the name Tsuji Masanobu should be Tsujimura Shinobu. The author regrets the error.

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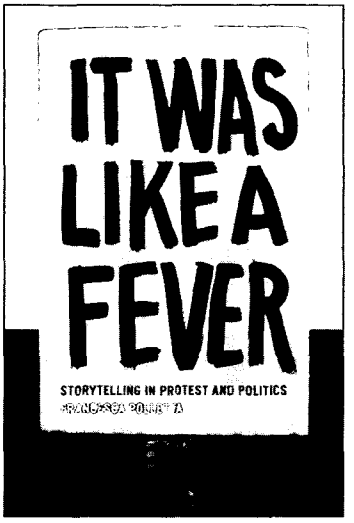
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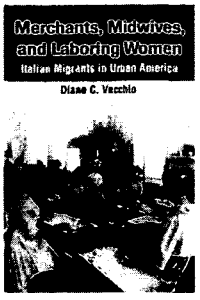
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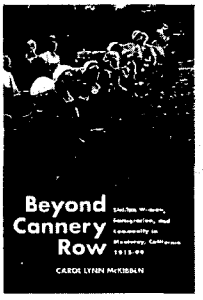
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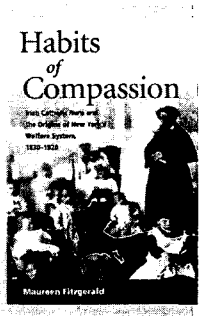
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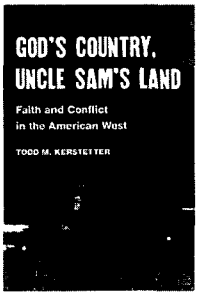


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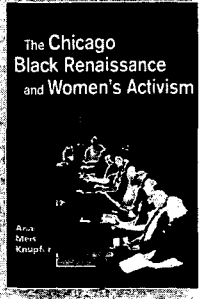
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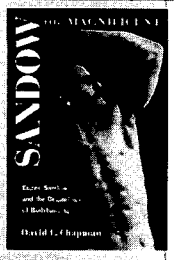
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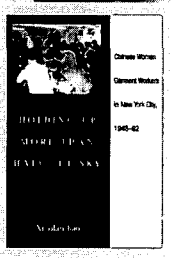
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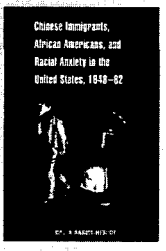


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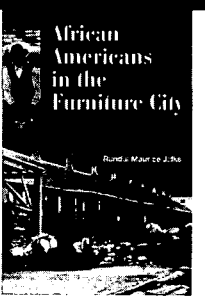
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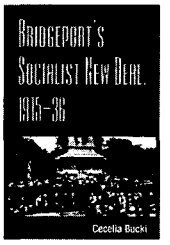
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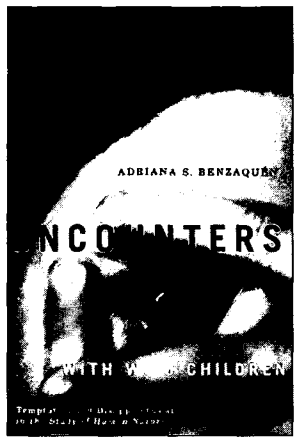
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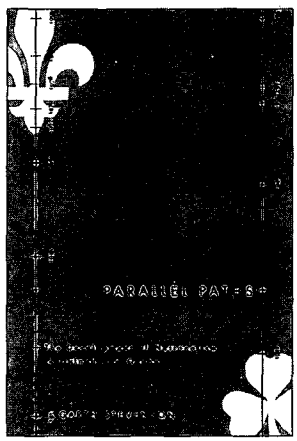
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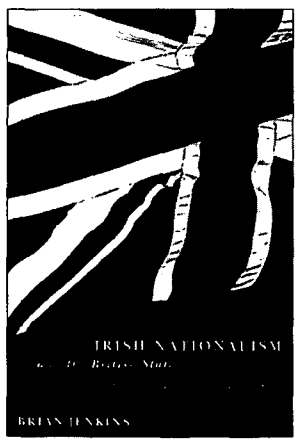


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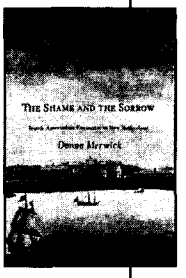
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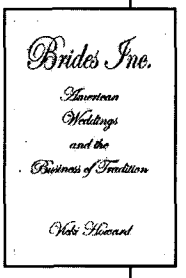
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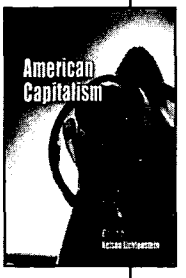
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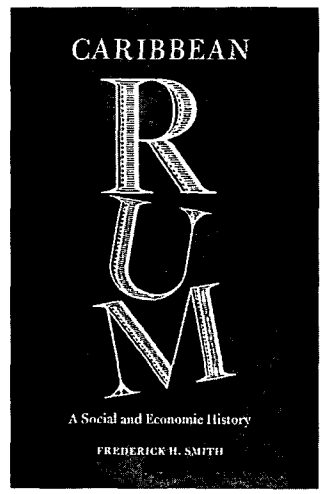
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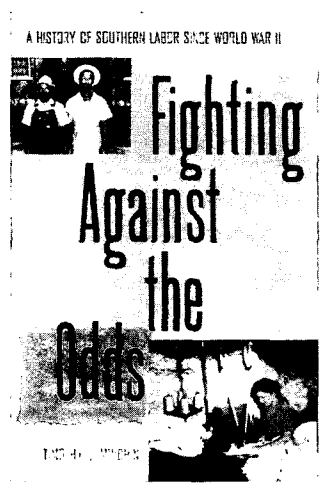
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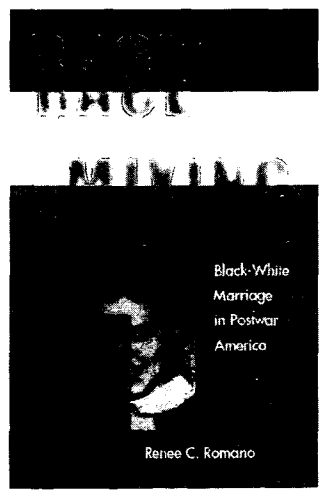
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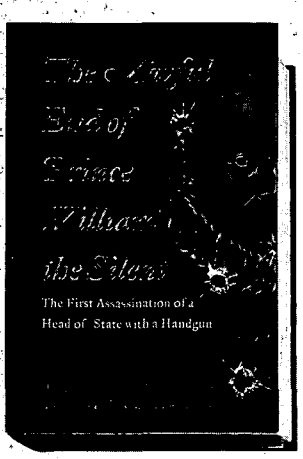
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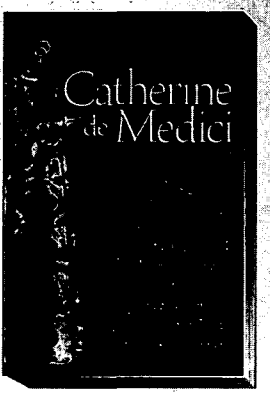
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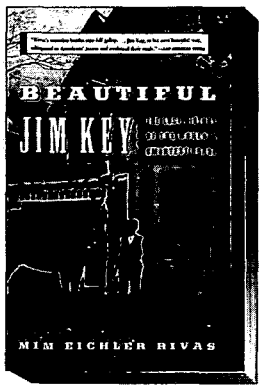
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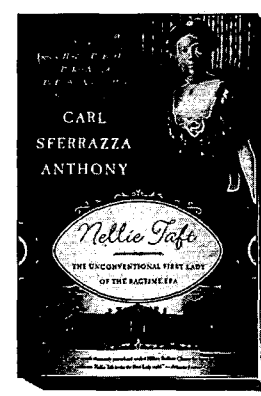
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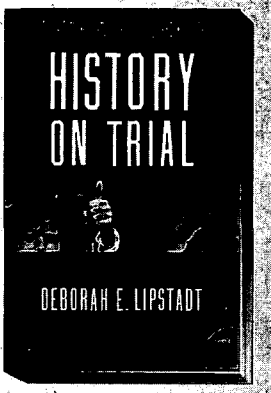
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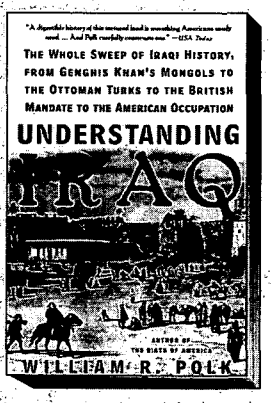
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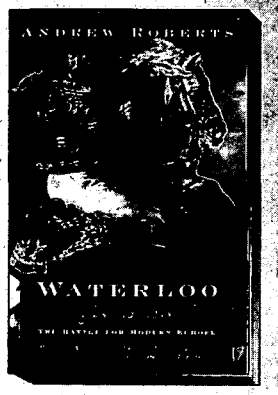
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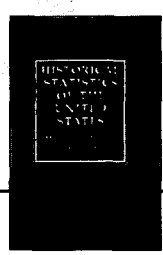
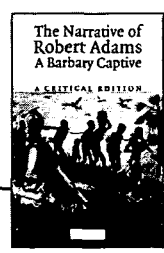
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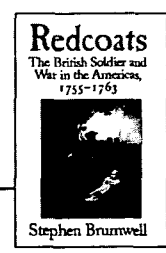
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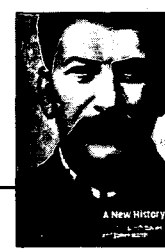
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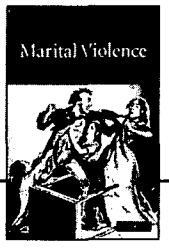
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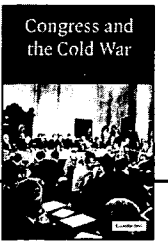
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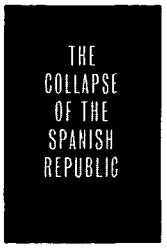
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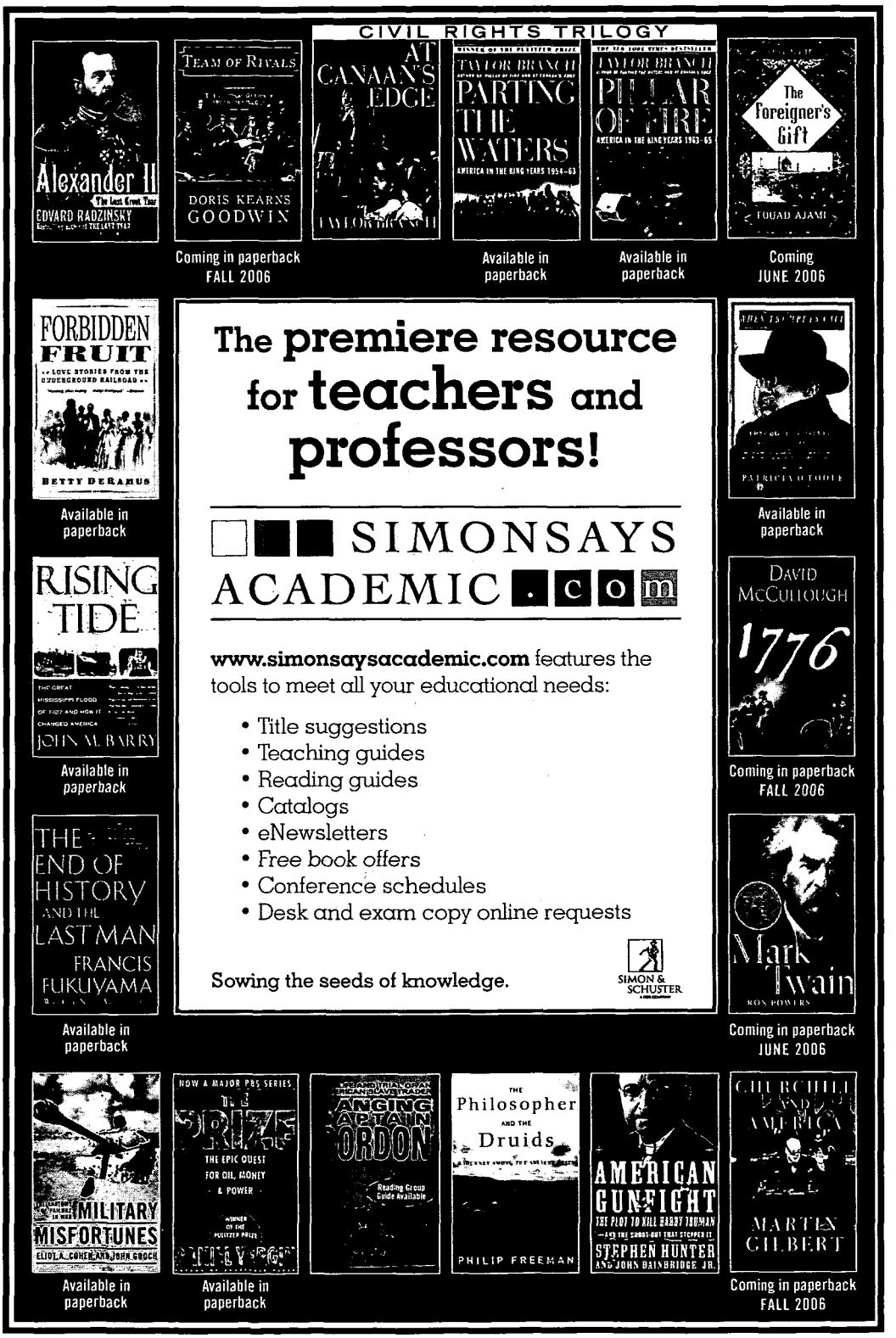
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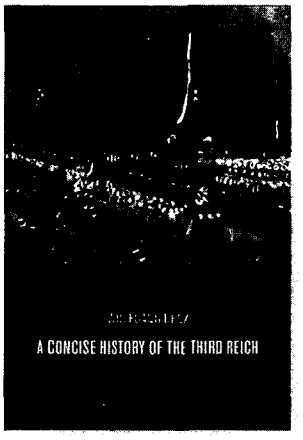
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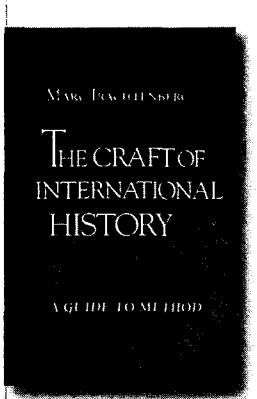
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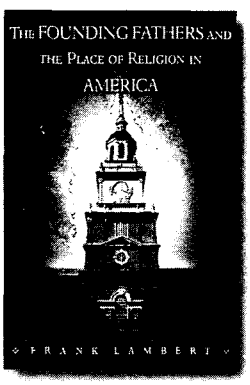
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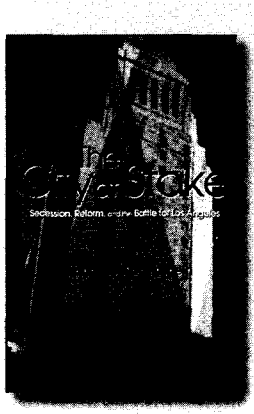
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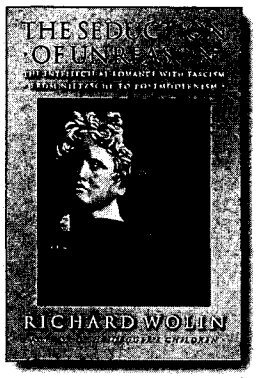
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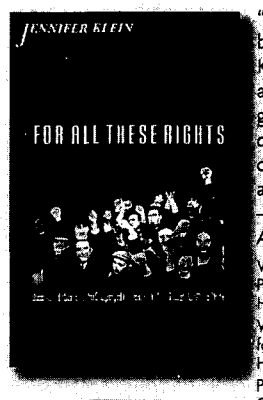
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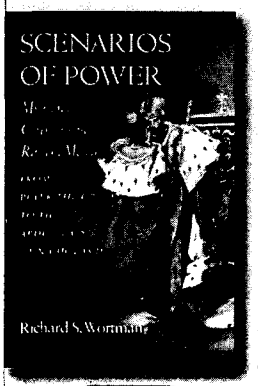
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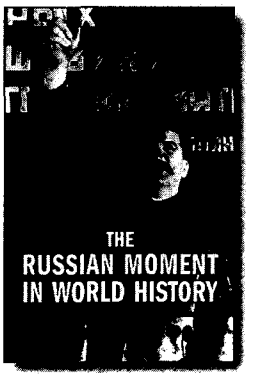
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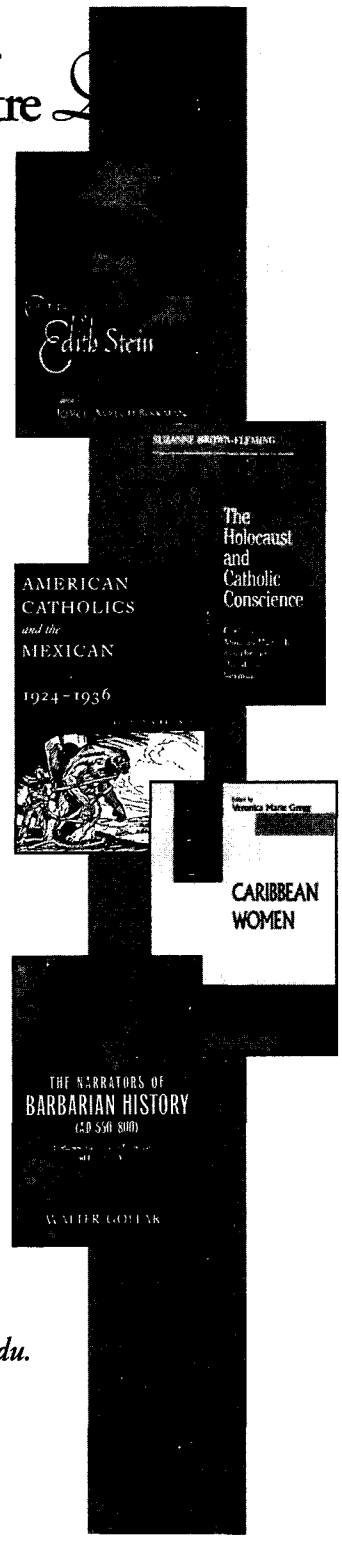
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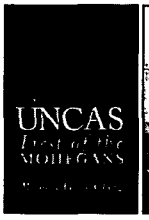
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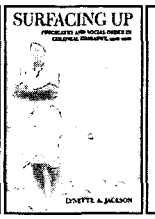

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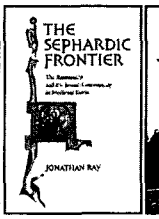
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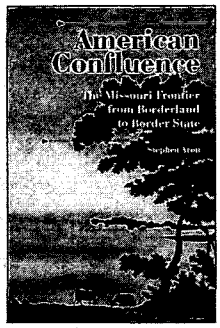
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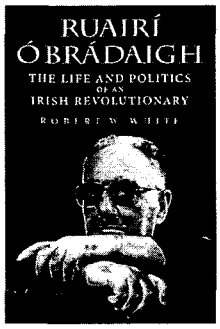
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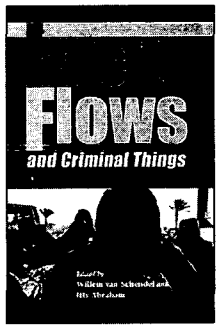
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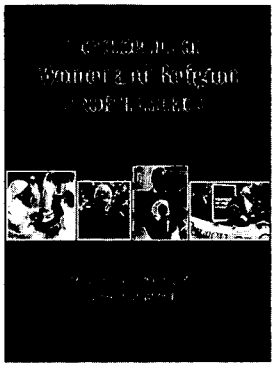
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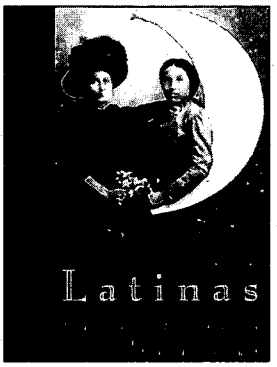


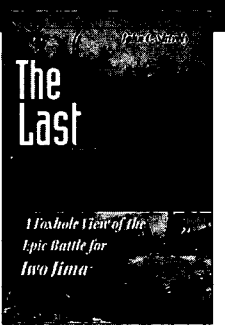
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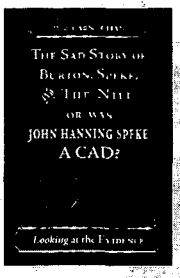
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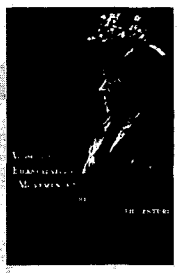
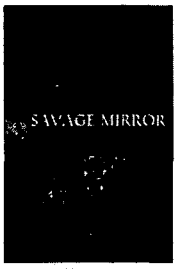
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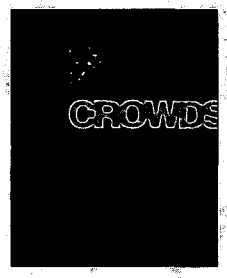
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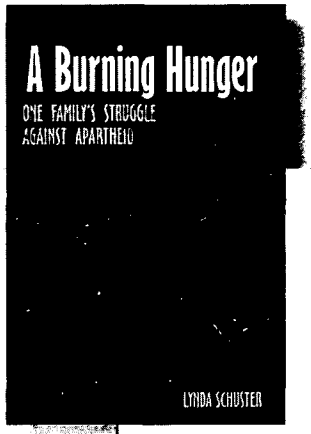
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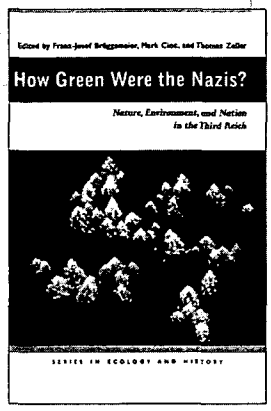
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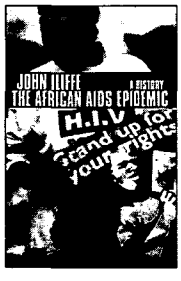
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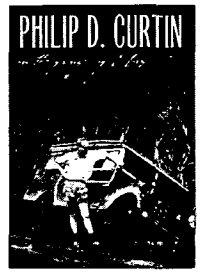
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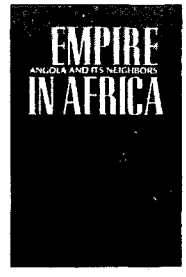
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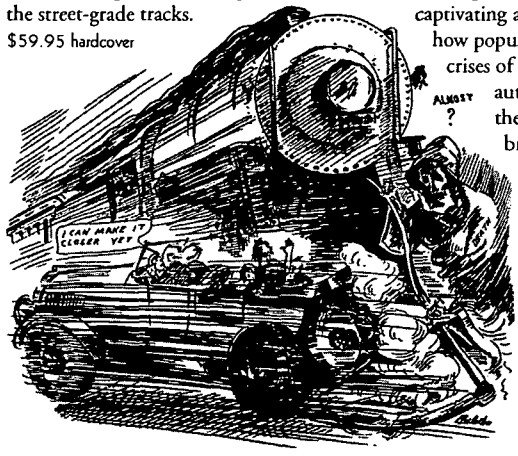
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- vita (no more than 5 pages);
- a statement of no more than five pages in length describing the individual's public history contribution;
- up to ten pages of appropriate supporting materials (e.g., letters of support or other evidence of contribution).

The nomination packages of those who do not receive the award in a given year will be kept on file and considered for awards in the subsequent five years. In such cases, the nominators may submit updates, if they wish.

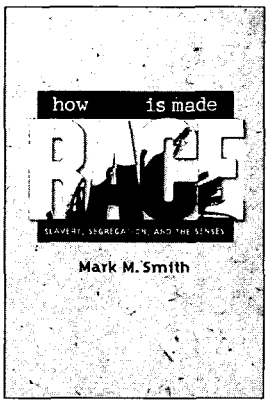
One set of the nomination materials must be received by each of the committee members. Contact information for judges will be posted by about March 30, 2006.

Nominations must be postmarked by or on **MAY 15, 2006,** to be considered for the 2006 prize. Nomination materials will not be returned. Nominations without all the required documents will not be considered.

Please Note: *The deadline for submission of nominations is May 15, 2006. Entries will not be returned. The 2006 award will be announced at the January 4–7, 2007, AHA Annual Meeting in Atlanta.* ***Important! Each nomination must be clearly labeled "Feis Award Nomination."***

For questions, please e-mail the Book Prize Administrator at aha@historians.org, or write to the AHA at the following address: American Historical Association, 400 A St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003-3889.

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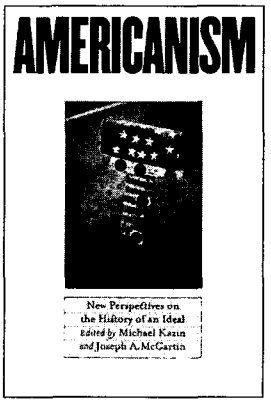
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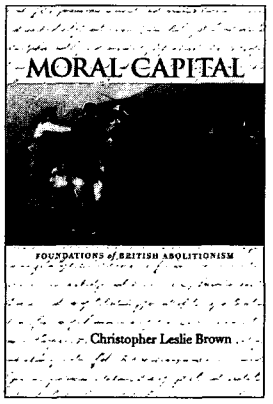
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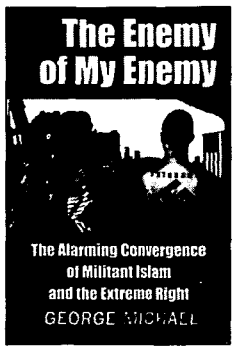
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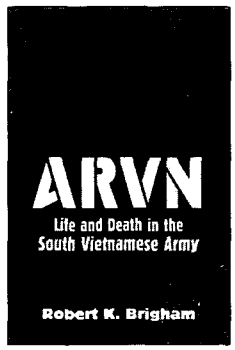
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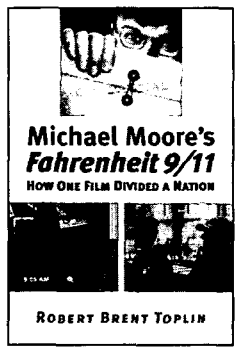
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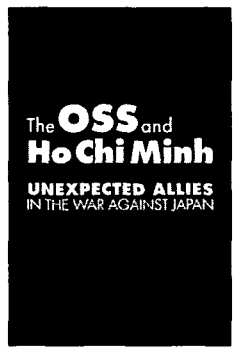
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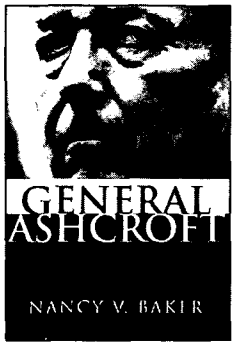
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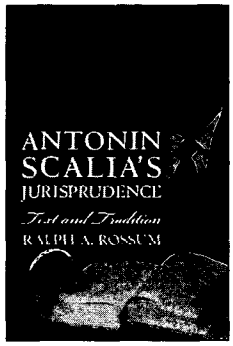
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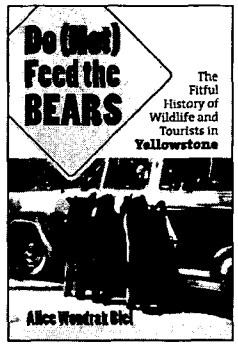
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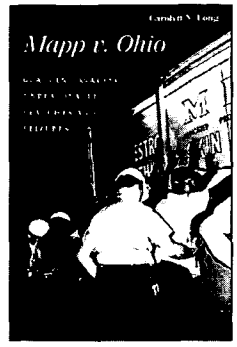
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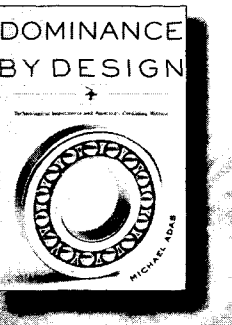
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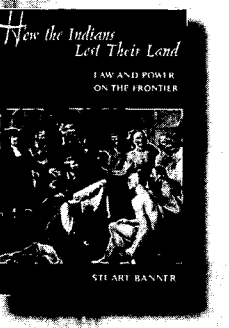
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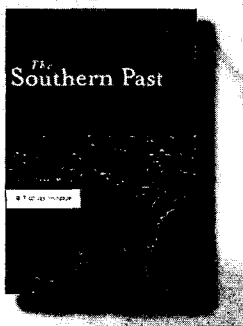
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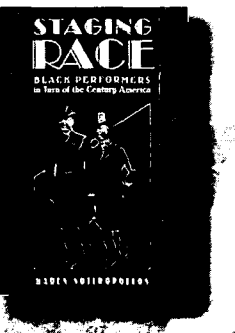
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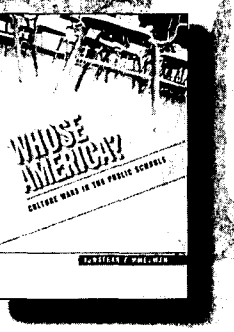
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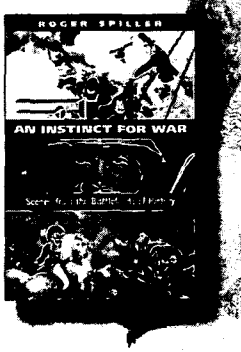
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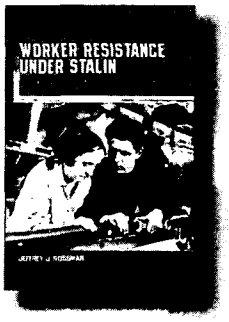
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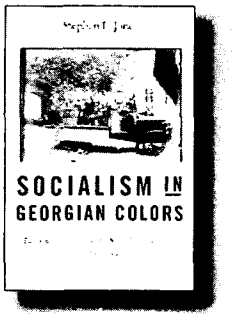
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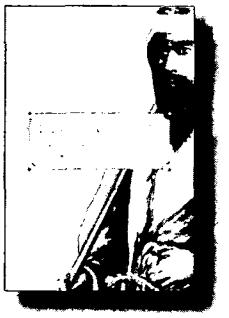
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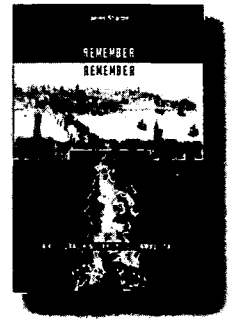
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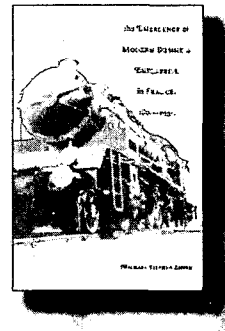
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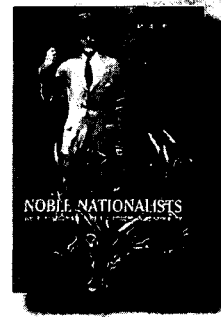
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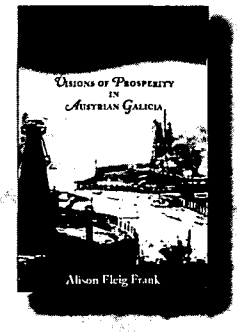
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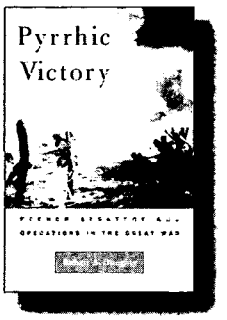
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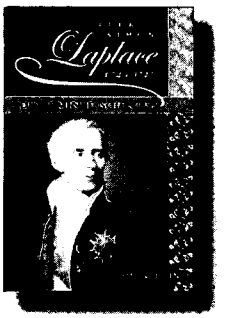
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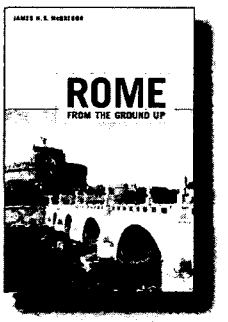
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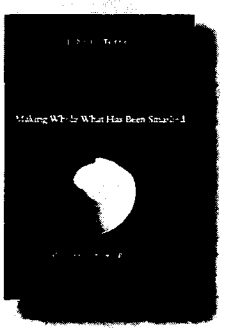
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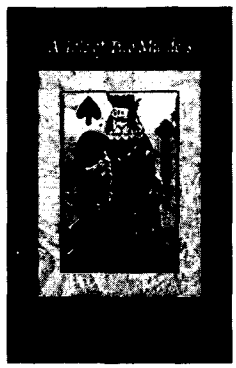
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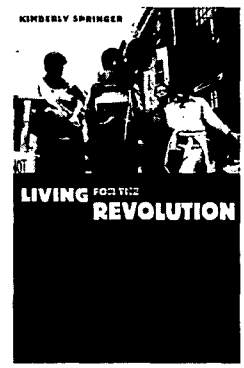


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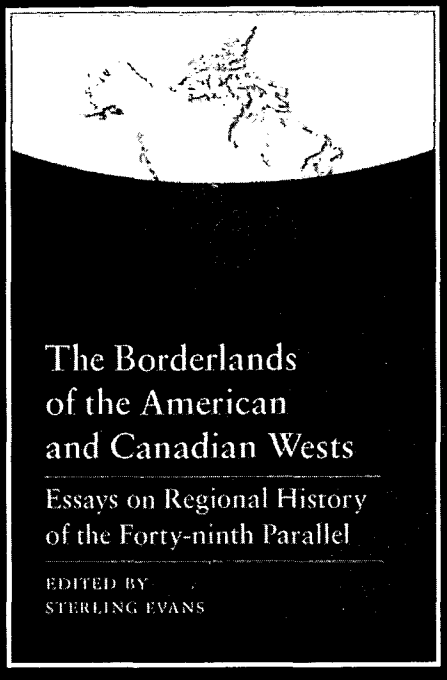
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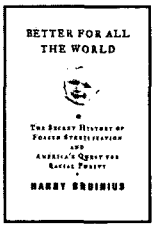
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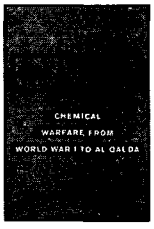
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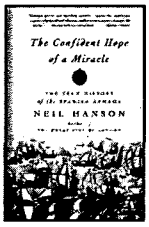
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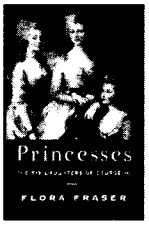
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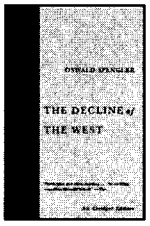
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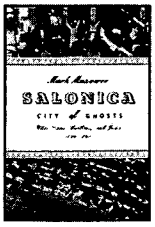
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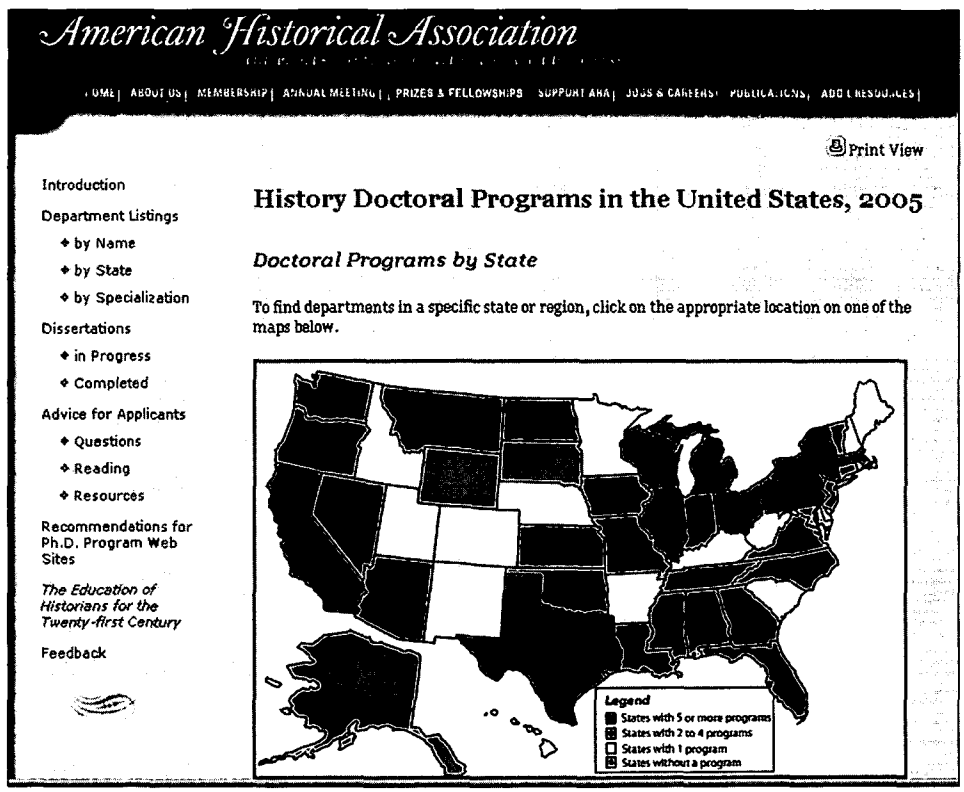
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Promoting Progress: An Interactive Workshop for Directors of Graduate Studies (and others interested in graduate education)

August 3–4, 2006, at the Holiday Inn Rosslyn, Virginia

(minutes by Metro from Washington, D.C.)

Registration is open until July 1, 2006, but discounted-rate hotel rooms are limited in number and must be reserved soon. Act immediately!

The American Historical Association is pleased to announce the fourth in a series of workshops that the Association has been conducting for department chairs, directors of graduate studies, and others interested in various aspects of graduate education.

Directors of graduate education in particular, and others interested in graduate education are invited to participate in the summer 2006 workshop, which will focus on the many crucial and complex challenges involved in ensuring successful and smooth progress of graduate students toward a degree.

The interactive workshop sessions will include brief presentations by faculty involved in MA and PhD programs. Discussion by attendees at the workshop following the presentations will be a key feature (to which substantial time will be allotted).

The workshop will be held at the Holiday Inn Rosslyn at Key Bridge in Rosslyn, Virginia, just across the Potomac from Georgetown in Washington, D.C. The hotel is three miles away from the Ronald Reagan National Airport and one block from the Rosslyn Metro Station. The Kennedy Center, the Smithsonian Museums, and Arlington National Cemetery are a short distance away. Free parking is available at the hotel.

Registration and Accommodations

Registration for the workshop is now open. The registration fee of $200 will include a reception, full breakfast, lunch, and dinner, and two coffee breaks. Please note that the registration deadline is July 1, 2006.

Rooms are available at the Holiday Inn Rosslyn at Key Bridge in Rosslyn, Virginia. The number of rooms is limited, however, and reservations must be made (directly with the hotel) as early as possible to receive the special, discounted rate of $119 plus tax. The discounted rate will be available for the dates August 3–4 2006. To make a reservation, please call Holiday Inn Rosslyn at 703-807-2000. Details about the hotel are available on the hotel's web site, www.ichotelsgroup.com/h/d/hi/1/en/hd/waswp.

Program

Thursday, August 3, 2006

The program will begin on Thursday, August 3, 2006, with a reception that will be held from 6 P.M. to 7 P.M., and dinner (during which George Walker of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching will initiate discussion on the topic "Effecting Change in Graduate Education") from 7 P.M. to 9 P.M.

Speakers at subsequent sessions include Tyler Anbinder (George Washington Univ.), Daniel Cohen (George Mason Univ.), Eve Levin (Univ. of Kansas), Emmet McLaughlin (Villanova Univ.), Brooks Simpson (Arizona State Univ.), Brad Austin (Salem State Univ.), and Laura Croghan Kamoie (U.S. Naval Academy).

For more information about the workshop, contact: Dr. Noralee Frankel, nfrankel@historians.org.

Friday, August 4, 2006

First Session: 8:30–10:30
Promoting Graduate Student Progress

Second Session: 11:00–12:30
Preparing Students for Jobs as Historians

Working Lunch Session: 12:30–2:00
Problem Solving Sessions at Each Table

Third Session: 2:30–4:30
Graduate Students as Employees

Program Committee

Tyler Anbinder (*George Washington Univ.*)
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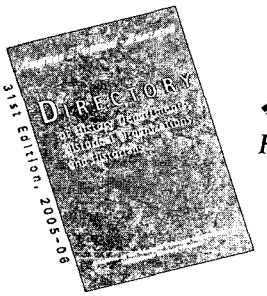
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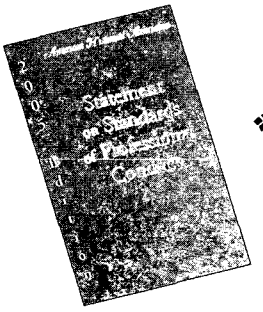
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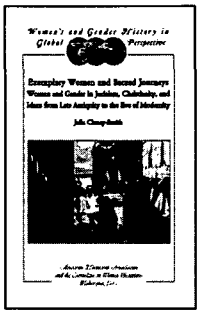
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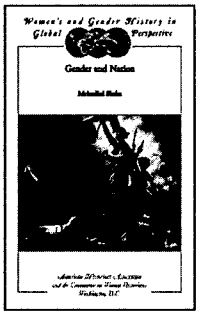
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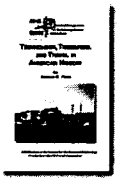
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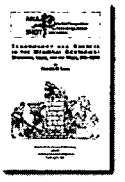
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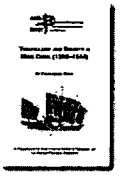
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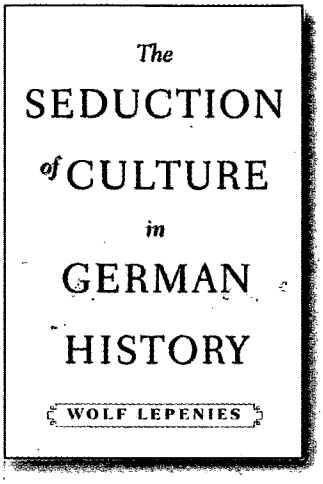
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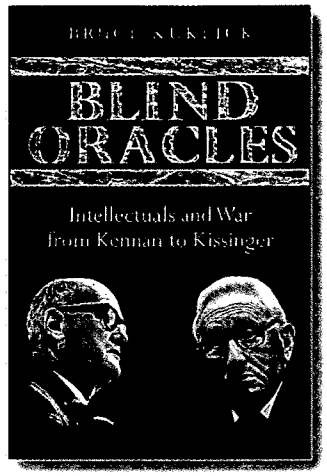


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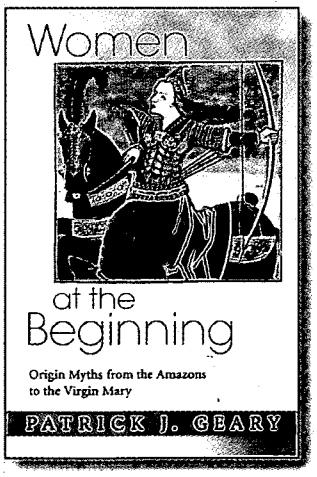
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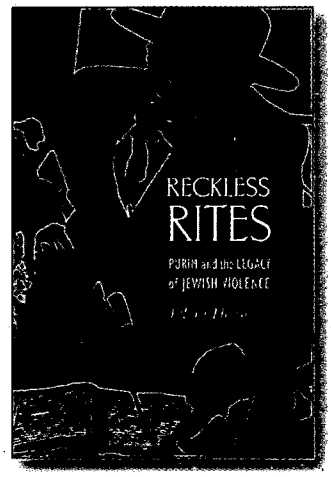
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